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CV:

Kul Bhushan Mohtra was born on 9th Sep, 1957 in a village Amuwala in Kathua district.

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Director General, Raja Ram
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Actively engaged in political,
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activities. Always striving to serve
the poor and downtrodden of the
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Main works-

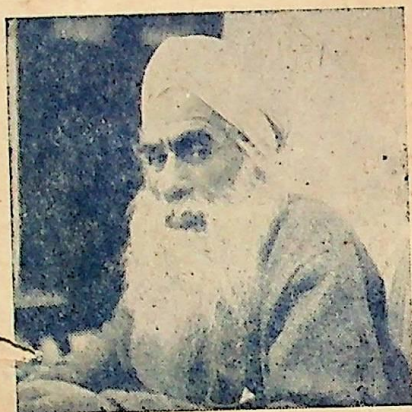
A saga of Sacrifices: Praja
Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book
J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of
Jammu & Kashmir & our
Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki
Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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Mahatma Sardar Budh Singh ji
President

Provincial National Conference

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ہمارے جلد پھر

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ہما تھا سر دابہ دھونگھ جی

صدر صوبائی نیشنل کانفیڈریشن

پیدائش سحر :- مرکزی الیکشن بورڈ آل جموں و کشمیر کا افسر

تعداد :- ۱۵۰۰ کاپی

پرنٹ :- نیا کشمیر (اوونٹ) پریس جموں

دیا چہ

جناب مولانا محمد سعید صاحب سعودی جنرل سیکرٹری آل جموں کشمیر
نیشنل کانفرنس

ہماتما سردار بدھ سنگھ جی کے ارشادات کو قارئین کرام کی خدمت میں
پیش کش کرنے کی عزت حاصل کرتا ہوں۔ آئندے والے صفحات میں جو کچھ ہے
یہ سردار صاحب کی کوئی ایک مسلسل تقریر ہے لیکن پچھلے پانچ چھ بیس
میں انہوں نے صوبہ جموں کے مختلف علاقوں میں سینکڑوں جلسوں
جو تقریریں فرمائی ہیں۔ ان صفحات میں ان کی روح کھینچ کر رکھ دی
ہے۔ یہ وہ سنہری خیالات ہیں جن کو لاکھوں آدمیوں نے مختلف
موقعوں پر سردار صاحب کی زبان سے سنا اور اپنے دل میں جگہ دی
آج کل جموں و کشمیر کی دستور ساز اسمبلی کے انتخابات کی دھواں
مچی ہوئی ہے۔ نیشنل کانفرنس ان انتخابات میں سو فی صدی نشستوں کے
لئے اپنے امیدوار کھڑے کر رہی ہے اور صوبہ جموں میں ایک آدمی
دوسری جماعت بھی کہیں کہیں کوئی سیدلے حاصل کرنے کے لئے ہاتھ
پاؤں مارتی نظر آتی ہے لیکن حالات گواہ ہیں کہ کامیابی کا سہرا نیشنل
کانفرنس کے سر بندھا جائے والا ہے اس لئے یہ امر ضروری ہے کہ

نیشنل کانفرنس انتخاب کے موقع پر اپنے مفاد اور پروگرام سے عوام کو آگاہ کرے۔ نیشنل کانفرنس کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ وہ ملک کے تمام ناکوں کو عموماً اور نہ الاکھ فوٹر وٹھ خصوصاً اس بات سے آگاہ رکھے کہ وہ دستور ساز اسمبلی کا انتخاب کیوں کر ہی ہے۔ اس کے نمائندے اسٹیج انتخاب میں کامیاب ہونے کے بعد ملک کے لئے کس قسم کا آئین تیار کریں گے۔ اور جموں و کشمیر کے الحاق کو کس رنگ آخری طور پہلے کر کے ہندوستان اور پاکستان کے درمیان جاری موجودہ کش مکش ہمیشہ کے لئے ختم کریں گے۔۔۔۔۔ یہ بڑے سوالات ہیں۔ جن کو سمجھنے کے لئے لوگ بے تاب ہیں۔ اور نیشنل کانفرنس کا فرض ہے کہ وہ انہیں سمجھائے۔

مہاتما سر دھرم سہاد جی کا یہ تقریریں، عوام کے سامنے پیش کرتے ہوئے ہے اس امر کا یقین ہے کہ جو لوگ مہاتما جی کے خیالات کو پوری توجہ اور غور کیڑ میں لے آئیں۔ مندرجہ صدر سوالات اور سیاسیات جموں و کشمیر سے تعلق رکھنے والے دیگر سے سینکڑوں سوالات کا تسلی بخش جواب مل جائے گا۔

محمد سعید مسعودی

ساتھیو! آپ نیشنل کانفرنس کے کام پر وگرام سے بخوبی

واقف ہیں۔ تاہم نیشنل کانفرنس اب ایسے مرحلہ پر پہنچ گئی ہے جسکے
آج تک کی سرگرمیوں جدوجہد کا کچھ نتیجہ نکلنے کو ہے اور ایک آخری
امتحان کا وقت آگیا ہے۔ ضرورت اس بات کی ہے کہ از سر نو نیشنل
کانفرنس کی مختصر تاریخ کے واقعات کو تازہ کیا جائے۔ لہذا جو
پر اس کی ضرورت اہمیت اور آئندہ جدوجہد کے سلسلہ میں فیض
واضح کئے جاتے ہیں۔ عام ہنسنا کو ہانسنے سے پیشتر کارکنان کو سیدھے
خود اچھی طرح سمجھنا چاہیے۔ کیونکہ سوامی نامی کرنے کی آوی جو نیشنل
کانفرنس میں بھرتی ہونا چاہیے۔ جو آج تک صرف نام سے آگے

اس کی حقیقت سے ناواقف ہیں یا مخالف نظر آپ سے سوالات پوچھ گئے
کہ نیشنل کانفرنس کیوں بنائی گئی۔ اس کی کیا ضرورت تھی۔ اس
کا پروگرام کیا ہے۔ اس نے اب تک کیا کام کیا ہے۔ اس کا
جھنڈا کون سا ہے۔ اور یہ اپنے اندر کیا خصوصیت و طاقت
اور انقلابی سپرٹ رکھتی ہے اس کا لیڈر نیتا کون ہے اس کی خدمات
کیسی ہیں۔ اور قوم کی رہنمائی کے فرائض اس نے کس حد تک ادا
کئے ہیں۔ آئندہ نیشنل کانفرنس ملک اور قوم کو کہاں لے جانا چاہیے۔

اور سیاسی و اقتصادی آزادی کو برقرار رکھنے اور بہتری و ترقی دینے کی
خوشحالی امن و امان کے سلسلہ میں اس کا آئندہ کوئی سا پرگرام و
کام ہو گا۔ آج وقت ہے کہ آپ سب کو پھر سے نیشنل کانفرنس
کی سرگرمیوں جدوجہد آئندہ پروگرام میں تیسری سے آگے قدم بڑھانے
سے پیشتر ان سوالات کا جواب دینے کے لئے تیار رہنا چاہیے
اور اس کے تمام کارناموں اور اس کے لعلین جس قدر تشریح چھپ
چکا ہے کی واقعیت ہونی چاہیے۔

ہند کی تحریک آزادی

جب تک ہندوستان میں انگریزوں نے تمام فرقہ جات جماعتوں کو ایک
تک ایک دوسرے کے مد مقابل اور مخالف محاذ قائم کر رکھا ہے
استعمال کیا۔ پھوٹ ڈالو اور حکومت کر کے اصول کو قائم کیا۔ کرور
باشندگان ہند غلام مظلوم دکھی اور بے بس رہے۔ اور جب تک
اس بات کا احساس پیدا ہوا اور کسی ایک فوج وطن آزادی پسند
پڑھے لکھے اور باعلاقہ مذہب و ملت ایک جماعت بنائی جس
کا نام کانگریس ہے اور ایک پیٹ فارم پر جمع ہوئے اور عوام

میں حصول آزادی کے لئے جدوجہد کرنے کا احساس پیدا کرنے کی کوشش
 کی گئی۔ تو اس سلسلہ میں بھارتی قربانیاں دینی پڑیں شہادتیں ہوئی
 قید و بند اچھا نسی پر لٹکائے جانا، گولیوں کا نشانہ بنانا، کافی سے زیادہ
 جاتی اور مالی نقصان ہوا۔ اور کئی سال تک یہ سلسلہ جاری رہا۔ اس
 کیلئے ہندوستان کی آزادی کی تاریخ میں شیخ آزادی کے پروانوں
 کے خون سے رنگین اوراق بھرے پڑے ہیں۔ اور کتا ہیں لکھی جا چکی
 ہیں۔

کوئٹہ انڈیا کا نعرہ

آخر مہاتما گاندھی دنیا کے بڑے انساناں میں ان پر شاہی سیاست پر
 انڈیا کا نعرہ لگایا۔ اور ملک و قوم کو اس طرح منظم کیا۔ اس لئے
 ٹرینڈ کیا اتنا تیار کیا کہ وہ نتیجہ گرہ کے آخری اور منظم اصول کو اپناتے
 اور ہر قسم کی قربانی دینے کے لئے تیار ہو گئے۔ جب انگریزوں نے
 یہ صورت دیکھی وہ چپکے سے چلا گیا۔

تقسیم ہند

مگر بد قسمتی سے جاتے جاتے پاکستان اور ہندوستان کی تقسیم

کے سلسلہ میں ایسی آگ لگائی کہ جس سے آپس میں ہم ہندوستانیوں کی مزیت
اور جو خود فی ڈرامہ کھیلایا وہ نہایت شرمناک اور افسوسناک ہے اور
پھر سے اس وقت آئیں گی باہمی اتفاق آسما پیدا کرنے کے سلسلے میں ہوا کم کو سمجھاتے
ہی ہاتھ تاننا نہ ہی اسے شہادت حاصل کی۔ کانگریس کمی قریبیاں سرگرمیاں
دیکھ کر جب ہم جنوں کسٹمیر میں رہتے والے آزادی پسندنا تھیوں کو یہاں سے
انتہائی آزادی کے حامل کرنے کا جذبہ اور زبردست احساس پیدا ہوا۔

تحریک حریت کشمیر کا آغاز

اگرچہ ڈیل تیند میں تھے کیونکہ ہندوستان اگر بڑا جیل خانہ تھا تو ہم
جیل کی کالی کو کھڑیاں ریاستوں میں کمرورڈ انسان نہایت بے بسی
کی زندگی بسر کر رہے تھے۔ اور ہر وقت اس بات کے منتظر تھے کہ کب بڑے
جیل کا در و دیوار ٹوٹے اور ہندوستان آزاد ہو تاکہ ہماری بھی خلاصی
ہو۔ کئی مشکلات کے بعد ہم نے فرقہ دارانہ جماعتوں میں بے ہوشی اہل وطن کو
اکٹھا کیا۔ اور ایک پلیٹ فارم پر جمع کیا۔ مسلم کانفرنس سے نیشنل کانفرنس بنانے

کا جو پہلا کام شیخ صاحب اور ان کے ساتھیوں نے کیا یہ متحدہ قومیت کی جہتی جہت
 رواداری اور سیاسی اقتصادی آزادی کے حصول کے سلسلہ میں کامیابی کا پہلا
 قدم تھا۔ اسی وقت تمام مشکوک نگاہیں اور دھول بل یقین رکھنے والے لوگوں
 خصوصاً فرقہ پرستوں کی آنکھیں کھلیں اور ان کو نیشنل کانفرنس بنانے اور اس
 میں کام کرنے والے ساتھیوں پر کافی حد تک اعتماد قائم ہوا اور وہ نزدیک
 آئے۔ اس میں شک نہیں کہ جب مسلم کانفرنس کے کارکنان جو قریباً وہی
 تھے۔ نیشنل کانفرنس میں آئے تو اس بات پر آمادہ کرنے کے لئے کچھ وقتی
 لگا۔ اور اس بات کو زیر غور لایا گیا کہ آیا آزادی کیلئے جدوجہد فرقہ پرست
 طریق پر بھی کامیاب ہو سکتی ہے۔ اگر نہیں۔ اور کہ حصول آزادی کا مزید
 سارے ملک و قوم کا مشترکہ ہے۔ تو پھر کوئی وجہ نہیں ہے کہ جدا
 فرقہ دارانہ جدوجہد پر ہم وقت و دل و دماغ خرچ کریں اس لئے جب تک کل
 اتحاد و اتفاق نہ ہو گا۔ اور سارے وطن کے بھائی سرور نہ بٹھیں گے
 اور مشترکہ مطالبات کے حاصل کرنے کے لئے تیار نہ ہوں گے تب تک موجودہ
 مشکلات مصائب ابے بسی۔ غلامی استبدادیت دور نہیں ہو سکتے اور

یوں بھی جب سب دہرمیل کے آدمی ایک خدا کی عبادت کرتے اسے
 سارے جہاں کا رب تسلیم و یقین کرتے ہیں تو اس دنیا میں صرف ایک
 مذہب و فرقہ و جماعت ہی نہیں رہتی۔ دوسرے لوگ مختلف مذاہب و فرقہ
 عقیدہ کے بھی رہتے ہیں۔ اس لئے چونکہ یہ تحریک مذہبی نہیں ہے بلکہ
 سیاسی ہے اس لئے بھی اسے بلا لحاظ مذہب و ملت کام کرنا ہے۔ آخر
 زمین و آسمان، چاند سورج، ہوا پانی و دیگر سامان زندگی کا کیا مذہب
 ہے شہری آزادی سیاسی و اقتصادی ترقی و آزادی کے مسائل کے لئے ایک
 مذہب اور سرکوفی قدرتی نعمتوں، چیزوں سے تیار ہونے کا حق رکھتا ہے
 ہر کسی کو زندہ رہنے اور پھر آزاد اور با عزت آسودہ زندگی بسر
 کرنے کا حق ہے۔ اس میں مذہب عقیدہ ہرگز مداخلت نہیں کر سکتا۔

تحریک کشمیر سے قبل ریاست کی حالت !

شروع میں جب مسلم کانفرنس بنائی گئی مگر اس سے بھی چند سال پہلے
 جب میں نے مختلف اوقات میں ملک و قوم کی آزادی کی آواز بلند کی

اور کچھ کتا میں لکھیں تو اس وقت ریاستی لوگوں پر طرح طرح کے مظالم و سختیاں
 بے انصافیاں، ظلم و ستم برپا تھا۔ رشوت، بیگار، مفلسی، غربت، بیکاری
 فرضہ، جہالت، نہایت بے بسی دکھ اور مصیبت کا عالم تھا۔ اور مسلم بھائیوں
 کو خیال تھا کہ صرف مسلمان پر ہی یہ مظالم برپا ہیں وغیرہ اور بظاہر جب تک
 ان کو غریب ہندوؤں کی اندرونی حالت کا علم نہ تھا۔ وہ حق بجانب تھے جبکہ
 ہندو سکھ ان کے ساتھ اس وقت کے حکومت کے جبر و سختی، بے
 انصافی کے خلاف آواز اٹھانے اور غریبوں، مفلسوں، غلاموں کو تہ
 کرنے کے لئے شامل نہیں ہوتے تھے۔ ایک دوسرے پر اعتماد نہ تھا
 مسلم کافر تھے۔ ہمارے دورست مطلق القانہ خود مرید
 راج کے برخلاف آواز اٹھاتے تھے۔ جن کا اکثر اوقات میں اسمبلی کا ممبر
 ہونے کی حیثیت اور کان پارٹی کا نائب ہونے کے ناطے ساتھ دیتا ہوا ممبر
 عوام کی بھلائی بہتری کے سلسلہ میں جو سہولتیں پیش ہوتے ان کی تائید کرتا
 مگر جب شیخ صاحب نے جموں کی چند تحصیلات کا دورہ کر کے ہندو
 راج میں ہندوؤں کی حالت اور مفلسی، غربت، مقررہ ضیعت، جہالت

اور ہندو سائھی کا غریب اور چھوٹے لوگوں اور چھوٹوں کے ساتھ نہایت
 بے رحمانہ غیر انسانی سلوک دیکھا اور ان غریبوں کی بددعا کی حالت کا
 اندازہ کیا کہ ان کا نہ گھڑ اور بھجوں کے شنگے ہیں۔ تمام کام یہ کریں۔
 سخت مشقت کریں دوسروں کے گھر مکان بنائیں۔ مال چلائیں کریں
 بوجھ اٹھائیں بیگار دیں۔ انکے گھر، ترسم کا کام کریں۔ کھانا ملائیں،
 کھیتی باڑی میں مکنا کام کریں، ڈاک رسائی کریں غرضیکہ دن رات
 بگاڑیں مبتلا ہوں۔ مگر ان کے ساتھ نہایت بُرا سلوک کیا جائے
 نہ بھونا گناہ سمجھا جائے۔ روٹی کھلاتا پانی پلانا تو دیکھنا راند
 دیا جائے۔ کنوؤں پر چڑھنے کی اجازت نہ ہو۔ مندروں میں
 نہ ہونے کی قطعاً جانعت ہو۔ علاوہ ازیں جب ٹھکروں
 جن کو بعد میں ٹھاگہ بنایا گیا۔ راجپوت تصور کیا گیا۔ کی حالت راز کو
 دیکھا کہ مقروض ہیں اور بیگار لی جاتی ہے۔ کبھی کبھی دن یہ بھی اچھوتوں
 کیا تھ مسلم بیگاریوں کیا تھ بیگاری میں پڑاوجات پر پکڑے جاتے
 تھے۔ اور بیگار لی جاتی تھی۔ اور پھر بڑے بڑے ادبے پہاڑوں

دشوار گزار راستوں جنگلوں میں سفر کرنے اور رومن کا بوجھ اٹھانے
 پر مجبور کئے جاتے تھے اور ان کی پیٹھ زخمی ہو جاتی اب تک کسی
 پورانے اشخاص کے پیٹھ میں بوجھ اٹھا اٹھا کر زخموں کے نشان
 اور داغ موجود ہیں جب یہ دریا کا صورت شیش صاحب نے
 دیکھی تو ان کا دل تڑپ گیا اور انہوں نے گوریلے سے ہی دم آزاد
 خیال واقع ہوئے تھے سختی سے غصے کیا کہ یہی دہرم و
 ایمان غرض ان فی بی ہے کہ جو کبھی بھوکا نہنگا مظلوم غلام مصیبت
 زدہ ہے مجھے بتایا جائے کہ لڑنا چاہیے۔ بے بس نام لڑنا
 ہے اور پراٹھا یا جائے اور اسے مصیبت، جو کچھ غصے سے
 لڑا جائے اور اس کے لئے لازمی متعدد پریم بھائیوں کو ملا کر
 ہر سب دولت ایک پلیٹ ہندو پر جمع کیا جانا نہایت ضروری ہے
 شیخ صاحب کشمیریوں کی درویشی کی حالت کا اندازہ بندہ ان پنجاب
 کی گلیوں کو چوں میں کر چکے تھے۔ اور ان کی غصے دولت اور
 بے عزتی کی حالت کا انہیں کافی احساس تھا جس نے ان کو متحرک

کیا اور جو نہی مزدوروں کی حالت کو بخشم خود دیکھا تو پھر ایک قومی
جماعت بنانے کے لئے بے تاب ہوا نہ تھے۔

مسلم کافر نس نیشنل کافر نس کیوں بناؤ گئے

نیشنل کافر نس بنانے کا ضرورت کا ذکر کیا گیا ہے نیشنل کافر نس قومی
جماعت ہے ساتھ جتنے ہے اس کا کام یہ ہے کہ تمام باشندگان
اہل وطن سکڑ بیٹھیں اور سیاسی اقتصادی آزادی کیلئے سوچ
ریں پروگرام تجویز کریں۔ اور دیکھ سکھ میں شریک ہوں اور
ملک اور قوم کی بہتری بہبودی ترقی کے لئے کوشش کرنے
کیلئے جدوجہد کریں۔ اور تمام ظلم سختی مطلق العنانی جہالت مغلی
محبت کو دور کرنے کے لئے تیار بنیں اور تمام ضروریات
زندگی کے حاصل کرنے امن و امان خوشحالی آزادی کی زندگی بسر کرنے
کا تمنا کریں اور اے لیکر اٹھیں اور اپنا پیدائشی حق آزادی اور اپنی
قسمت بنانے کا اختیار و اقتدار حاصل کرنے کا تہیہ کر لیں اور

میدان عمل میں نکل آئیں اور محنت کش مزدور اور غریب کسان کی دنیا جو تاریک ہے اور گمنامی بد نصیبی ذلت کی غار میں پڑی دم توڑ رہی ہے کو روشن کرنے کا عہد کرے اور اس قیمتی اور زندگی بخش طبقہ کا ہاتھ پکڑے اسے گلے لگائے اور اوپر اٹھائے اس کا معیار زندگی بلند کرنے اسے اسودہ طرح ملیں با عزت بے خطر آزاد انسانوں کی طرح زندگی بسر کرنے کے مواقع فراہم کرے وغیرہ یہ ہیں وہ کام و فرائض، پروگرام جو نیشنل کانفرنس پر کرانے کیلئے ابھی اور اسکا مفصل ذکر کتابی شکل میں "نیا کشمیر" کے سیاسی و اقتصادی مندرجہ منسوبہ میں کیا گیا ہے جس کا بعد میں ذکر کیا جائیگا۔

قومی نشان !

جب نیشنل کانفرنس قومی جماعت بن گئی تو اس نے جھنڈا جوڑ کیا جانا تھا۔ چونکہ ابھی "تازہ تازہ فرقہ پرست جماعتوں سے دورت اکٹھے ہوتے تھے" کسی نے سبز رنگ جو مسلم برادران کو محبوب تھا، بھلوہ رنگ جو ہندو

ہمارے کھائیوں کو منظرِ تھا۔ پیش کئے گئے۔ بڑی سوچ بچار کے بعد موجودہ جھنڈا
 سر رنگ کاہل والا تیار کیا گیا کیونکہ ہم اچھی طرح سمجھتے تھے اور آخری
 ہوا کہ یہ فرقہ دارانہ جھنڈے جداگانہ جماعتوں، پارٹیوں کے نشان ہیں
 ہوا ایک دوسرے کو گہری نگاہ سے دیکھتے رہے اور وقتاً فوقتاً آپس
 میں جھگڑتے رہے۔ مگر آئندہ اگر ان میں سے کوئی ایک بھی اٹھ اٹھ کر کیونکہ
 ان کو اٹھا کر نا بھی بظاہر مشکل ہے۔ اور یہ آپس میں لڑے اور لڑیں گے
 چنانچہ پاکستان بننے کے بعد ان جھنڈوں کو ہلنے والے لوگ کس طرح آپس
 میں کٹ مرے اور کس طرح لڑے اس کی دردناک شہرہ رس داستان
 سے بھری منظرِ رنج و غم کی ایک داستان ہے۔

قومی نشان ہل والا سرخ جھنڈا کیوں؟

ہر ہر عادیو کاغزو لگا کر یہ اللہ ہو اکبر کا نعرہ بکیر بلند کرنے، راست
 سربراہی کا جیسا روٹا کر، ہندوؤں، مسلمانوں، سکھوں نے ایک دوسرے
 کا گلہ کیا، اور بھارتی ظلم گناہ، اتیاچار اور وحشیانہ دزدگی کا ثبوت

دیا جبکہ منصوبہ کچل بے گناہ عورتوں، لڑکیوں بوڑھوں کمزوروں کا قتل
 نہ ہونا کیا۔ ایسے لوگوں کو ہندو۔ اسم۔ کچھ کہنا عظیم گناہ ہے انہوں نے
 انسانیت و ہرم مذہب اپنے اپنے افتادہ۔ پیغمبر۔ گورہ کو بدنام کیا۔ اپنے
 اپنے عقیدہ روایات کی توہین کی۔

لہذا ہم نے فیصلہ کیا جھنڈا ایسا ہونا چاہئے جسے خلق خدا تسلیم کرے
 اور جس کے معنی و مطلب سمجھانے میں کسی کتاب یا استاد کی مدد کی ضرورت
 نہ ہو۔ اس لئے ہم نے سرخ رنگ کا ہل والا جھنڈا بلند کیا۔

سرخ رنگ انقلابی ہے اور یہ محنت کش مزدور کی تاریک دنیا میں ^{القیار}
 لانے کے لئے ہر کوئی کہتا ہے کہ دنیا خدا نے بنائی تھیک مگر کیا ^{ہے}
 پہاڑ۔ دریا۔ جنگل۔ زمین و آسمان وغیرہ مگر انسانی ہستیوں کی دنیا
 محنت کش مزدور نے بنائی۔ یہ عالیشان عمارت۔ محل مارٹیاں۔ جنگل
 دوکانات۔ بازار۔ ہوٹل۔ پینے پینے مسجد۔ گوردوارے۔ پل ریلیں
 گاڑیاں۔ ہوائی جہاز۔ سمندری جہاز۔ بجلی روشنی۔ نہریں۔ کارخانے وغیرہ
 تمام چیزیں تیار کر دیں کھلے میدانوں میں برقیاری اور پھر شدت

گرمی میں کوئی زندہ نہیں رہ سکتا اسے زندہ رکھنے کے لئے پناہ گاہ کا ضرورت
 ہے۔ مکان لازمی طور پر ہونا چاہیے۔ اور دیگر چیزیں انسانی زندگی کی سہولت
 آرام کے لئے نہایت ضروری ہیں۔ جن کے استعمال سے انسانی زندگیاں قائم
 اور بخیر رہیں۔ پناہ لیتی اور آرام پاتی ہیں۔ یہ سب چیزیں محنت کش مزدور
 کے خزانے کے ایک ایک قطرہ ہے۔ جنہیں ان کے بنانے میں اس خرب مزدور
 محنت کش کا خون لکلا اس لئے چھوٹے کی بھٹیوں میں اپنی صحت کو ہرباد
 کیا۔ کوٹھلہ اور بوسے کی کھنولوں میں جانیں دیں کارخانوں میں دم توڑا دن
 رات خون پسینہ ایک کر کے انتہائی مصیبت اور تکلیف میں دن گزارے
 اور رات بھر کدوں سے عمارتی لکڑی، ٹین، مگرور، پتھر، چونا سامان
 پیچھے لایا۔ سخت دکھ اور رنج اٹھایا۔ اس کے ناک سنہ سے خون نکلا
 جسم زخمی ہوا۔ لیکن اس بے چارے کے لئے مناسب جھونپڑا صحت بخش
 گھرا بے تکہ نہیں بنا سکا۔ ٹوٹے پھوٹے پتھر، ٹیٹھیت اور کس مہر سی میں رہ پڑا
 ہے۔ اور آسمان کی چھت کے نیچے مصیبت کی زندگی کے آئندہ دن گن گن
 کر گزارتا رہا ہے۔ آخر اس کی خدمت کا نامدہ اٹھانے والوں کے پاس

اس بات کا کیا جواب ہے کیوں یہ سیوا دار جماعت خود تکلیف میں بے گھر
 بے در ہے۔

واقعی یہ کس قدر دکھ دہائی بات ہے کہ ہمارے آرام و آسائش، عیش و
 نشاط میں زندگی بسر کرنے کے لئے عالیشان شہر و بستیاں بنائے گئے
 والا ابھی تک مفلس نادار بھوکا پیاسا بے گھر انسان ہے اور زندگی
 کی پوری سہولتیں، واجبی ضروریات اور آرام و مسکن سے محروم ہے
 اور رات دن اسے اپنی جسم و جان کو قائم رکھنے زندہ رہنے کے مسکن
 حاصل کرنے کے لئے جدم ہند کرنی پڑتی ہے اور اس کا ہر وقت نگر و انگیر
 رہتا ہے اور پریشان پھر رہا ہے۔ اس کے لئے ایک انقلاب لانے کے لئے
 نچلی اوپر کرنے تک پہنچنے کی غرض سے سرخ انقلابی لڑائی لڑنا
 اور انقلاب لڑ کر دکھایا ابھی سلسلہ جاری ہے۔ اس جھنڈا پر لڑنا ہے
 "سدا یاں کلاں تے پیٹھ ہلاں" دنیا کے محنت کشوں مزدوروں کی نوا
 کی ننگ ہیں اس طرف ہیں محنت کش مزدور نے جہاں انسانی ہستیوں کے لئے
 خوب صورت شہر و بستیاں تیار کر دیں ان میں رہنے والے ان لوگوں کو

کو زندہ رکھنے کے لئے زندگی کی ضروریات انچ ہر قسم بشری ترکاری چلی میوہ
 کپاس روٹی تیل وغیرہ پیدا کیا۔ مال مویشی پال کر دودھ گھی میسر کیا
 آج جس قدر شہروں بازاروں، ہوٹلوں، پارکوں، طرح طرح کے کھانے پک رہے
 ہیں۔ اور انانچ کے ذخیرے قائم ہیں۔ کپڑے کی دوکانیں۔ سبزی منڈی
 گدہ منڈی میوہ منڈی وغیرہ موجود ہیں۔ وہ اسی بل کی بدولت ہیں
 سخت شدت کی گرمی میں جبکہ اسے ۱۰۵ درجہ کا بخار چڑھا ہوا ہے
 ملیں یا میں مبتلا ہے۔ فصل میں گڑی کر رہا ہے کہیں غلہ نکال رہا ہے۔ کھجور
 سے خون آگیا۔ ناک سے خون آ رہا ہے۔ غرضیکہ سردی گرمی بارش دھوپ
 ہر موسم اور شکل میں بے چارہ باہر کھیتوں میں کھاد اور ٹی میں ملکر کام کر
 رہا ہے۔ دنیا کی زندگی کا سامان پیدا کرنے والا خود سکھ کا سانس نہیں
 لے سکا اور اب تک اس کو پوری محنت اور طاقتور غذا میسر نہیں آ سکی
 چند مہینوں کے بعد پھر بھوکا اور تنگ رہے۔ اور اس کی زندگی محض معمولی
 روٹی کپڑے کے پور کرنے پیٹ بھرنے اور تن ڈھپنے کے فکر میں بسر
 ہو رہی ہے۔ علاوہ ازیں جمالت ابے علمی اور تفریبت نے اسے

اور بھی پریشان کمزور کھا ہے۔ اسی پر بس تمہیں۔ ہر بڑے زمینداروں،
 چکداروں جاگیرداروں۔ سرمایہ داروں، ساہنکاروں نے اس کی محنت
 شاقہ کی کماٹی کو لوٹا اور اس کو ٹٹ کھسٹ کر نئے کا سلسلہ مدت سے جاری
 رہا ہے۔ کہا تا یہ بیچارہ کسان ہے بڑے بڑے آدمی اس کی کماٹی ہڑپ
 کر جاتے ہیں۔ علاوہ اس کے دیگر کئی کام خدمت کے لیے ہیں جہاں محنت
 کش مزدور کو اوپر اٹھانے کا اس کی تاریک دنیا کو روشنی میں بدلنے کا کام
 نیشنل کانفرنس کا ہے وہاں ہل دے کسان کو معیار زندگی بلند کرنے کے لیے
 ایسی محنت شقت کماٹی کا خود مالک بننے اور اپنی محنت کا خود پھل کھانے
 کے قابل بنانا ہے۔ اور اس پر جس قدر سختی آج تک ہوتی رہی ہے اُسے
 دُور کرنا ہے۔ ایک دنیا جانتی ہے کہ آج جو کچھ نظر آ رہا ہے۔ اور جسکی
 بدولت چل پھل ہے اور جس کے بل بوتے پر ہر کوئی اکر رہا ہے۔ اور
 زندہ ہے وہ ہل والا کسان ہے۔ اور یہ بھی جانتے ہیں کہ یہ دوکانیں
 منڈیوں میں سودا سوت چیزیں جو بھری پٹریں ہیں۔ اسی محنت کش مزدور
 اور کسان کی جان جو کھوں کی کماٹی کا نتیجہ ہے تو پھر سمجھ میں نہیں آتا

کہ جب ہم اس کا معیار زندگی بلند کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور اس کی دنیا بدلنے
 چاہتے ہیں۔ اور اسے اوپر اٹھانے اس کے ہاتھ میں ایسی قسمت بنانے کا کام
 سپرد کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اور نظام حکومت میں اسے برابر کا شریک کرنا چاہتے
 ہیں۔ تو پھر کیوں کسی لوگ اعتراض کرتے ہیں اصل وہی خود غرض لالچی لوگ منہ
 خصوصی رکھنے والے درمیاں ہیں ایک پتھر بن کر کھڑے ہو جاتے ہیں۔ اور ان
 مفید زندگی بخش طبقات محنت کش مزدور اور کمزور کی کیا پلٹنے انہیں
 اوپر اٹھانے والے جھنڈا کو دیکھ کر کیوں جل بھن جاتے ہیں۔ کیوں ان کے
 اندر درو اٹھتا ہے۔ کقدر اس کا ان فراموش ہے۔ کبرت گھٹتا ہے کہ
 جسکی کمائی محنت اور خدمت پر یہ تو کہ اب تک زندہ ہے نہ ٹھکس کی بہتری
 ترقی آزادی کے مخالف ہے افسوس ہے یہ لوگ لالچ خود غرضی اور
 جھوٹے وقار اور تکبر، انکار ہیں اس قدر غرق ہیں اور اندھے ہو رہے
 ہیں کہ نہیں دیکھتے کہ دنیا کدھر جا رہی ہے۔ اور کیا رنگ اختیار کر رہی
 ہے۔ اور محنت کش مزدور اور کمزور کو ان پر آ رہا ہے چھارہا ہے۔ اسے
 انہی ہستی کا احساس ہو چکا ہے وہ بیدار ہو گیا ہے۔ اسے اپنے حقوق

حاصل کرنے اور دنیا میں اپنا انسانی درجہ عزت اور جگہ حاصل کرنے کا راستہ
 حل کیا ہے

ہمارا پروگرام نیا کشمیر کیوں

جب یہ جھنڈا نیشنل کانفرنس نے بلند کیا تو قدرتی تھا کہ اسے سارے ملک
 میں اہرایا جائے اور اس کی مزید وضاحت تشریح معنی اور مفہوم کو عوام پر
 واضح کرنے کے لئے اس کے لئے پروگرام بنوایا جائے چنانچہ "نیا کشمیر"
 کا منصوبہ تیار کیا گیا جہاں تمام ملکی و محلّی یقین رکھنے والے دماغوں اور
 ذہن دارانہ تنگ خیالی کے زیرِ طرح طرح کے شک و شبہ کرنے والے لوگوں کے
 سامنے ایک واضح اور مفصل پروگرام رکھنا تھا کہ وہ دیکھ لیں کہ ان کی
 اس بات میں کہاں جگہ ہے۔ تاکہ بعد میں کسی کو شکایت نہ رہے۔ وہاں محنت
 کش مزدور اور ریکان کو بھی یقین دلانا تھا کہ اس کے لئے ہمارے پروگرام
 اور منصوبہ میں کون سا جگہ ہے اس کے کون سے حقوق ہیں۔ دیکھو حقوق نامہ
 مزدور اور ریکان مندرجہ "نیا کشمیر" غرضیکہ جو منصوبہ نیشنل کانفرنس نے
 "نیا کشمیر" کے نام سے مشتہر کیا اور پاس کیا۔ یہ اب دنیا کے کونہ کونہ میں

پیشتر چکا ہے اب تک اس میں کسی قسم کے واضح اعتراض و تنقید پیش نہیں
ہوئی۔ اگرچہ اسے ہم نے پھر ایک دفعہ دستور ساز اسمبلی کے سامنے رکھنا
سے اور اسے حالاتِ حاضرہ و آئین کی ضروریات و مستقبل کے پروگرام کے
پیش نظر مکمل کر دینا پڑیگا۔ لیکن اسوقت جس حالت میں یہ ہے اس کی
مثال دوسری جگہ ملتی شکل ہے۔

یہ نیا کشمیر کا منصوبہ آج ہم نہیں تیار کر سکتے جبکہ نیشنل کانفرنس
کا اقتدار ہے اور نیشنل گورنمنٹ ہے۔ بلکہ آج سے سات سال پیشتر بنایا
گیا۔ جب کہ نہ صرف کشمیر گورنمنٹ اور اس کی مطلق افسانہ شخصی حکومت
بلکہ انگریز کی طاقت بھی مخالف تھی۔ اسے بھیگانے مخالف تھے۔

اس میں نہ نئی تصور کیا جاتا تھا۔ قید و بند کی شرائط دی جاتی تھیں ہمارے
کئی آدمی شہید ہو چکے تھے۔ انتہائی مصائب و مشکلات عذاب کا سامنا پیش
کانفرنس کے کارکنوں کو کرنا پڑا۔ کیسا دردناک سلوک سپاہی قیدیوں کے
سامنے کیا گیا۔ اس کے لئے جاگیر شاہی کے پوسٹ مارٹم کتاب کو پڑھ دینا چاہیے
شدت کی گرجی ملیں۔ میر پور۔ اور ہم پور اور کھٹوانہ کے جیلوں میں اور بریاری

کے وقت کشمیر میں رکھا جاتا۔ بھلا جب نہایت مشکلات اور عظیم فی الوقت
 زوکارٹ کے باوجود ہم نے آئندہ پروگرام واضح طور پر مشترک کیا اور
 تمام خطرات بلکہ ہر مصیبت عذاب جسمانی اور منہ و موت کو دعوت دیدی
 تو پھر اسے ہم آج آنکھوں سے کیونکر اچھل کر سکتے تھے یہ ہر وقت ہمارے
 دلی رومانغ میں نقش ہے اسے بھلی جامہ پہنانے کے لئے ہم آخری نظر
 خلیفہ کا بہانہ کے لئے تیار ہیں براہ میر باقی اسے ضرور مطالعہ کر۔
 ابھی ہم جیلوں میں بند تھے کہ پاکستان بن گیا۔ ہندوستان خصوصاً
 پنجاب میں نفرت و شہنی کا دور شروع ہوا۔ بھائی بھائی لڑنے لگے کشت
 خون، بولی مار کا بازار گرم ہو گیا اور ہمارے ملک جموں و کشمیر سید پاکستان
 نے غلہ بول دیا۔ قبائلی اور پاکستانی فوجی ہر طرح مسلح تیار رہتے تمام فزڈ
 اور نئے ہتھیاروں سے لیس ہو کر ہمارے ملک کو برباد کرنے لڑنے قبضہ
 کرنے کے لئے چڑھ دوڑے تو ہمیں اس وقت جیلوں سے باہر گیا جبکہ دشمن
 ہمارے ملک میں گھس گیا تھا۔ اور قریب پنج لکھا تھا۔ ہم مل بیٹھ کر آئندہ
 کا پروگرام اور جدوجہد کرنے کی بات بھی نہ کر پائے تھے کہ جنگ عظیم کا

سامنا کرنا پڑا۔ پھر کیا تھا کشت و خون تہل و غارت گری لوٹ مار کا بازار
گرم ہوا۔ سپہاست پر پاکستان کا چار خانہ حملہ

اب یہ وقت نازک تھا کہ ایک کھٹن امتحان نیشنل کانفرنس کے سامنے
آگیا۔ جہاں آج تک نیشنل کانفرنس نے تمام بھائیوں کی بلال خانہ مذہب
ملت ایک پلیٹ فارم پر اکٹھا کر کے مشترکہ کا سیاسی و اقتصادی آزادی
ملک و قوم کی بہتری ترقی کے لئے جدوجہد کرنے کا پروگرام تجویز کیا اور اس
وقت تک کافی قربانیاں دیں عظیم عذاب و کھڑے مصائب ہر وارث کے اور
خود سرانہ مطلق العنانہ حکومت کیساتھ ٹکری۔ کمیٹی کشمیر کے دوران ہزاروں
کارکنوں قید و بند میں رکھا گیا۔ اور انتہائی سختی کی گئی۔ اور عذاب دیا
گیا۔ وغیرہ وہاں اب صحیح معنوں میں نیشنل کانفرنس کو کوکسو فی پر پہنچنے
کا وقت آگیا کہ ایک طرف نیشنل کانفرنس ہے جس میں ہندو مسلم سکھ سب
اکٹھے ہیں۔ قومی جماعت ہے۔ جس میں اکثریت مسلم برادران کی ہے۔ اور
دوسری طرف سے پاکستانی قبائلی چٹائے ہیں۔ اور وحشیانہ زندگی کا
ثبوت دے رہے ہیں۔ اور وہ بھی مسلمان ہیں۔ یہ بھی نعرہ تکبیر اللہ اکبر پکارتے

ہیں۔ اور بظاہر کشمیر کے مسلمانوں کو آزاد کرنے کا دعوے رکھتے ہوئے دوسرے
 آریے ہیں مگر دراصل تمام انسانی ہمدردی مذہب و ملت کی یگانگت و تعلق
 اور انانیت اخلاق کو بالائے طاق رکھ کر سب کسی کا صفایا کر رہے ہیں
 نہ صرف ہندوؤں سکھوں کا ہی بلکہ مسلمانوں کا بھی اور نہ صرف ہندوؤں
 سکھوں کی ہی ہوبدیوں کی بے حرمتی کی بلکہ مسلمانوں کی متواتر بہو بیٹیوں
 کو بھی نہیں چھوڑا۔ ان کا کام صرف لوٹ گھسوٹ وحشت و زندگی تھا
 ان کے ساتھ جیسا کہ کہا جاتا ہے پاکستانیوں کا بھی معاملہ تھا کہ زر اور
 زن یعنی مال و دولت اور عورتیں تمہیں ملیں گی۔ اور ملک ہمارا ہو گا۔
 گویا اس تھر تو کنیر کے بہانے وہ کشمیر کے مسلمانوں کی ہمدردی اور آزادی
 کے تحم میں گھلے جا رہے تھے جس کے ساتھ انہوں نے وہ کچھ کیا جس سے
 دنیا کانپ اٹھی۔ اور جس حد تک انہوں نے ظلم و ستم خونی ڈرامہ سے مذہب
 ملت روایات اسلامی کی توہین کی شاید ہی اور کہیں ایسی مثال ملتی ہو
 ہمارے عزیز نوجوان محمد مقبول شیرانی بارہ مولہ اور ماسٹر عبدالعزیز صدیقی
 کانفرنس مظفر آباد کا جس بے وردی سے قتل کیا گیا یہ بڑا دردناک شرمناک

ہے۔ آپ کا تصور اور جہم یہ تھا کہ یہ ہندو سکھ بھائیوں بہنوں کی مخالفت کرتے تھے اور پکے نیشنلسٹ تھے۔ اور محبت پر ہم اتفاق کیجی اور جمہوریت میں یقین رکھتے تھے۔ رہتی دنیا تک ان کی شہادت یاد رہے گی۔

نیشنل کانفرنس نے وحشیانہ جملہ کا مقابلہ کیسے کیا

مگر اس طرف نیشنل کانفرنس ہے اور ہندو مسلم سکھ بھائی بھائی کی طرح ایک ساتھ صاف کر کے ہیں قورعد کرتے ہیں۔ اور یہ نعرہ لگاتے ہیں "شیر کشمیر کا کیا ارشاد"۔ ہندو مسلم سکھ اتحاد۔ "یشیہ چلو بہا اور شہید ہو جاؤ"۔ "قدم قدم بڑھیں گے ہم۔ محاذ پر لڑیں گے ہم"۔ "کشمیر ہمارا ہے۔ اس کی خاطر لڑیں گے۔ اس کے لئے ہم مریں گے"۔ "تمہیں سے اے مجاہد و جہاں کی ثبات ہے شہید کی جو موت ہے وہ قوم کی حیات ہے"۔ "چند دنوں میں ہی جبکہ دشمن بڑھتا آ رہا ہے اور میرنگر کے دروازے پر آ پہنچا ہے"۔ "یشیہ کشمیر ہمارے لیڈر اور صد سال جہوں کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس نے ایک مجزرہ کر دکھایا صدیوں سے دباؤ اور خوف زدہ قوم کے بچوں

بڑھوں اور توں اُردوؤں کو یکدم میدان جنگ میں لڑنے کے لئے تیار پتیار
 کر دیا اور ان کے اندر حسبِ اوطاع کا جذبہ بھر دیا۔ دنیا دیکھ کر دنگ رہ گئی
 جب معصوم بچے۔ چھوٹی چھوٹی لڑکیاں لے کر اُردو گھر سے ہیں آ رہے
 تپ، ناشین کن جا رہی ہے آواز آ رہی ہے مکانوں کی کھڑکیاں مل رہی
 ہیں اور ہزاروں بچے، مرد، عورتیں سب تیار کھڑی ہیں یہاں سوال
 پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ مخالف بھی مسلمان ہیں۔ اور یہ بھی کثرتِ مسلمانوں کی ہر
 کس جذبہ مقصد آدرش نے ملک و قوم کی حمایت میں صحیح معنوں میں غرہ
 تکبیر اللہ اکبر پر حق یقین رکھتے ہوئے سب بھائیوں کو گلے لگا رکھا
 اور ایک ساتھ دشمن کا مقابلہ کیا۔ وہ اصول اور آدرش یہ تھا کہ پاکستان
 دو قوموں کی تھنوری کا قیام ہے۔ اس کے خیال میں پاکستان اسلامی
 ملک ہے اس میں غیر مسلم امان نہیں پاسکتے اور ہندو مسلم اکٹھے نہیں
 رہ سکتے اسی جذبہ اور خیال کے تحت اس نے ہندوستان سے جدا
 ہو کر اپنا علیحدہ گھر بنایا اور پاکستان نام رکھا نام خوبصورت ہے
 پر معنی ہے مگر افسوس اسے پاک جگہ کہنا جبکہ سوائے مسلم بھائیوں

کے غیر مسلم آرام و آسائش کا سانس نہیں لے سکتا اور اس کا جان و مال
 محفوظ نہیں ہے اور پھر جہاں کی حکومت اور اس کی فوج نے جس
 قدر ظلم و ستم تشدد و قتل و خون کشمیر مولوں کا کیا اس کے پیش نظر اسے
 پاکستان کہنا صریحاً غلطی ہے اس کے تعلق ہمارے محترم مولینا محمد
 سعید مسودی جیسے عالم و فاضل اور اسلامی روایات نہ جاننے والے غلط
 قرآن اور قربانی مجسم کی رائے ملاحظہ کریں وہ فرماتے ہیں کہ پاکستانی
 حکمرانوں کا دعوے ہے کہ پاکستان ایک پاک سرزمین ہے لیکن حقیقت
 کی نگاہوں سے دیکھا جائے تو جتنی ناپائیدار پاکستان میں پوری
 ہیں اس کے مقابلہ میں ہمارا ملک کشمیر بالکل پاک ہے اس وقت
 راولپنڈی اور لاہور نہیں بد معاشی کے اتنے اڈے ہیں کہ انسان کو
 افسوس آتا ہے۔ علی الاعلان شراب خوری ہوتی ہے۔ چوری ڈاکہ قتل
 اور لوٹ مار کی وارداتیں عام ہیں جس ملک میں ایسی باتیں پوری
 ہوں۔ اس ملک کو کیسے پاک سرزمین کہا جاسکتا ہے جب صحیح مسلمان
 کے آگے ساری دنیا پاک ہے تو یہ کہنا کہ فریڈا پاکستان پاک سرزمین ہے محض

یوں ہے
 پاکستان کے دو قومی نظریہ کو نیشنل کانفرنس نے کیسے کھرا دیا
 نیشنل کانفرنس اور اس کا لیڈر شیر کشمیر شیخ محمد عبداللہ دو قوموں کی تقویٰ
 میں اعتقاد نہیں رکھتا بلکہ وہ غیر مذہبی جمہوریت، رواداری، یکجہتی، متحدہ
 قومیت اور ہندو مسلم سکھ استہزاء میں یقین رکھتا ہے اور نیشنل کانفرنس اور
 اس کے لیڈر نے صرف مذہبی جمع خیر نہیں کیا لفظی دعوے نہ تھا کسی
 میں پورا اثر کھنکھناتی میں پاس ہوا اور مہاتما گاندھی جی کے فلسفہ پر
 محبت کو اپنایا اور دنیا کو دکھا دیا کہ بلا لفظ مذہب و ملت سب بھائیوں
 کو ایک ساتھ آزادی بہتری، ترقی کے مواقع میسر آئے اور سب کو بھائی
 بھائی کس طرح مل جل کر محبت پریم رواداری آزادی سے زندگی
 بسر کرنے کا حق ہے۔ اور مکمل جمہوریت، مساوات حق انصاف کا دور
 دورہ قائم کرنے کے پروگرام کو پورا کیا۔ ورنہ اگر یہ سہری اصول
 آدرش مدنظر نہ ہوتا۔ محض فرقہ وارانہ ذہنیت غالب آتی اور تنگ
 خیالی ہوتی تو صرف مذہبی نعرہ کے زیر اثر پاکستانیوں کے ساتھ ملنے سے

کو ان طاقت روک سکتی تھی جبکہ وہاں کوئی پولیس یا فوج نہ تھی۔ مگر نہیں
 آخر دم تک نیشنل کانفرنس اپنے اصول پر ڈٹی رہی اور شیر کشمیر نے عام
 لوگوں خاصکر ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کو ڈر ہارس دی۔ اور ہمیشہ جو حملہ بلند
 رکھنے کی تلقین کی اور رب کو موت کے منہ سے بچا یا مکمل حفاظت کی

ہندوستان کی امداد اڑے وقت میں

اس وقت کوئی چارہ نہ تھا۔ اور ضروری تھا کہ ہندوستان کی امداد
 حاصل کی جائے۔ کیونکہ ہندوستان کے نیتیاؤں کا بکس کے رہنا
 نے ہمیشہ ہمارے وقت ہماری امداد کی۔ ہمیں سہارا دیا۔ ہمارے جد بزرگ
 رکھا۔ برعکس اس کے پاکستانیوں سابقہ مسلم لیگیوں نے ہماری مخالفت
 کی اور سرسید دشمنی کی۔ اس لئے ایسے نازک دور میں جبکہ دشمن قریب
 پہنچ چکا تھا۔ اپنے دوست اور مربی اور آزمائے ہوئے ساتھیوں
 ہمدردوں کو ہی پکارا جاسکتا ہے۔ چنانچہ جس جذبہ اقتدار دعوئے سے
 امداد کی خواہش کی گئی اسی جذبہ فرس شناسی اور ہمدردی سے

فوراً ہی اتحاد پہنچ گئی۔ یہ غصہ ہی امداد تھی۔ بس پھر کیا تھا۔ ایک طرف ملک میں
 یکجہتی، اتفاق اور باہمی اعتماد اور دوسری طرف بھارت کی سینا فوج۔
 آخر دشمن کو بھیجے دیکھ لیا۔ شہری جیسا ہر لال نے اس بات کو تسلیم کیا کہ
 اگر نیشنل کانفرنس اور شیخ صاحب کا تعاون نہ ہوتا۔ اور مکمل اتحاد و اتفاق
 نہ ہوتا تو خواہ کتنی ہی فوج ہوتی کامیابی مشکل تھی۔ بد قسمتی سے کچھ علاقہ
 ابھی دشمن کا قبضہ میں ہی رہا کہ جنگ بند ہو گئی۔ سینئر نائبر کا حکم ہو گیا
 اور اب تین سال سے یہ۔ این۔ او میں کیس لٹک رہا ہے۔ فیصلہ ہوتا
 کہ نہیں آتا۔ اور کسی کمیشن آئے۔ نہ امیدے آئے۔ لیکن اب تک کچھ فیصلہ
 نہیں ہوا۔ اس کا ذکر بعد میں کیا جائیگا۔

نیشنل کانفرنس کے حکومت کن حالات میں سنبھالی !

اب جہاں نیشنل کانفرنس کے سامنے "نیا کشمیر" کے منصوبہ پر سیاسی
 آزادی حاصل کرنے کے بعد عمل کرنے کا پروگرام بنایا گیا ہے۔ "ہمارے گناہ"
 اور امن و اطمینان کی فضا میں حکم اور قوم کو ترقی بخشنے والا اقتصادی خوشحالی

آزادی کی طرف لیجاں لٹا کر جنگ کی ایک مصیبت نازل ہو گئی۔ ساتھ ہی جہاں
 سینکڑوں تیلوں پر روشن توپ و ہندوق مبنحالے تیار ہر تیار ہے
 اور جہاد کا پرچار ہو رہا ہے۔ اور پھر قحط و سیلاب کی مصیبت اسڑکات
 پڈل کے ٹوٹ جانا، راستہ جات کا بند ہو جانا، موسم ٹہنا، موافقت بارشیں
 اور ہر فہدی سے عظیم نقصان کا ہو جانا، انہریوں ایکڑ زمین کا بیکار ہو جانا
 لاکھوں من غلہ کی پیداوار کا نقصان ہو جانا۔ اندر مالیہ و اضی جنگلات
 کسم و غیرہ کی آمدنی کا کم ہو جانا، خزانہ کا خالی ہو جانا، کوئی فوج نہیں
 پولیس نہیں تحصیل نہیں خزانہ نہیں سب نظام درہم برہم ہو چکا تھا
 اسی حالت میں سب سے پیشتر لاکھوں انہریوں کو خاص کر جو ریاض و ہیمیر
 ہو چکے تھے۔ بے گھر اور بے درتھے۔ اور نہایت مصیبت اور عذاب میں
 اسے لئے پھر رہے تھے۔ ان کو بھانا آ آباد کرنا اتھیں راشن کپڑا مکان
 دینا، ان کی زندگی جان و مال کی حفاظت کا کام کرنا تھا۔ اور اندرونی ملک
 کا نظریہ و تسخیر ننھالنا، امن قائم رکھنا، فرقہ وارانہ یکجہی اتفاق کو قائم
 رکھنے کا فکر کرنا تھا۔ اس قدر عظیم کام و ذمہ داریاں نیشنل کانفرنس کے

سمران پر ہیں کہ ان سے عہدہ برا ہونا سبکدوش ہونا آسان کام نہ تھا
 لاکھوں انسانوں کو زندہ رکھنے کا پہلا کام کرنا تھا۔ جس کے لئے ضروریات
 زندگی کا جمع کرنا دوسرے لانا، دوسرا تک پہنچانا، لاکھوں کروڑوں کا خرچ
 آن بڑا۔ شاہوکاراں، غلہ داروں نے چیلنج دیدیا کہ دیکھیں گے کہ نیشنل
 کانفرنس و شیخ محمد عبداللہ کس طرح ان لوگوں کو بچا سکتا ہے۔ زندہ رکھ سکتا
 ہے۔ جبکہ تمام ضروریات زندگی ہمارے ہاتھ میں ہیں ہم چاہیں تو ان کو
 زندہ رکھیں چاہیں۔ بھوکے مار دیں۔ یہ لوگ ہمارے رحم پر ہیں وغیرہ
 اس چیلنج کو نیشنل کانفرنس نے منظور کیا اور لاکھوں روپیہ خرچ کر کے ٹرک
 خرید کئے گئے۔ اور ضروریات زندگی کا سامان اکٹھا کیا گیا۔ اب تک یہ سلسلہ
 جاری ہے۔ اور پنجاب سے لداخ تک سینکڑوں میلوں کی دُشوار گزار فٹ
 طے کر کے مال لیجانا آسان کام نہیں ہے۔ وہ آپ پڑھ سکتے ہیں۔ اس
 کے لئے کہتے ہیں اورا تجارت بھڑے پڑے ہیں۔

واضح رہے کہ نیشنل کانفرنس کا کام نیشنل گورنمنٹ کو ڈیفنڈ کرنا
 ہی نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ صحیح اور باطنی معاملات اور حقیقت سے

جہ کہ نہ ابھی نہیں نیشنل کانفرنس نیشنل گورنمنٹ اور عوام کے درمیان کو
 ہے اور ملک و قوم کی آزادی خوشحالی حق و انصاف مساوات ایسا حق
 ان فی ہمدردی سیاسی اور اقتصادی آزادی اور بہتری کی جاتی ہے اس پہلو
 پس جہاں بھی کوئی شخص یا پارٹی نیشنل گورنمنٹ کی جائز شکایت نوٹس
 میں لائے یقیناً اس کا جواب متعلقہ محکمہ سے لیا جاسکتا ہے۔ زیادہ کہیں
 کہ نیشنل گورنمنٹ انٹریم گورنمنٹ ہے۔ عارضی ہے۔ جب کہ کوئی دہائی
 وارث نہ تھا سب نظام ختم ہو چکا تھا۔ اور ملک و قوم کی کشتی طوفانی
 لہروں میں پھنسی تھی اور روہنے کو تھی۔ دشمن دروازے پر اچکا تھا
 قریب تھا کہ وہ ہمارے خوبصورت ملک پر قابض ہو کر ہمیں ہمیشہ کیلئے
 غلام کر مصیبت اور عذاب میں مبتلا کر دیتا۔ نیشنل کانفرنس اور اس
 کا لیڈر بہادر نیک دل شیخ عبداللہ میدان میں کود پڑا اس نے منہ لہر
 لہو پڑی کشتی کا چمپو بننا لیا۔ اور اس کو طوفانی لہروں سے بچا لیا
 کچھ کشتی ساحل پر نہیں لگی عظیم جہازت موجود ہیں جنگ کی نفا تاہم
 ہے۔ مگر ان حالات میں نظام حکومت کو ہنھالنا اور اسے توجہ دینا

ہیوٹی دنیا کو یسٹا اور کاروبار چلانا۔ چہل پہل کا سماں پیدا کر دینا نیشنل
 کانفرنس اور اس کے لیڈر کا ہی کام ہے اگر آپ کا تعاون و اعتماد محفوظ
 اور قائم رہا تو یقیناً یہ مسئلہ آرمودہ بہادر لیڈر کشتی کو بہ سلامت ساحل
 پر لگا دیگا۔ غلطیاں نکالنا اور نکتہ چینی کرنا آسان ہے۔ مگر ہر آڑے
 وقت انتہائی مشکلات میں اپنے ملک میں امن قائم رکھنا اور کاروبار
 جاری رکھنا مشکل کام تھا۔ جبکہ بیرونی اور اندرونی دشمنوں سے
 مچھرتا قدرتی طاقتیں بارش برف سیلاب خشک سالی قحط وغیرہ
 بھی مخالف تھیں۔

آج مخالف عنصر جہاں نیشنل گورنمنٹ پر نکتہ چینی کرتا ہے اسی
 وہ نیشنل کانفرنس کو بھی کوستا ہے۔ ٹھیک ہے نیشنل کانفرنس نیشنل
 گورنمنٹ کے افعال و کردار کے نتائج سے بچ نہیں سکتے مگر تجربی
 نکتہ چینی نہایت نامناسب اور دشمنی پر مبنی ہے البتہ تعمیری نکتہ
 چینی کو ہم ہر وقت خوش آمدید کہنے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ اگر نیا نیچے
 سے ملک اور قوم کی بہتری و آزادی ترقی کے لئے کوئی مشورہ و سفید

تجربہ پیش کی جائے۔ تو اسے شکریہ کیا تھ قبول کیا جاسکتا ہے ورنہ اگر
 لڑکھوت بھٹی مخالفت و دشمنی کی خاطر ہی کی جائے اور شکر یہی کارروائی
 کیے لئے الزام تراشی شور شراب کیا جائے تو اس کا کیا جواب ہے سوائے خاموشی
 کے درست ہی خواہ ہمدردی کی بات تو ماننے کے قابل ہوتی ہے یا جو تہمید
 نکتہ چینی کمر کے مفید اور اچھا مشورہ ہے۔ جس سے سارے ملک اور قوم
 یکجا ہو۔ ورنہ دشمنی اور غدارانہ طریق عمل کا کیا جواب ہے سوائے اس کے
 کہ ایسے خطرناک عناصر سے عوام کو وقت پر خبردار کیا جائے اور ان کی فریب
 کاری دھوکا کو آشکارا کیا جائے

مخالفت طرف سے آواز آتی ہے کہ مذہب جوہ گورنمنٹ عوام کی منتخب شدہ
 نہیں ہے۔ باقاعدہ لوگوں کی رائے سے آئینی گورنمنٹ ہونی چاہیے وغیرہ
 اس میں شک نہیں کہ موجودہ گورنمنٹ بھی غیر آئینی نہیں ہے البتہ عارضی ہے
 اور سوائے آئین کے مستحق کام پر عبور ہونے کی حالت میں عوامی راج
 اور قانونی ذمہ داری جمہوریت کے اصولوں پر تمام ملک کی آزادی رائے کے
 بعد قائم شدہ اسمبلی اور اپنا آئین بنانے کے بعد جیسی پارلیمنٹ ہو سکتی

ہے ایسی نہیں ہے جس کے لئے اسمبلی بلائی جا رہی ہے۔ تاہم جو کام اس نے اب تک کیا وہ سب کے نام سے ہے

ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق کیوں؟

جہاں سب سے پہلے ثبوت ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق و دوستی کا
 نیشنل کانفرنس و شیخ صاحب نے دیا جبکہ ہندوستان کی فوج منگائی گئی
 وہاں نیشنل کانفرنس نے ہر اتفاق رائے پس کیا کہ ہمارے ملک جوں و
 کشیر کا الحاق ہندوستان کیساتھ ہے و غیرہ نیشنل کانفرنس کے لئے
 پروگرام اور ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق کرنے کے فیصلہ نے دنیا کی
 آنکھیں کھول دیں اور کمزوروں باشندگان ہندوستان کی ہمدردیاں
 حمایت حاصل کر لیں۔ اس کے علاوہ شیر کشمیر شیخ صاحب نے جو نہایت قابل
 تعریف اور رستی دنیا تک یاز رکھنے والا کارنامہ کیا وہ یہ تھا کہ ہزاروں
 سکھوں کی جان بچائی انہیں امن و پناہ دی اور رستی و زندگی اور زندگی و موت غیر
 جمہوریت کے اصولوں کا اعلان فی سمزدی رواداری کا دیا۔ اور ہمارے تمام جمعی کے فلسفہ

اور پرہیز کے اصول پر پھول چڑھائے۔

کشمیر اور نیشل کانفرنس کے ملک کیلئے کیا کیا

جب قبائلی پاکت فی شہر کے نزدیک پہنچ گئے تو راتوں رات ہمارا جہ
کشمیر والوں سے بسترہ پور یا باندھ کر جموں چلے گئے اور پھر جو کچھ جموں میں
خیر فی ڈرامہ ہوا اس کا تصور لرزہ خیز ہے۔ صبح جوں ہی ہندوؤں اور
مسکھوں نے یہ خبر سنی بچے عورتیں مرد سب سر پیٹ کر رہ گئے اور پھر ان
پہریشیاں متحمت گھبرائے ہوئے مجھے کہنے لگے کہ اب ہمیں کون بچائیں گا جبکہ
قابلی دروازے پر پہنچ چکے ہیں۔ اور جموں میں مسلمانوں کے ساتھ جو بے
رحمانہ، قاتلانہ سلوک ہو رہا ہے۔ اس کی خبر بیاں کشمیر میں پہنچ گئی
میں نے انہیں کہا کہ شیخ عبداللہ بھی آئے گا۔ وہ نیشل کانفرنس کا صدر اور
لیڈر ہے چنانچہ شیخ صاحب نے کہا کہ یہ ہندو مسکھ بھائی گھبرائے ہوئے
ہیں یہ خدا کی امانت ہیں ان کو پناہ دو، امان دو، خوراک اور مکان کا
نہ دو بہت کر دے۔ جوں ہی مجھے معلوم ہوا کہ شیخ صاحب انہیں خدا کی



امانت سمجھ کر اٹل حفاظت کے ذمہ دار ہیں۔ پھر کوئی خطرہ نہیں سب کو
 ڈھارس دی گئی۔ اور ان ریفیو جینز کو جو ہزاروں کی تعداد میں تھے سرکاری
 مکانات پر اسٹورٹ مکانات، کوٹھیاں سب کھول دی گئیں۔ اور ان کو
 پناہ دی گئی۔ اور شیخ صاحب نے نیشنل کانفرنس میں ہزاروں من کا اناج غلہ
 والی سبزی لکڑی اکٹھی کر کے دی کہ ہمارے ہندو سکھ بھائیوں کو کھلاؤ۔
 اور ایک وقت آئی آگیا جبکہ ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کو عظیم خطرہ جان لاکھ
 ہونگی شیشہ کشیر میدان میں آیا اور اعلان کیا خبردار کسی بے گناہ کو
 کچھ نہ کہو۔ جموں کے مسلمانوں کے قاتل یہ ہندو سکھ بھائی نہیں ہیں۔ انکی
 طرف کوئی آنکھ اٹھا کر نہ دیکھے۔ اور جب تک میرے جسم میں ایک قطرہ خون
 باقی ہے۔ اور ایک سانس چلتا ہے تب تک کوئی شخص ان ہندو اور
 سکھ بھائیوں اور بہنوں تانوں کو تعصبات نہیں پہنچا سکتا۔ یہ ہماری تائیں
 ہیں اور بھائی ہیں۔ اور ہم نیشنل کانفرنسی میں ہم پریم محبت رحم و کرم
 حق و انصاف کا فرض و مقصد رکھتے ہیں۔
 اس کے علاوہ فوراً ہی جموں پنج کر لا کھول ریفیو جینز کو پناہ دی

خوراک امکان کا انتظام کیا کیمپ کھولے گئے۔ لاکھوں کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ
 کیا گیا۔ اور اب تک کم و بیش سلسلہ جاری ہے۔ جو درونا کی حالت اس وقت
 ان مصیبت زدوں کی تھی۔ وہ سب کو مندوم ہے اس وقت سوائے نیشنل
 کانفرنس اور شیخ صاحب کے کوئی تھا جو ہمدرد اور ہر لحاظ سے انہیں نے کچلے
 رکھا یا جان بچائی۔ اب آپ بتائیں کہ یہ کس قدر اعلیٰ عظیم ہمدردی،
 پیار و محبت یکجہتی اور انسانی ہمدردی کا سلوک ہے جبکہ ہندو دھرم
 ہندو راج کا لغوہ لگانے والے سب رفوچکر ہو چکے تھے اور کوئی دیوانی وارث
 نہ تھا۔ دشمن سامنے تھا۔ تو پ ہندو قیچل رہی تھی۔ ملک کے اندر جموں
 کے ناحق خون کے قصے، حرمیں سنگرمہراؤں کے خون ابل رہے تھے۔ اس
 وقت ہندو سکھوں کو بچانا گئے۔ نہ ان کو پناہ دینا ان سے محبت کرنا،
 نیشنل کانفرنس اور اس کے لیڈر کا یہی کام تھا۔ یہ وہ کام ہے جس
 نے آج کروڑوں ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کے دل میں نیشنل کانفرنس اور شیخ
 صاحب کی محبت و عزت پیدا کر دی ہے اس سنہری اور ملمہ نیک نیاک
 فرض انسانی اور بے نظیر مثال پر نہ صرف کروڑوں ہندوؤں سکھوں اور

ہندو کے مسلمانوں نے تعریف کی اور شیخ صاحب کے اس کارنامے کو ایک
 تواریخ شہری کارنامہ تصور کیا۔ بلکہ اس کی تصدیق میں دنیا کا بڑا انسان جو کچھ
 کہہ گیا ہے۔ یہ سچ ہے کہ جب ہندو مسلم کٹ رہے تھے تو گاندھی جی نے
 کہا کہ انہیں ہندوستان میں اندھیل نظر آ رہا ہے۔ اگر روشنی کا چمک ہے
 تو وہ کشمیر میں ہے اور وہ روشنی انہیں شیخ محمد عبداللہ میں دکھائی دی
 جس نے باوجود جہلوں کے خوفی واقعات کے دماغ کو قائم رکھا اور
 ہندوؤں کے گھلے لگایا۔ ان کی جان و مال و عزت کو بچایا ان کے
 دہرم کو کم نہ رہا۔ دلت کا رکھا صرف شیخ صاحب ہی متفہم اب بتلیے
 کہ اس سے بڑھ کر ہم کسے اپنا لیڈر مانیں اور اگر اس کے لئے شیر کشمیر
 زندہ باد کا نعرہ لگائیں تو اور کس کا لگا بیٹھ آج ہے گوئی وہ ہندو
 سکھ، مسلمان، شیوا اور بدترید دشمن جو نیشنل کانفرنس اور شیخ صاحب
 کے برخلاف شک و شبہ کو دل میں لایا بیٹھ گیا بڑا بھلا کہیگا۔

نیا کشمیر کے چند دفعات کی علیٰ صورت زمین کنسان کی ملکیت وغیرہ

اب آپ نے سمجھ لیا کہ نیشنل کانفرنس اس کا پروگرام اس کا جھنڈا اور
لیڈر کون ہے اور ذکر آچکا ہے کہ جب ہم نے "نیا کشمیر" کا منصوبہ تیار
کیا۔ اور مشتمل کیا۔ پاس کیا۔ تو ہمارا ارادہ پروگرام اور نیت کیا تھا یہی
کہ اس پر عمل کیا جائیگا۔ کس قدر آزادی ملی یعنی مطلق العنانہ شخصی راج
کے مطالب سے نجات ملی ابھی ہم دم نہیں لینے پاس تھے مل کر بیٹھے
سوچ بچار کرنے کا وقت نہ ملا کہ مصیبت، مشکلات، جنگ وغیرہ کے مہار
ٹوٹی پڑے اسلئے اگر ہم "نیا کشمیر" پر عمل نہیں کر سکے، تو موجودہ حالات
وہ بنا کردہ مشکلات کے پیش نظر مجبور تھے۔ اور مجبور ہیں۔ مگر بایں ہمہ تمام
مشکلات اور مخالفت و رکاوٹوں کے ہم سب سے اول اور تو ہم غرض نہ
مقصد کو نہیں بھولے اور وہ یہ تھا کہ جس محنت کش مزدور اور مل والے
کا جھنڈا ہم نے بلند کیا ہے اس کی بھلائی بہتری کی خاطر قدم اٹھانے میں
دیر کرنا ایک گناہ ہے خواہ جنگ ہو ہمارا مصیبت آئے مگر اس سبب

بخش قیمتی طبقتہ کے معیار زندگی کو بلند کرنے اسے اذپر اٹھانے اسے اپنا
 بھائی سمجھ کر اپنے ساتھ شریک کرنے کی طرف جس قدر ممکن ہو سکے قدم بڑھایا
 جائے۔ چنانچہ زرعی اصلاحات کا کام جاری کیا گیا۔ لاکھوں کنال زمین غریب
 کاشتکاروں کو دی گئی۔ ان کو مالک بنایا گیا۔ اب غلہ کی پیداوار بڑھ گئی۔
 کنال کاشتکار اطمینان قلب سے اپنی محنت کماٹی کا پھل کھا بیگا۔ اس کی
 تہان میں جات آگئی۔ اور جو نہایت سے قریباً تین لاکھ ہری جنوں میں ایک
 نئی زندگی آگئی اور ان کی تاریک دنیا روشن ہوئی۔ اور جو صدیوں سے
 بے گھر بے درختے رہتے۔ سہمی جواب میں بھی کبھی یہ امید نہ تھی۔ ان کو
 ایک بنا دینا۔ اور ان کو گلے لگانا اور جھوٹ چھات کو دور کر دینا ان کی
 سوسائٹی میں ان کا درجہ مساوی کرنا اور آئندہ ان میں سے احساس
 کمزری کو تھماؤ اور کرتے کا انتظام کرنا نیشنل کانفرنس اور شیخ صاحب کا
 ہی کام ہے۔ کہ وہ ان سے انجلیگر سے کتاب سے اور ان کے گلے میں پھولوں کا
 ہار پہنا رہے۔ ہر رک دیتا ہوا خوشی سے پھولے نہیں سمانا۔

نیشنل کانفرنس اور موجود حکومت کے کارنامے کو مد نظر رکھتے ہوئے عوام کو درست دشمن میں
فرق کرنے چاہیئے !

میں حیران ہوتا ہوں جب آج مخالف عنصر جتنا سلوک نہایت خلاف
انسانیت اور بے رحمانہ ان غریبوں کیساتھ کر رہا ہے ان کی ہمدردی اور
بھلائی کا دم بھرتے ہیں۔ یہ محض دوط لپٹ لینے کے خاطر۔ مگر یاد رکھیں کہ
اب اس جماعت میں بیداری آچکی ہے۔ یہ اپنے ذہنیت اور دشمن
میں تمیز کرنا جانتے ہیں۔ اگرچہ کئی ایک خود غرض مکتبے ایسے بھی ہیں۔
جو ان میں انتشار پیدا کر کے پھر سے اسی تاریک گڑھے میں غلامی
کی غار میں اپنے بھائیوں کو دھکیلنا چاہتے ہیں جہاں سے صدیوں کے
بند نیشنل کانفرنس نے انہیں نکال کر مشترکہ پلیٹ نارم پر مادی حثیت
سے لاکھڑا کیا ہے اس قسم کے توڑ گھاتک غدار دورت نما دشمنوں
سے ہر وقت خبردار رہنا چاہیئے ان سے بچنا چاہیئے اور جو حق و درجہ
نیشنل کانفرنس و شیخ صاحب نے دیا ہے اذہمیں حد تک آزادی اور

اور عزت سے زندگی بسر کرنے کا موقع دیا ہے اسے کسی قیمت پر نہیں چھوڑنا چاہیے۔

بلاشبہ نیشنل کانفرنس ایک سلمہ واحد سیاسی نمائندہ جماعت ہے جس کا مافی
اور حال روشن ہے اور موجودہ نیشنل گورنمنٹ اس کی بنائی ہوئی ہے اس
سے حساب کتاب لینا اس سے جو امید ہی کرنا نیشنل کانفرنس کا کام ہے چنانچہ
آپ نے حال کے سیشن بمقام سرنگر دیکھ لیا کہ کس طرح ہزاروں سوال
کا جواب منسٹر صاحبان سے لیا گیا اور کس طرح کئی کئی گھنٹے منسٹر صاحبان
نے عوام کے نمائندہ ڈیٹی گیٹوں کو جوابات دیے۔ اور جب تک ان کی
تسلی نہیں کرائی گئی وہ چپ نہیں بیٹھے۔ اور بحث میں پیش کی گئی
اس پر بحث ہوئی غرضیکہ نیشنل گورنمنٹ نے بس وقت تک جو کام
کی وہ چھاپ کر تقسیم کیا گیا۔ اور ممکنہ سیکشنیں و کام سمیت حد تک اب
تک کیا گیا وہ رب آپ کے سامنے ہے

موجودہ حکومت کے کارنامے اور ان کی تحریف

اس کے متعلق تین سالہ کارکردگی "کی کتاب چھپ چکی ہے وہ اس کے ساتھ پڑھ لی جائے۔ اس میں تعلیم، شعبہ تحقیقات آثار قدیمہ، قانون سازی، زمین اور قرضے، زرعی اصلاحات، نہروں کا اجرا، آبپاشی، بجلی کا انتظام، واسطی و رکس، میونسپلٹی، ناکی اصلاح، کوآپریٹو پنچایت سسٹم، گرو مور فوڈ، جنگلات، زراعت، سیل سپلائی، جموں و کشمیر پبلک سہولت عامہ، بجلی نہر کا منصوبہ دہلی کا کام، مزدوروں کی سہولت، ایشیہ خاندان کی ترقی، یونیورسٹی، ٹورائزم کا کام، ایچ پی آر کا کھولنا، ترضادوں کو ریلیف، کالیات کا کام، خوراک کا انتظام، کرنا، زراعت، پیداوار کا بڑھانا، اچھے بچوں کا تجزیہ، تحریک امداد و اجتماعی پبلک سروس، صحت عامہ، سوشل، معاشی منصوبہ بندی، خارجی تجارت، براڈ کاسٹنگ، انفارمیشن سروس، گورنمنٹ ٹرانسپورٹ سپلائی ضروریات زندگی کی بھروسہ، پولیس، سپن برگیڈ، موسم گزاروں، پبلک ورکس، ایئر آرگنائزیشن، کسٹم، محکمہ بجلی، انڈسٹری سیریلز، گورنمنٹ سٹاک لونگ فیلڈ، ڈرگ ریسرچ وغیرہ

عرضیکہ برباد شدہ خال سیاہ ہنر چکی حالت نظام حکومت کے درہم برہم ہونے
 کے بعد جبکہ لاکھوں شہرنا تھیلوں کا عظیم بوجھ پڑ گیا لاکھوں کروڑوں روپیہ
 قرضہ لیکر خرچ کرنا پڑا پھر بھی جبکہ چاروں طرف جنگ کے بادل چھٹے ہوئے
 ہیں اس قدر تھوڑے بہت کاموں کا ہونا اور اپنی طرف سے پھر سے قرضہ
 امن کا سانس لینے اور کاروبار جاری کرنے اور باہمی اتحاد و اتفاق اختیار
 کرنے کے سلسلہ میں حقدار کام ہوا ہے۔ یہ قابل تعریف ہے اور اس کام
 کی نیشنل کانفرنس ہی تعریف نہیں کرتی بلکہ ہندوستان کے رہنما جو گورنمنٹ
 کا کام سمجھتے ہیں مثلاً پرنسپلٹ راجندر پرشاد۔ شری جواہر لال نہرو
 وزیر اعظم ہندوستان۔ آئینکے صاحب و دیگر منسٹر صاحبان انڈیائی میسج
 گورنمنٹ کے انتظام اور کام کی تعریف کی ہے
 اس وقت تک جو کچھ کسی دنیا سے انسان جیوں کو شمیرتا ہے۔ وہ
 دیکھتا ہے راز جاتے ہوئے اپنے تاثرات رائے چھوڑ دیتا ہے اور وہ
 مشہور ہوتی ہے

مسئلہ کشمیر اور یو۔ این۔ او کی سازشیں

نیشنل کانفرنس نے اس بات کو محسوس کیا کہ اب ہمیں مزید

وغیر یقینی حالت اس عارضی انتظام کو جاری نہیں رکھنا چاہیے۔ اور جب
عوام کی حکومت عوام کیلئے بنانے کا اہم کام کرنا چاہتی ہے تو ان کی رائے
کا لیا جانا ضروری ہے۔ چنانچہ کافی انتظار کے بعد جب یو۔ این۔ او سے
مایوس ہو گئے اور دہال کی خود غرضانہ ان کے اپنے قومی ملکی مفاد کے
پیش نظر شاطرانہ چالوں سے کشمیر کے میدان میں سب سے پہلے
بنانے والے اور دائرہ اسے لٹکانے والے کچھ نہ کر سکے۔ بلکہ آئے دن
ہمیں اور مصیبتوں میں مبتلا کر رہے ناپاک ارادے کرنے لگے۔ اور ہمارے ملک
پیس انگلو امریکن بڈا کے آئے بنانے اور غیر ملکی فوجوں کے عمل دخل کے
منصوبے باندھے گئے جس سے ہمارا ملک دوسلر کوریابن جانے اور چین
اس کے ہمسایہ ملکوں کے برخلاف پاکستان سے بلکہ اس کے نزدیک عالم
ملک کو میدان جنگ کا اکھاڑ بنانے کا خطرہ آک ساروش ہونے لگی۔

اقتصادی بد حالی کو دور کرنے اور غیر یقینی حالات کا مقابلہ کرنا کیلئے منظور شدہ

اسمبلی کا اعلان

تو ہم مجبور ہو گئے کہ یو۔ این۔ او اور کسی دوسرے ملک کے فیصلہ دینے کے انتظار کے اپنے قسمت کا فیصلہ خود کریں کیونکہ ہم ہر طرح مایوس ہو چکے ہیں۔ چونکہ ہمیں حق خود ارادیت حاصل ہے۔ اسے سنبھالنا سیکھنا چاہیے۔ اور ہم اپنی آزادی جو ہم نے خامی قیمت دیکر حاصل کی ہے چھوڑنے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہیں۔ اور نہ ہی کسی بڑی سے بڑی عدالت کا یک طرفہ فیصلہ جو ہم پر ٹھوسا جائے۔ ماننے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ اور نہ ہی کسی کو ہمارے ملک کے حصے بکھرے کرنے کا اختیار ہے اور نہ ہی ہمارے ملک کی قسمت سے کھیلنے کا کسی کو حق ہے۔ ہمارا ملک کوئی بھی چیز بکری نہیں۔ کوئی جنس یا شے نہیں جس کا سودا کیا جاسکے۔ ہم غلام بنے ہیں۔ کمزور اور بیمار نہیں کہ ہم دوسروں کے ہر حکم کی مملکت اور دھوکہ کھائے۔ اس لئے تسلیم ختم کر دیں گے۔ ہمارے فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ ہم دستور ساز اسمبلی

بلائی گئے اور تمام ملک اور قوم کو اظہارِ رائے کرنے کا موقع دیا گیا تاکہ وہ
 آپس میں خود تیار کر کے تمام ضروری امور کا فیصلہ کریں۔ اور جو قانون جو عدل سے
 عارضی حکومت نے اب تک بنا رکھے ہیں۔ ان کی منظوری یا منہاجہ جوں کی گتھیر
 کی تا کم شدہ پارلیمنٹ سے حاصل کی جائیگی۔ پھر کسی کو کوئی اعتراض نہ ہوگا

اسمبلی کے لئے سے پاکستان اور جوت پسند ملکوں میں یگانہ
 جوں ہی ہم نے دستور ساز اسمبلی کا اعلان کیا۔ نہ صرف پاکستان بلکہ ایٹلو
 امریکن فیڈریشن مخالف ہو گئیں اور آسمان سر پر اٹھا رکھا ہے عجیب صورت
 ہے عجیب دانا، منصف اور قانون دان لوگ ہیں کہ جو حق ہمارا اپنے
 سے چلا آتا ہے کہ ہم اپنا آئین بنائیں۔ اور اسمبلی قائم کریں اس سے روکا
 جاتا ہے مخالفت میں کوئی دلیل و محقول و جوازات نہیں ہیں۔ قص
 خود غرضی یا بوس ملک گیری کا جذبہ کار فرما ہے۔ ٹھیک ہے وہ کیوں
 نہ مخالفت کریں انہیں معلوم ہے کہ ان کے پاؤں سے زمین نکلی رہی
 ہے اور سب کچھ کو نہ رتھوار انہوں نے مائل کرتے کام توڑ ڈیر لگایا اور

ناکام رہے ہیں۔ اور اب تک جنگ و جدل کرنے کی دھمکیاں اٹھاتے رہے ہیں
 اور ہر وقت شور مچاتے ہیں کہ کشمیر کے بغیر ان کا گوارہ نہیں کشمیر کو لے کے رہیں
 گے۔ اس خوبصورت ملک کی وادیاں و دولت کی کانیں ان کو لپھار ہی ہیں۔
 اسمبلی کے بعد ملک کے نمائندگان کی رائے سب کشمیر ہندوستان کے ساتھ مستقل
 طور پر شامل ہو جائیگا۔ اور آئینی طور پر کشمیر کے ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق کی
 گئی تھی لیکن اب جاکسیکی تو نہ تو پاکستان کو یہاں پاؤں رکھنے کی اجازت
 ہونگی نہ غلام کشمیر والے باغی حیثیت سے رہ سکتے ہیں۔ لازمی طور پر سابقہ
 مستقل حدود ریاست سے پار سب مخالفین نوجوں کو جانا پڑیگا۔ اور جو
 حصہ باغیوں کے قبضہ میں ریاست کا ہے وہ چند دنوں کے اندر واپس لیا
 جائیگا۔ اور پھر جو زرعی اصلاحات وغیرہ ریاست میں ہو رہی ہیں۔ اس قسم
 کی اصلاحات پاکستانی بھی مانگیں گے اور وہاں انفرافری پیدا ہوگی۔ اور ان کے
 جاگیرداروں راجاؤں کا دور ختم ہو جائیگا۔ اور دوسری طرف اینگلو امریکن
 بڈاک کو بڑا صدمہ ہوگا کہ ان کی تمام سکیمیں اسے چین اور روس کے
 برخلاف سرزمین کشمیر کی غلطی، الدراج میں جنگی اٹے بنانے اور ان کے

انہوں نے انہوں کے داخلہ کے سلسلہ میں خاک میں مل جائیں گے۔ اس لئے وہ اٹری
پورنی کا زور لگا رہے ہیں اور نہایت غلط جھوٹ بے بنیاد و نامعقول
افواہوں اور خبروں کی اشاعت دے رہے ہیں۔ اور کشمیر کی گورنمنٹ اور
نیشنل کانفرنس کو بدنام کرنے کی مخالفت کرنے کیلئے تھ ہندستان کو دنیا میں
بدنام کرنے کی ناپاک کوشش کر رہے ہیں۔ دن رات جھوٹا پریسنگڈا، ہتھان
تراشی کا کام جاری ہے مگر ہمیں اپنا کام کئے جانا چاہیے۔

عجیب صورت ہے کہ جہاں پاکستان وغیرہ مخالف ہیں وہاں ہمارے یہاں
فرقہ پرست سنگی جواب پر جا پر لشد کے نام پر میدان میں آئے ہیں۔ نئے
پیپے اسمبلی کی مخالفت کی لیکن اب ممبری کے لالچ میں الیکشن لڑنے کے لئے
تیار ہیں۔ الیکشن میں ہر کسی کو ہر طرح کی آزادی ہے مگر فرقہ دارانہ زہر
پھیلا نا اور پھر سے وہی فضا پیدا کرنے کی تباہ کن حالت پیدا کرنا اسی طرح
بھی ملک اور قوم کی یکجہتی اور حفاظت و ترقی کے حق میں نہیں ہو سکتی بلکہ
اس سے دشمنوں کو فائدہ پہنچتا ہے ان کو سابقہ سیاہ کاریوں کی تلافی کرنی
پر اکتفا کرنا چاہیے۔ نہ کہ از سر نو پھر سے وہی خوفی ڈرامہ دہرانے کی ناپاک

کوشش کی جائے۔ ان لوگوں کے پاس کوئی پروگرام نہیں ہے ان کی کوئی خدا
 و قربانی نہیں ہے۔ جب ملک تباہ برباد ہوا کوئی بنگھانے والا نہ تھا
 لاکھوں ہمارے بھائی بے گھر در بدر مارے مارے پھر رہے تھے۔ تو یہ سنگی
 پر جا پریشدی میاں سے مال اب باب بیکر باہر جا چکے تھے۔ آپت کال کے
 وقت بے مکھ ہو گئے۔ سب سے امی کے بد امنی پیدا کی گئی۔ انہوں نے نہ تو جوں
 نہ کشمیر میں آئے وقت اپنے ہندو سکھوں کی کوئی حفاظت کی بلکہ جھوٹے
 بڑے سب مکھ موڑ گئے۔ پیچھے دے گئے۔ اب آ موجود ہوئے ہیں۔ ان سے
 پوچھا جاسکتا ہے کہ آپ نے اس وقت تک بڑے پیٹریے بدلے ہیں
 کمی بہروپ دھارے ہیں۔ اور خرابی کی کالی کشتی لڑنے کے لئے تیار ہوئے
 مگر غلط بیانی اور موجودہ گورنمنٹ جس کا کام روز روشن کی طرح ظالمیت
 اور نیکل کانفرنس جس کی خدمات قربانیاں کارہائے نمایاں اظہار شمش ہیں
 گامیاں دینا بڑا بھلا کہنا اور مرگیا احسان فراموشی کرتے گھٹنا کا بیوت
 دینا کتنا افسوس ناک ہے۔

پیرجا پریشد اور ان کے سابقہ کمزورت !

کیا اب بھی آپ جبکہ ہندوستان آزاد ہے وہاں لاکھوں کمزوروں ہمارے
 ہندو مسلم سکھ بھائی امن و امان سمجھتی۔ اتفاق پریم سے رہ رہے
 ہیں۔ اور ہر طرح آزاد ہیں۔ آپ نے لوگوں اور ان کی نسلیں کو بدستور رجواڑہ
 شاہی سرمایہ دارانہ جاگیر دارانہ ظالمانہ نظام کے سخت ظلام اور دلیل
 حالت میں رکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اور بجائے سیاسی اقتصادی آزادی کے ہم
 قرار رکھنے ترقی بہتری کے پروگرام پر عمل کرنے والی جماعت نشین کاغذوں
 کے برخلاف فرقہ دارانہ زہر پھیلانے والی جماعت بنا کر اسے سیاسی جماعت
 اپوزیشن پارٹی کا فرضی نام دینے کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں۔ اور پھر ہندو
 دھرم مانندہ راج کا نعروں لگا کر سادہ لوح انسانوں کو گمراہ کرنا نیت کی
 نصیحتیں کرنا کفر و خطناک ہے۔ ہندو دھرم کی حفاظت و عزت اس ملک
 میں جیکہ سنگ پارٹی نے انتہائی ظلم کشت و خون کا بازار جموں کے محسوم
 بیگناہ مسلمانوں کے خلاف جاری رکھا۔ تو چھوٹے بچوں عورتوں تک کو نہ

چھوڑا، وہ پناہ میں آئیں اور بچیاں چاچو-تاور-بھینا کہہ کر جان بخشی کی
 درخواست کریں وہ تیرا راکم کرشن کا دین مگر انہیں کاٹا جائے۔ ہلاک کیا
 جائے اور میں سے ایک نے بھی سر نہیں اٹھایا۔ ہاتھ کھڑا نہیں کیا۔ گز نہیں
 جھکا دیں اور کٹورائیں رادھ پر یہ دردناک وحشت اور زندگی کا خوفی مظاہر
 اور دوسری طرف نیشنل کانفرنس اور اس کے بہترین لیڈر شیخ محمد عبداللہ جیسے
 نیک ذل پاک انسان کی ہمدردی پریم محبت کا یہ سلوک کہ وہ اڑھائی
 لاکھ ہندو سکھوں کی جان و مال عزت و آبرو دھرم کرم کو بچاتا ہے گلے
 لگاتا ہے کس وقت جبکہ ہمارے دہاں سے جموں راتوں رات چلتے ہیں
 اور تمام رعایا کو دشمن کی توپ و بندوکی کے منہ میں چھوڑ دیتے ہیں اور قبائلی
 پاکستانی فوجیں سترنگ کے دروازے پر پہنچ جاتی ہیں۔ اس وقت ہندو
 دھرم ہندو استھان مندر گوردوارے کس نے بچائے نیشنل کانفرنس نے
 اور شیخ عبداللہ نے آج یہ ہندو دھرم کے ٹھیکیدار موجود ہوئے ہیں
 کچھ شرم آنی چاہیے۔ سبائے گناہوں اپا پوں اتیاچار کا پراسٹھت کرنے
 کے پھر سر اٹھاتے اور اکڑتے ہیں، کیا اب ان کے ضمیر کئے ہوئے گناہوں

سے ایس قدر مرچکے ہیں کہ اپنے ذاتی مفاد و لالچ کے زیر اثر سارے ملک کو
 تباہ کرنے کا ساماں کر رہے ہیں۔ پھر منہ و راج کا بھی کہیں نعرہ لگایا
 جاتا ہے۔ گویا یہ لوگ پھر سے شخصی خود سرانہ حکومت کے دلدادہ ہیں۔ اور اپنے
 آپ کو اپنی آئندہ نسلوں کو غلام و ذلیل حالت میں رکھنا پسند کرتے ہیں
 محض اس لئے کہ ان کی لیڈری بنی رہے اور یہ ممبر اسمبلی بن جائیں۔ واصل
 فرقہ پرست ہیں۔ مگر سیاسی پارٹی کا دعوے کرتے ہیں۔ اور کٹر فرقہ پرست
 ہندوؤں جاگیرداروں سرمایہ داروں کی جماعت کو سیاسی جماعت کہا جاتا
 ہے۔ اور پھر سنگ پارٹی اپنے آپ کو سیاسی پارٹی کا نام دیکر عوام کو گمراہ
 کر رہی ہے۔ اور پر جا پرشید کے نام پر اپنا کام جاری رکھے ہوئے ہے۔
 ہندو راجے یا نواب ہندوستان میں سینکڑوں تھے۔ وہ کہاں ہیں ان
 کا دور ختم ہو گیا۔ یہاں ہمارے بھی شکر شکر کر کے خلاصی ہوئی۔ مگر ابھی کہیں کہیں
 سے آواز آرہی ہے کہ حالات زمانہ انے ہی را بجوڑتے ہی کے اقتدار
 اور واپسی کے مسئلہ کو خواب و خیال بنا دیا۔ شکر ہے کہ زیادہ کوشش نہیں
 کرنی پڑی اب وہاں سے امداد کی امید نہ رہنے سے عوام کو اپنے جال چھانٹنے

ان سے ٹکے بٹورنے کے لئے کوشش کر رہے ہیں۔ جب یہ موجودہ گورنمنٹ پر اعتراض کرتے ہیں اور نیشنل کانفرنس کو برا بھلا کہتے ہیں تو یہ بھول جاتے ہیں کہ اس تعلق میں ہندوستان کے کروڑوں ہندوؤں سکھوں مسلمانوں کی کیا رائے ہے۔ اور گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کی رائے اور کانگریس ہندوؤں کا کیا خیال، استماد نیشنل کانفرنس کے کام و پروگرام اور گورنمنٹ کشمیر کے تعلق کیا ہے۔ وہ مغرب کے سب اعلیٰ اپنی رائے سے چکے ہیں کہ کام تسلی بخش اور ترقی ہو رہی ہے۔ امن و اطمینان ہے اور نیشنل کانفرنس اور شیخ صاحب پر انہیں پورا اعتماد ہے اور اب خصوصیت سے ایسے اڑے ذلت تمام ہندوستان کے لوگ ان کی سول اور فوجی طاقت کشمیر کی سلامتی اس کی حفاظت کے لئے نیشنل کانفرنس اور شیخ صاحب کے ساتھ ہے اور ممکن قربانی کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ وہاں ہمارے یہ سنگی دیپر جا پریشد کا جامہ اڑھ کر گالی نکالتے برا بھلا کہتے ہیں۔ اور پھر عوام کو صرف ایک دو باتیں بتاتے ہیں کہ ہم ہندوستانی کے ساتھ الحاق چاہتے اور وہاں کا وہاں آئین ریاست میں لاگو کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اور اپوزیشن پارٹی بنانا غروری سمجھتے ہیں

ہر جا پر لشکر کے بے بنیاد ہے

عجب صورت ہے جس ملک ہندوستان میں جانا چاہتے ہیں جن لوگوں کی پناہ و امداد کے خواہاں ہیں اور جس گورنمنٹ اور فوج کے سہارے جینا چاہتے ہیں۔ اور جن کی امداد سے پاکستان سے بچنے کے خواب دیکھ رہے ہیں۔ انہی کی رائے کے خلاف ایسے نازک وقت میں اعلانیہ نہ صرف نیشنل کانفرنس بلکہ نیشنل گورنمنٹ کی مخالفت کر رہے ہیں۔ بلکہ ہند کی مخالفت کر رہے ہیں۔ اور جیسا کہ مشرقی جواہر لال نہرو نے کہا ہے کہ ایسے فرقہ پرست پاکستان کے دور کا پارٹا ادا کر رہے ہیں۔ اور کشمیر و ہندوستان کے ساتھ غداری کر رہے ہیں۔ آخر یہ وہی سنگ پارٹی ہے جو آئے دن ہندوستان کی پارلیمنٹ اور کانگریسوں کے خلاف آواز نکالتی رہی ہے۔ اور جس کا نظریہ قطعاً فرقہ دارانہ اور خطرناک ہے اور جو غیر مذہبی جمہوریت کے سراسر خلاف ہے۔ مگر یہ لوگ بھول جاتے ہیں کہ یہاں کس آتش نشان پہاڑ پر کھڑے ہو کر آگ

سے کہیں رہے ہیں۔

پیر جاپریشد جاگیرداروں، سونواروں اور فرقہ پرستوں کی جماعت ہے
 نہ معلوم یہاں کے وہ لوگ جو ان پیر جاپریشدیوں کے بھرے ہیں
 آتے ہیں۔ یہ بھی اور صاف و مقبول بات کیوں نہیں سمجھتے کہ آج جو ب
 ان کے جلسے ہوتے ہیں۔ اور وہی جاگیردار اور سرہایہ دار راہ جوارہ شاہی
 و شاہوکار ان میں شامل ہو کر نعرے لگاتے ہیں تو یہاں کا مسلمان ٹھہرتا
 ہے اور سوچ میں پڑتا ہے کہ یہ وہی کل کے سنگی جھنوں سے پیدریخ
 نقل کی۔ آج ہمدرد ملک بن کر آئے ہیں اور نیشنل کانفرنس کی مخالفت کر
 رہے ہیں پھر جاپریشد ہیں کہ ان کو دھوکا دیا جائے۔ اور ساتھ ہی
 محنت کش مزدورسں ان بھی جس کا بھلائی آزادی آسودگی کے لئے
 نیشنل کانفرنس سرگڑ کو شش کہ رہی ہے سوچنے پر مجبور ہو جاتا کہ
 وہ ان دورست نما دشمنوں سے کیا امید رکھ سکتا ہے جو عملاً اب تک
 لوٹ کھسوٹ کرنے والی طاقتوں کا ساتھ دے رہے ہیں اور پاکستان

کی بولی بول رہے ہیں، اندر سمجھی میں جا رہی محنت کش مزدوروں کی نول
کی قسمت سے کھینٹا چاہتے ہیں۔

عوام کو ان کی چالوں سے خبردار بنایا جائے

آخر ان سے پوچھا جائے کہ تم جو آل جموں و کشمیر پر جا پریشد کہتے
ہو کشمیر کی سرزمین میں آپ کا کہیں نام و نشان بھی ہے۔ اور پھر جموں
میں جبکہ تمہارے اندر سکھ، ہریجن، مسلمان نہیں ہیں فرقہ پرستوں سرایہ و اڑل
جاگیرداروں سا ہو کا ملکا جو اڑہ شاہی کے ایجنٹوں کی جماعت بنا کر عوام
کی نمایندگی کا فرضی جھوٹا دعوے کرتے ہوئے نیشنل کانفرنس اور نیشنل
گورنمنٹ کی مخالفت کرنا کر سکا پاکستان کا پروپیگنڈا کرنا اور اس کی دوستی
کا دم بھرنے ہے۔ اور ہمارے ملک کے ساتھ غداری کرنا ہے۔ خدا نخواستہ
اگر آج دشمن چڑھے اور جنگ ہو یا اور کوئی مصیبت ملک میں آجائے تو
ان سے کیا امداد ملک کی حفاظت و امداد کی ہو سکتی ہے۔ جو لوگ مفاد و خصوصی
ذاتی لالچ کے زیر اثر ان سے کیا امید ملک و قوم کی بھلائی اور نفع عام
ہیوا کی گئی ہے؟

پر جا پریشانی کھوئی ہوئی جاگیروں کو حاصل کرنے کیلئے پاکستان
کی بولی بولتے ہیں

یاد رکھو یہاں کے تمام ہندو سکھ لاکھ کوشش کریں ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق
نہیں کر سکتے جب تک ان کے ساتھ نیشنلسٹ مسلمانوں کے ووٹ نہ ہوں
کیونکہ سارے ملک کا ایک ہی دفعہ فیصلہ ہونا ہے اس کے ٹکڑے پھرنے
مشکل ہیں۔ ان کے ڈیوگر ویش کو الگ کر کے ہندوستان کے ساتھ ملانے
کے خواب و خیال نہایت شرع کے مارے کا نور ہو چکے ہیں۔ جب انہوں
نے ہندوستان کی گورنمنٹ اور عوام سے جھڑکھانی کہ کشمیر سے بے مکھ
ہو کر انہیں کوئی اپنے ساتھ لینے کو نہیں اس لئے سارے ویش کا ہی الحاق
ہو سکتا ہے۔

ان مخالف لوگوں کا دعوئے کچھ اور ہے اور عمل اس کے برعکس ہے
ان کا ایک ایک لفظ اور نعرے اور ہماری مخالفت براہ راست پاکستان کو

تقویت پہنچا رہی ہے۔ اور کشمیر و ہندوستان کے کار کو نقصان پہنچا رہی ہے
 اب یہ سنجیدہ پڑھے لکھے دوراندیش سیاست دان ہندوؤں کا کام ہے
 کہ وہ ان سے پوچھیں کہ آیا یہ کیا چاہتے ہیں۔ کس خیال سے مخالفت کر رہے
 ہیں۔ کیا وہ آئندہ کسی وقت بھی فرقہ وارانہ پالیسی یا کسی مذہب کا راج
 قائم کر سکتے ہیں۔ اور کیا پھر سے ملک کو غلام بنانے میں کامیاب ہو سکتے ہیں
 ہرگز نہیں۔ آخر نیشنل کانفرنس کی طاقت تینٹیم اور پروگرام ایسا ہے کہ
 جسکو آج دنیا سمجھتی ہے۔ اور اس کے کام سے بخوبی واقف ہے۔ اور یہ
 تمام کٹھن اور مشکل امتیازوں میں پاس ہو چکی ہے۔ اور اب ہندوستان کے
 کروڑوں مسلمان ہندوؤں اور لکھوں کو کسی قسم کا شک و شبہ و اعتراض
 نہیں ہے۔ مگر ہری ملک کی بد قسمتی ہے کہ یہ سنگی پر جا پریشدہ
 کاہرپ و حار کر اپنے ملک اور قوم کی تباہی کا سامان کر رہے ہیں۔ اور
 فرقہ وارانہ حیثیت سے اپوزیشن پارٹی بننے کے خواب دیکھ رہے ہیں۔
 حالانکہ فرقہ واری کا آخر خاتمہ ہونا ہے۔ اور یہ لوگ دنیا کی ترقی پسند
 آگے بڑھ رہی تحریکوں اور خاص کر محنت کش مزدوروں کی قیادت کی

موجودہ بیداری اور آزادی کے احساس کے نتیجہ کے طور پر ایک عظیم سیلاب
 کے سامنے آرہے ہیں۔ نہ صرف ختم ہوں گے بلکہ آئندہ نسلوں کی ذلت
 غلامی اور شرمساری، مذمت، تعصبات کا باعث بنیں گے۔ تاریخ پہلے
 لگا کہ انہوں نے کس آڑے وقت اپنے دلش کے ساتھ غداری کی اور دشمن
 کا ہاتھ مضبوط کیا۔

ایسے فرقہ پرست انسانوں کے حق میں ورنہ دنیا قوم اور ملک کے علمبردار
 اور جاگیر شاہی کا غلام بنائے کے مترادف ہے

کون باغیرت حق خود ارادیت رکھنے والا آزادی پسند شخص امیرین القوی
 حالات سے ذرہ بھی واقفیت رکھنے والا انسان شخص مطلق العنانہ حکومت
 اور پھر جاگیر دارانہ سرمایہ دارانہ نظام کے نیچے غلام رہنا جسے پس ہونا
 اور ذلیل زندگی بسرنا پسند کریگا۔ اور پھر کون ناعاقبت اللہ اور اپنی تباہی
 کا سامان پیدا کرنے کی خطرناک غلطی کریگا۔

یاد رکھو محنت کش مزدور اور کسان کی بڑھتی ہوئی طاقت اور مالدت

یہ سمجھتی جمہوریت کے پروگرام و تحریک حسن کی حمایت میں نیشنل کانفرنس ہوتی
 تیار ہے۔ کے سامنے کھڑا ہونے اور لڑنا کسی طرح بھی نہ تو ذاتی نہ
 ملکی قومی مفاد کے حق میں ہے۔ بلکہ صریحاً تباہی بربادی کا باعث ہے

نیشنل کانفرنس کسانوں اور محنت کش مزدوروں کی بھلائی چاہتی ہے
 آج جن غیر زراعت پیشہ و دیگر کاروبار کرنے والے بھائیوں کی بطریق
 مساوی خدمت نیشنل کانفرنس کر رہی ہے اور ان کو بھی محنت کش مزدور
 اور کسانوں کی طرح چھوٹا دیکھنا چاہتی ہے۔ وہ ان کو کچھ نہ دے
 اس موقع پر خبردار کرنا چاہتی ہے۔ اور مشورہ دیتی ہے کہ ہل ولے سرخ
 جھڈے والے محنت کش مزدوروں کسانوں کے مفاد و شرف اور ان کے معیار
 زندگی بلند کرنے کے سلسلہ میں اگر معاونت و مدد نہیں کر سکتے تو مخالفت بھی
 نہ کرو۔ کیونکہ آج جو چپ چاپ فضا دیچ رہے ہو اور برداشت و انتظار
 کا عمل آپ کے سامنے ہے۔ یہ دیر تک رہنا مشکل ہے۔ ہر کوئی ان ان اور
 پھر ملے طور طبقہ جب تصور کریگا کہ کون اس کے ساتھ صریحاً دشمنی کر رہا ہے

اور انکی ترقی و آزادی کے راستہ روٹنا بنانا مولیٰ ہے تو وہ خود فیصلہ کر لیا کہ اب
 اسے اپنے راستہ سے رُکاوٹیں دُور کرنے کے لئے کیا راہ محل اختیار کرنا چاہیے
 آجاکر صرف ایک بات پر یہ فرقہ پرست جماعت زور دیتی ہے کہ ہم
 ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق چاہتے ہیں۔ ذرا ان سے یہ تو پوچھو کہ کیا تم ایسے
 ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق مستقل کر سکتے ہیں۔ اگر نہیں تو آپ کو نیشنل کونگرس
 اور نیشنلٹ سلاٹوں کا ووٹ لینا ضروری ہے اور جن کے ووٹوں کی کثرت
 سے ہی آپ ہندوستان میں شامل ہونے کی دعوت عوام کو دیتے ہیں۔
 انہی کے خلاف زہریلوں اگلتے ہو کیا اس طرح آپ اپنے مقصد میں کامیاب
 ہو سکتے ہو۔ اگر نیشنل کانفرنس اور شیخ محمد عبداللہ پر تمام نیشنلٹ سلاٹوں
 کو خصوصیت سے مکمل اعتماد نہ ہو اور وہ ذرا بھی دھملا یقین ہوں تو ان
 فرقہ پرست مخالفوں کی ایسی ناجائز حرکات خصوصیت سے الحاق کے مسئلہ
 کو خطرناک حالت میں ڈالنے کے لئے کافی ہیں۔ مگر پھر بھی تمام نیشنلٹ
 اپنے ارادے اور اعتماد کو قائم رکھے ہوئے ہیں۔ الا انہیں ان کی یا ایسی
 باتوں پر اظہارِ افسوس ضرور ہوتا ہے۔ اور اس کا اثر کسی وقت بھی بد اعتمادی

پیدا کر سکتا ہے۔ خدا کرے کہ ایسا نہ ہو تو فتح نظر مخالفین کی تباہ کن چالوں اور پروپیگنڈا کے نیشیل کانفرنس نے اپنے پروگرام اور اصول اور مقاصد کو بھی آنکھوں سے اوجھل نہیں ہونے دینا۔

نیشیل کانفرنس اور اسکی حکمرانی کسی بھی فرقہ پرست جماعت کو برسرِ تباہی نہیں لگی

نیشیل کانفرنس کا فرض ہے کہ وہ عوام کی صورت حال سے واقف کرے اور حقیقت سے ہر سمجھدار ہندو تک اپنی آواز پہنچائے کہ جو کھیل آپ کے یہ فرقہ پرست کھیل ہے ہیں۔ یہ آپ رب کے لئے صریح نقصان دہ اور تباہی کا باعث ہے اسمبلی کے بعد کبھی وہی جماعت برسرِ اقتدار ہوگی جس کے اصول مقاصد پروگرام عمل غیر مذہبی جمہوریت پر مبنی ہوگا اور جو ہندوستان کی تھمکل دوستی باہمی خوش اعتمادی اور وفادارانہ جذبات رکھیں گی۔ اگر ہندوستان میں کسی مذہب فرقہ کی حکومت نہیں بن سکتی تو یہاں بھی نہیں بن سکتی اور جس طرح مشرعی جواہر لال نہرو نے مانع الفاظ میں حال کی تواریخی تقریر میں کہا کہ وہ فرقہ پرستی کو کبھی برداشت نہیں کر سکتے

ایزاسے ختم کرنے کی ہر ممکن کوشش کریجیے اگر ان فرقہ پرستوں کو وہ صاف
 طور پر پاکستان کا دوست اور اپنے دلش کا دشمن و غدار سمجھنے میں اسی
 طرح کشمیر میں بھی موجودہ گورنمنٹ انٹرنیشنل کانفرنس ہرگز فرقہ دارانہ منافرت
 اور زہر کو برداشت نہیں کر سکتی۔۔۔۔۔ کیوں کہ یہ ملک اور قوم کے
 لئے نہایت نقصان دہ بات ہے اور ملک کی سیاسی و اقتصادی ترقی
 کے صریحاً برخلاف ہے۔ اور بروقت سر پھیل کرنے اپنے گھر کو آگ لگانے
 اور کشت خون کا بازار گرم کرنے کی ان کو ہرگز اجازت نہیں دی جائیگی
 جو کہ صریحاً ان کی حرکات اور خطرناک اقدامات کا نتیجہ ہے۔

پیشل کانفرنس اپنے ملک کیلئے خود اپنا آئین مرتب کرے گی

ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق کرنے والے فرقہ پرست اس وقت
 کہاں تھے جبکہ وقت پر ہمارا جہ کو ہندوستان کیساتھ شامل ہونے کا
 مشورہ دینے کی تجاویز مہر ہی تھی۔ اس وقت مخالفت کیوں کی۔ اور
 کیا کشمیر کانفرنس و شیخ محمد عبداللہ سے سڑھ کر آپ اس سوال

کے عمل کرنے کے حامی یا اہل ہیں۔ جب ایک مسئلہ قطعی طور پر ہم سب کے لئے
ایک جیسا ہے۔ اور اس میں کسی قسم کا اختلاف نہیں ہے۔ تو پھر اور کیا
سیاسی پروگرام ان فرقہ پرستوں کے سامنے ہے۔ یہی کہ ہم ممبر بننا چاہتے
ہیں۔ اور مخالف پارٹی بنائیں گے۔ اور بس اور کہ جائیداد رائے۔ ساہوکار
راجواڑہ شاہی کے ایجنٹ کا کام کریں گے۔ اور غریب دنیا کی قسمت سے
ٹھیکیں گے۔ یہاں دو مسئلے سوال یہ بھی پیدا ہو جاتا ہے۔ کہ ہندوستان کا
وہاں آئین ریاست میں لاگو ہونا چاہئے۔ کوئی عقل کا اندھا ہو گا۔
جو اپنے حق خود ارادیت اور اپنی قسمت آپ بنانے کا اختیار رکھے اور
پیدائشی حق آزادی رکھتے ہوئے اس حق سے دست بردار ہو۔ ہم کسی ملک
کے غلام نہیں ہیں کہ کوئی ہم پر ہماری مرضی و منشا کے بغیر کوئی حکم ٹیپ
یا قانون ٹھونسے ہم آزادی سے اپنے ملک کے حالات کے مطابق اپنا
آئین تیار کرنے کا اختیار اہلیت رکھتے ہیں۔ اور ایسا کرنے کی ہمیں
گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کی طرف سے کسی قسم کی مخالفت نہیں ہے بلکہ وہ ہمارے
حق کی قسم کرتے ہیں۔

ریاست کا آئین نیا کشمیر کے مطابق ہوگا

عجیب صورت سے یہ ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان کا پارلیمنٹ کہ ہم ہندوستان کا آئین قبول و تسلیم کریں۔ وہ ہمیں اپنا آئین بنانے کا حق دیتے ہیں۔ مگر ہمارے یہ مہربان سنگی پریشدہی ہم زبردستی ہندوستان کا آئین ٹھونسنا چاہتے ہیں۔

جب ہم آئین ساز اسمبلی بنالیں گے تو ہمارے سامنے ہندوستان کا وہاں آئین بھی ہوگا۔ اور اپنا منصوبہ "نیا کشمیر" بھی ہوگا۔ ہم اچھی طرح سوچ بچار کر کے ریاست کے تمام نمائندگان کی رائے لیکر اپنا آئین تیار کر دیں گے۔ ہندوستان کے آئین کو جو بہو منظور کرنے کے لیے ہے۔ کہ "ہم نیا کشمیر" کے منصوبہ حکومت نے بھاری قربانیاں دیکر حاصل کیا تھا۔ اور برقرار رکھ اسے منحرف ہو جائیں اور اپنی قسمت کی باگ ڈور ہندوستان کے سپرد کر دیں۔ حالانکہ خود ہندوستان نے ہمیں اپنے ملک کا فیصلہ کرنے اپنا آئین بنانے کا اختیار دے رکھا ہے۔ اور انہیں کسی قسم کا اعتراض نہیں ہے۔ لیکن یہ ہیں ہمارے مہربان کہ ہماری پیدائشی حقوق سے ہمیں محروم کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اور جو ترقی پور

قدم ہم اٹھا چکے ہیں۔ اور جو آئندہ قدم اپنی ہمت استقلال پہنچتی اور
 تنفیلم کی مضبوطی کی بدولت اٹھانا چاہتے ہیں۔ اس سے دست بردار
 ہو جائیں۔ مثال کے طور پر آپ دیکھیں کہ ہم نے زرعی اصلاحات جاری
 کر دیں۔ اور لاکھوں کنال ترقیہ غریب کاشتکاروں کے حوالہ کر دیا۔ ان
 کو مالک بنا دیا۔ جاگیردارانہ، چکدارانہ نظام با بڑی زمینداری کا سلسلہ ختم
 کر دیا۔ جس کے لئے شری جو امر لالہ نہرو نے تسلیم کیا کہ انہیں اس
 بات کا شکاب ہے کہ زرعی اصلاحات وہ کارنامہ اور بہترین کام گورنمنٹ
 کشمیر و نیشنل کانفرنس نے کر پایا۔ جو ابھی ہندوستان نہیں کر سکا۔ گویا وہ
 اس کام میں ابھی پہچھے ہیں۔ اور حالات حاضرہ کے پیش نظر اسی اصلاحات کی
 ضرورت کو بڑی سختی سے محسوس کیا جا رہا ہے۔

مخت کش مزدوروں اور کسانوں کی سہولیات پر پیش کی چالوں کو سمجھنا چاہیے
 علاوہ ازیں نیشنل کانفرنس ان اراکین کا جو غریب کاشتکاروں کو
 تقسیم کی گئی ہے معاوضہ دلائے گا کوئی ارادہ نہیں رکھتی کیونکہ صدیوں

سے جو لوگ جان جو کھوں میں ڈالکر دن رات محنت کر کے کھیتی باڑی کرتے اور
 انانچ پیدا کرتے تھے۔ ان کے انانچ سے زیادہ حصہ جاگیردار اور بڑے زمیندار
 لے جاتے تھے۔ اور انہوں نے گھر بیچے ہزاروں لاکھوں کانایہ اٹھایا اور
 گھر بھر لے مگر کاشتکار غریب نادار ہی رہا۔ اب یہ ہرگز طاقت نہیں رکھتا
 کہ ان لوگوں کو جوار وغیرہ جو کافی سے زیادہ مفت مال اڑا چکے ہیں۔ آخر اس
 نادار کاشتکار کے پاس ان لوٹ کھسوٹ کرنے والے لوگوں نے رکھا ہی
 کیا ہے۔ جو وہ ادا کرے۔ یہ فرقہ پرست اب غریب کاشتکار کا خون نکال
 کر بڑے زمینداروں، جاگیرداروں کا پیٹ بھرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ان کی
 عوام دوستی اور سیاسی پروگرام جس سے سیدھے سادے لوگوں
 کو گمراہ کر رہے ہیں۔ لہذا تمام محنت کشوں اور شاہکار ہر یکوں کے
 ذہن نشین ہو جانا چاہیے کہ پر جا پریشہ کے جال میں پھنسا اپنی
 موت کے وارنٹ پر دستخط کرنا ہے۔

واضح رہے کہ کل آبادی کا ۶ فیصد ہی ہر مذہب و ملت کے لوگ کاشتکار
 زراعت پیشہ ہیں محنت کش مزدور وغیرہ ہیں اس لئے ان کے مفاد ہر قسم

کی بہتری ترقی اور اقتصادی حالت کا ٹھیک کیا جانا محض نیشنل کانفرنس کے
 ساتھ رہنے میں ہے۔ نہ کہ پھر سے جاگیردارانہ سرمایہ دارانہ نظام کے غلامانہ
 پنجہ میں پھنسنے سے جہاں یہ سنگی پر جا پریشد کے نام سے پھنسا نا چاہتے ہیں
 اس لئے برصغیر کشن مزدور اور کسان کاشتکار اور چھوٹے طبقہ کے کاری
 گروں اور دکانداروں کو اچھی طرح سمجھ لینا چاہیے۔ اور اپنا نفع نقصان
 سوچ سمجھ کر قدم اٹھانا چاہیے۔ اور ان فرقہ پرستوں کے دھوکے
 میں نہ آنا چاہیے۔ اور بعد میں کھپتا نا پڑیگا۔ اگر یہ کسی حیلہ بہانہ سمجھ
 ایک سیٹوں پر قابض ہو گئے اور ممبر اسمبلی بن بھی گئے۔ تو وہ موجودہ خیالات
 گذشتہ تاریک کارناموں کے پیش نظر عوام اور عامکر سخت کشتوں مزدوروں
 اور کسانوں اور ہری جنوں کا مطلقاً بھلا نہیں کر سکیں گے۔ کیونکہ ان
 لوگوں کے لئے ان مخالف جاگیرداروں بڑے زمینداروں راجا وٹشاہی
 اور ساہوکاروں کے ایجنٹ ہیں اور غریبوں بھوکے ننگے لوگوں کی بہتری
 آزادی نارغ البالی کے برخلاف قدم اٹھا رہے ہیں۔ ان سے ہرگز کسی
 قسم کی بہتری امداد کی امید نہیں رکھنی چاہیے۔

پیرجا پرشید کے سببہ کارنامے عوام کے سامنے ہیں

چونکہ جنوں پر ادنس ہیں بھی تقریباً نصف آبادی یعنی سات لاکھ مسلمان
بھائی آباد ہیں۔ اور کشمیر میں ۹ فیصدی ہیں۔ ان سے بھی کچھ عرض کرنا
چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ بد قسمتی ہے اور افسوس کی بات ہے کہ ہمیں ایک نہایت
گھناؤنے کام کرنے والی فرتہ پرست ایسی پارٹی سے واسطہ پڑا ہے جس
کے سببہ کارنامے اور انسانی جانوں سے کھینچنے کے واقعات ہر دل و دماغ
میں تازہ ہیں۔ وہ ایسے مظاہرے و جلے کر رہے ہیں کہ جس سے آپ
لوگوں کے دلوں میں کسی طرح کے شکوک و خطرات کا پیدا ہونا غلبہ ہے

فرقہ دارانہ منافرت دور ہونے سے ہی ملک ترقی کر سکتا ہے
مگر حواک فطرتاً فرتہ پرست اور سنگی ہیں۔ وہ اپنی عادت سے عجیب
ہیں ورنہ عام سنجیدہ پڑھ لکھے آزادی پسند ہندو نیشنل کانفرنس کے حامی
ہیں۔ اور فرقہ دارانہ ذہنیت میں ایسا اعتقاد نہیں رکھتے جیسے پہلے

تھاراب دنیا کے حالات کو دیکھتے ہوئے دن بدن پورانے دھپانوسی
 خیالات تنگ دلی تعصب دور ہو رہا ہے۔ اور یہ مسلمہ ہے جب تک
 فرقہ دارانہ منافرت دور نہ ہوگی۔ تب تک کوئی ملک ترقی نہیں کر سکتا
 نہ ہی مکمل طور پر آزاد ہو سکتا ہے۔ لہذا ایسے تنگ خیال متعصب لوگوں
 کے خود غرضانہ نعروں اور سرگرمیوں کا خیال نہیں رکھنا چاہیے۔

نیشنل کانفرنس غیر مذہبی جمہوریت کی قائل ہے !
 نیشنل کانفرنس اور اس کے محترم لیڈر شیخ صاحب پر جیسا کہ پہلے آپ
 اعتماد اور بھروسہ ہے وہ بدستور قائم رکھیں وہ آپ کو اسی جگہ بے جا رہا
 ہے۔ جہاں آپ کا مذہب و ملت دین و ایمان جسم و جان عزت و آبرو
 ہر طرح محفوظ ہے جہاں آپ کی سیاسی اور اقتصادی آزادی ترقی کے تمام
 مواقع میسر ہے۔ جہاں غیر مذہبی جمہوریت ہے جہاں ہر ایک کو مذہبی آزادی
 ہے اور کسی قسم کی تفریق دیکھنا نہیں ہے۔ اور شہری حقوق اور دیگر مراعات
 و مفادات حاصل کرنے میں کسی قسم کی تمیز نسلی مذہبی وغیرہ نہیں ہے۔

اور پھر جہاں پہ ہرگز مسلمان ہیں جن میں اکثر بہترین کرکٹر علم و عقل رکھنے والے
مسلمان ہیں جن کے ہاں بزرگ حضرت مولانا آزاد سڈنیک و پاک قوم پرست
رہا ہیں۔ اور جہاں زیارت گاہیں، عبادت گاہیں، یونیورسٹیاں تعلیمی
ادارے اور بڑے بڑے خدا پرست بزرگوں کی مبراں جگہیں استھان ہیں
اور تواریخی مقامات اسلامی روایات و ان کی عظمت کے نشانات موجود ہیں
اور جن کے لئے دنیا کے بڑے ان مہاں پرش مہا گاندھی نے جان دی

نیشنل کانفرنس پاکستان کے خلاف کیوں ہے
شیخ صاحب آپ کو پاکستان اس لئے نہیں لیجا تا کہ اس کا سلوک جو
جہوں کشمیر کیا تھ ہوار اور جس طرح اس نے خونی ڈرامہ کھیلا اور
جس طریق سے ایک بدترین دشمن کا پارٹ ادا کیا اور جس نے مذہب
ملت کے سنہری امونوں اقرا فی تعلیم، اسلامی روایات کے صریحاً برخلاف
بچوں، عورتوں کو ہلاک کیا۔ اور ان کی عصمت دری کی اور اب تک جو
کشمیریوں نما مکر مسلمان بھائیوں مردوں عورتوں کی تھ جو بد قسمتی سے

سے پاکستان میں ایک طرح قید میں کے ساتھ نہایت بے رحمانہ سلوک کر رہا ہے۔ اور جس نے کشمیریوں پر طرح طرح کے مظالم ڈھائے اور اب تک کشمیریوں کی آزادی چھیڑنا چاہتا ہے۔ اور جنگ کا اکھاڑہ بنانا چاہتا ہے اور جس کو انیسویں امریکن بلاک نے اکسایا ہے۔ کہ کشمیر میں چین و روس کے برخلاف اڑے بنانے کا کام کوسے تاکہ غیر ملکی فوجیں کشمیر میں داخل ہو جائیں۔

پاکستان نے کشمیریوں کیساتھ کیا سلوک کیا !

وہ کس منہ کے کشمیریوں کو آزادی دلانے اور ان کے ساتھ ہمدردی کا دم بھرتا ہے۔ یہ محض دھوکہ ہے فریب ہے اس لئے جبکہ رد قوموں کی حقپوری میں یہاں کے مسلمان اور نیشنل کانفرنسی اعتقاد نہیں رکھتے اور غیر مذہبی جمہوریت کے قائل ہیں۔ جب کہ عام آزاد اور ترقی پسند اور ملک جمہوریت کے دلداد میں تو پھر آپ کی سنجات عزت اور ترقی پسند نے ساتھ رہنے میں پھر اور اگر اس میں شک ہو تو جو مسلمان واپس آئے ہیں ان کا حلفی بیان اس اور پوچھیں کہ وہاں کشمیریوں پر کیا گزر

از ہی ہے اور پھر بقول مولانا محمد سعید صاحب اسے پاکتان کہنا جہاں بدعاشی
ظلم و ستم عصمت اور تشدد کا دور دورہ مہر سجا غلط ہے۔

پاکستان انٹیکو امریکن بلاک کی تشہد باز کر کے ہماری آزادی
حسب کرنا چاہتا ہے !

واضح رہے یہاں مذہب کی لڑائی نہیں ہے ہر ایک ملک میں ہر قوم
بستی ہے ہر مذہب رشتہ کے لوگ رہتے ہیں، بلکہ جب اپنے دلش
وطن کی حفاظت، عزت، آزادی کا سوال پیدا ہوتا ہے۔ تو وہاں
مذہب کا رشتہ حائل نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اگر پاکستان کو کشمیر کی اس لئے ضرورت
ہے۔ کہ یہاں مسلمانوں کی کثرت ہے۔ تو وہ دوسرے اسلامی ممالک کو
اپنے ساتھ کیوں شامل نہیں کرتا۔ بلکہ کروڑ مسلمانوں کو کیوں وہاں
جگہ نہیں دیتا۔ ان کو کیوں جھوٹا لگ ہے۔ ان سے کیوں بے وفائی کی گئی
ہے۔ اور پنجولستان کیونکہ کیوں ہر سر میر کا رہے خان باؤشاہ جیسے

فرشتہ آزادی ہند کے علم پہنچا کر خدا پرست اور بہترین قوم پرست کو کیوں قید
 میں ڈال رکھا خان صاحب اور دیگر قومی ہیروؤں کو خدائی خدمتگاروں
 ہزاروں کے ساتھ دہلی میں رکھ کر عذاب دیا جا رہا ہے۔ کیوں بہترین باغ
 کے اہل قلم مسلمان قید کر رکھے تھے۔ کیوں افغانستان کے ساتھ چھپر خان
 کو رہا ہے کشمیر جیسے خوبصورت دلہن کو قبضہ میں کرنے کی خاطر اور پھر
 انگریز اور امریکیوں کے بھڑے میں آ کر چین اور روس کے برخلاف اپنے
 بنائے کے ساز باز میں شامل ہو کر کشمیر کو ہمیشہ کے لئے غلام بنانے کے
 ناپاک منصوبے ہاتھ رہا ہے اور یہاں کی دولت اور خوبصورت
 وادیوں پر قبضہ کرنا چاہتا ہے۔ اور نوابوں خانوں میں اسے تقسیم
 کر کے کشمیریوں کو غلام بے دام خادم بنا کر رکھنا چاہتا ہے اور
 کشمیریوں کی قسمت ان کی عزت آبرو اور ہماری مائاؤں بہنوں کی
 عورت سے کھینچنا چاہتا ہے۔ بھجوں کشمیر کا بچہ بچہ کٹ مرے گا رنگ
 ایسے بدترین دشمن کی غلامی قبول نہ کرے گا۔ اور اسے اپنے
 ملک میں گھسنے نہ دے گا +

جس طرح اسے کشمیر کی ضرورت ہے اسی طرح ہندوستان میں رہنے والوں کو روڑوں مسلمانوں کو بھی ان کشمیری بھائیوں کو اپنے ملک کے ساتھ شامل کرنے کی خواہش ہے۔ اور یاد رکھو کہ آج کروڑوں ہندو اور سکھ اور خاص کر روڑوں مسلم بھائی آپ کو خوش آمدید کہنے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ اور آپ سے بھائیوں کا سا سلوک کرنے کے لئے بے تاب ہیں۔ وہ بالہ لالہوں ایک ساتھ نمازیں پڑھتے ہیں وہی کل فریجہ آزادی ہے۔ آج یہاں کے مسلمان کی عزت قدر و قیمت کو ہندوستانیوں کے دل میں اس قدر بڑھ کر ہے کہ آئے دن آپ دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ وہ کس طرح برادرانہ بھائیوں کا سا سلوک کرتے ہیں۔

سچ پوچھو تو ان پاکستانیوں نے اپنے عمل سے ظلم و تشدد کا خوفی ڈرامہ کھیلتے اور جھوٹ بولنے اور کشمیریوں سے دشمنی کرنے اور ان کی رستمت سے کھیلتے اور ان کو مہبت میں مبتلا رکھنے تنگ کرنے کا ارادہ کر رکھا ہے۔ اور ہر وقت کشمیریوں کی آزادی

پہنچنے اور ان کے مال و اسباب پر قبضہ کرنے انہیں غلام بنانے
 کو پہرہ دیا۔ ہم ہمارے پاس ہے اور غیر ملکی شایطانوں سے سب سے
 سے ساز باز کر رہا ہے۔ اور اپنے ہی ہم مذہب کشمیریوں
 کو غلام رکھنے اور ان کی تباہی کا سامان کو بیچ رہا ہے۔ اس نے
 اسلام اور اس کی روایات کو بدنام کیا۔ اور اپنے مسلمان
 بھائیوں پر حملہ کرنے کو جہاد کا نام لیتا ہے۔ نہ معلوم
 یہ کہاں کی اسلامی روایت ہے۔ ہمدردی آزادی کے نام
 پر کشمیر کے مسلم بھائیوں کی خون کی ہولی کھیلنا چاہتا ہے۔

ہندوستان کے اصول ہمارے اصولوں کے
 ساتھ ملتے ہیں

شیر کشمیر شیخ محمد عبدالرشید اور اس کے ساتھیوں مولانا
 مولوی محمد سعید صاحب مسعودی جیسے عالم و فاضل نے اسلام کو

کیا۔ اور اسے چار چاند لگائے نہیں۔ اور کہ ہر امتحان میں پورے
 اترے ہیں۔ اور جن پر رب کو نسا صکر ہندو و سکھوں اور اقلیتوں
 کو پورا اعتماد ہے۔ اقلیتوں سے آج جو ملک ان نیشنل کانفرنس
 کے زعمائے کیا ہے۔ اسی کا نتیجہ ہے۔ کہ تمام ہندوستان کے
 کروڑوں مسلمان اور سکھ کشمیر کی امداد کے لئے ہر ممکن قربانی
 کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ اور نیشنل کانفرنس کے ہر وقت ساتھ ہیں۔ لہذا
 ہم رب خدشی سے ہندوستان کے ساتھ جانا چاہتے ہیں
 اور شامل ہو چکے ہیں۔ مرن اسمبلی میں ہر تصدیق لگا کر دنیا کو دکھا
 دینا ہے۔ کہ نیشنل کانفرنس کا پروگرام و مقصد غیر مذہبی جمہوریت
 کے اصول پر مبنی ہے۔ لہذا

نیشنل کانفرنس کو ووٹ دینا ۹۷ فیصدی کڑوں اور
 مزدوروں کی خوشحالی کو برقرار رکھنا ہے

آخر پر میں آئین ساز اسمبلی کے بارے میں کہہ کر رخصت ہوتا
 ہوں آپ کو علم ہے کہ آئین ساز اسمبلی کا اعلان کر کے ہم
 نے نہ صرف پاکستان بلکہ یو۔ این۔ او اور اینگلو امریکن بلاک کو
 چیلنج کیا۔ جو کہ اس میں ہماری مخالفت کر رہے ہیں۔ ہم
 کسی قیمت پر بھی اس حق سے دست بردار نہیں ہوں گے
 جنگ ہوا، طوفان آئے، کتنی مشکلات اور مصائب درپیش
 ہوں۔ ہم نے تہیہ کر لیا ہے کہ اسمبلی بنا کر رہیں گے۔ اور غیر
 یقینی حالت کو جلدی بدل کر آئین ساز اسمبلی بنا کر اپنا آئین
 تیار کر دیں گے۔ اور ملک و قوم کو آگے بڑھائیں گے۔ اور
 جب تک ہم تمام ان سکیموں کو جو بنا رہے ہیں۔ یا جو "نیا
 کشمیر" کے منصوبہ میں درج ہیں۔ عملی جامہ نہیں پہناتے
 تب تک نیشنل کانفرنس کا کام ختم نہیں ہوتا اس لئے آپ
 دُعا کو اپنے دوست کی قدر قیمت کو جاننا پہچاننا چاہئے
 اور نیشنل کانفرنس کے میدان کو دودھ دینے کے معنی تمام

ہاتھوں محنت کشوں، مزدوروں، ادراکوں اور بے کار توجہوں
 چھوٹے کاری گروں کے ساتھ ان کی ترقی بہبودی کا ثبوت دیتا
 ہے۔ اور پھر سب سے بڑی بات یہ ہے کہ نیشنل کانفرنس
 کو روٹ دینا بقول سعید صاحب

جہاں تک نیشنل کانفرنس کا تعلق

ہے۔ کسی شخصیت کے نام پر روٹ

نہیں مانگے جائیں گے۔ بلکہ جماعت

کے نام پر مانیہ کشمیر کے نام پر

ملک کی خود مختاری کے نام پر ان

اصولوں کے نام پر روٹ مانگے گئے

جن کے لئے یہ اس وقت تک جدو

جہد کرتی آتی ہے۔

نیشنل کانفرنس کو روٹ دینا ۹۷ فی صدی محنت کش مزدوروں

تدریجاً پیشہ کافلوں کے میار زندگی کو بلند کرنا۔ اور ملک کو
 ترقی کی طرف بے جانا، خوشحالی کی طرف بے جانا اور پھر باہمی
 اتحاد۔ اتفاق۔ یزیم۔ محبت کی فضا کو قائم کرنا ہے۔ اور
 غیر مذہبی جمہوریت قائم کر کے بطریق مساوات سب کے بھلے
 اور ترقی کرنے کا سامان پیدا کرنا ہے۔ اس کے برعکس
 کسی فرقہ پرست کو ووٹ دینا۔ پاکستان کی مدد کرنا ہے
 ملک رقوم کو غلام بنانا ہے۔ کیونکہ ایسے لوگ تنگ خیال متعصب
 اور ایک دوسرے کے دشمن اور کبھی تو ملی ترقی آزادی کے
 دشمن ہیں۔ کیونکہ انہوں نے سر دلت فرقہ دارانہ فادات پیدا
 کرنے اور نفرت اور دشمنی کا بازار گرم رکھنا ہے ان کا
 شیوہ ہی یہی ہے۔ یہ ہمیشہ سے یہی کرتے آئے ہیں۔
 ان سے آئندہ بہتری کی توقع نہ کتاب سود و بیکار ہے اسلئے آپ
 کی ٹھنڈے دل اور حاضر دماغی سے سوچنا چاہئے۔

آئندہ پروگرام

ملک کے آئندہ آئین میں میرنڈمب کے لوگوں کو آزادی

اور ترقی کرنے کا مساوی اور مکمل حق ہوگا

نیشنل کانفرنس کا پروگرام جو آئندہ آپ کے سامنے آ رہا ہے وہ سیدھا اور صاف ہے۔ ہمارا آئین ہندوستان کے آئین سے ملکی قومی ترقی اور بہتری کے پہلو میں کسی طرح پیچھے نہیں رہیگا اور جن لوگوں نے "نیا کشمیر" کو بڑھو لیا ہے اور سمجھ لیا ہے۔ ان کے دل و دماغ میں کوئی شک و شبہ نہیں رہنا چاہیے۔ نیا کشمیر سے اگر کہیں کوئی خامی یا کمی رہ گئی ہے۔ تو اسے پورا کرنا اور جہاں صریحاً موجودہ حالات کے پیش نظر غیر ضروری ہے اسے حذف کرنا اور اسے مکمل بنانا ہے۔ اور پھر ہمارا آئین ہمارا "نیا"۔

ہوگا۔ اس میں اقلیتوں کو کسی قسم کا خون و اندیشہ نہیں ہے
 ان کے جملہ حقوق اور ترقی کے مواقع ہر طرح یکساں اور محفوظ
 ہیں۔ جب ہمارا ہندوستان کے ساتھ مستقل الحاق ہو جائے
 گا۔ اور دشمن سے ہم نہٹ لیں گے۔ اور اسے اپنی حدود
 سے باہر کر دیں گے۔ اور غلام کشمیر کے پاس جو علاقہ ہے
 اسے واپس لے لیں کہ ان کو راہ راست پر لے آئیں گے۔ تو
 پھر کسی قسم کا خدشہ یا رکاوٹ ہماری سیاسی و اقتصادی
 آزادی ترقی کے برقرار رکھنے اور آگے بڑھنے میں نہ ہوگی
 جب ہندوستان میں اقلیتوں کے ساتھ مساویانہ و منصفیانہ
 سلوک ہے تو یہاں کیسے اس سے مختلف یا کم تر سلوک ہو
 سکتا ہے۔ جب دیانے دیکھ لیا۔ اور کروڑوں ہندوؤں
 سکھوں نے بکثرت خود کچھ لیا کہ نیشنل کانفرنس اور اس کے
 لیڈر شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے اقلیتوں کے جان و مال عزت
 و اہم و دھرم و ایمان کی اسے خطرناک نازک اور آڑھے وقت

میں حفاظت امداد کی اور قوم پرستی بھائی چارہ انسانی ملحدی
 کا اعلیٰ ثبوت دیا اور ان پر لاکھوں کروڑوں روپیہ خرچ کیا
 اور اس پہلو میں جتنے مشکل اور کٹھن امتحانات کئے ان
 میں پورا ابرا تو ہندوستان کے ساتھ مستقل الحاق ہو
 جانے کی صورت میں اور تمام بیرونی دشمنوں سے خلاصی پا
 جانے اور ہر طرح امن و اطمینان کے بعد کیسے ممکن ہو سکتا
 ہے۔ کہ اقلیتوں کو کسی قسم کی شکایت ہو بلکہ جب تک نیشنل
 کانفرنس اور اس کے لیڈر اور ساتھی موجود ہیں اور
 موجودہ پروگرام نیا کشمیر اور آئندہ اس سے بھی روشن اور
 مکمل معقول رہے گی بھلائی اور پسند کا قابل قبول
 آئین تیار ہو جائے گا۔ اکثریت اقلیت کا مسئلہ ہی جاتا
 رہے گا۔ کوئی فرق کسی کا نہیں رہیگا۔ رب ہی بھرتی مادی
 ترقی کریں گے۔ اور خوش حال اور آزاد ہوں گے۔
 واضح رہے کہ نیشنل کانفرنس ایک اعلیٰ اور شش

امول اور مقصد رکھتی ہے۔ یہ آگے پڑھے گی۔ ملک و قوم کو آگے
لے جائے گی۔

لہذا وقت ہے کہ آپ سب نیشنل کالفرنس میں بھرتی ہو جاؤ
اس کے امیدوار کو ووٹ دو۔ اور ایک جیتی جاگتی منظم
عملی جماعت کو جو ملک اور قوم کو ہر مشکل ہر مصیبت میں نصرت
رکاوٹ کے باوجود آزاد کرنا کرتی رہے کے راستہ پر ڈال چکی ہے
وہ آئندہ بھی مکمل آزادی اور اقتصادی خوش حالی کے
لئے ہر ممکن کوشش کرے گی۔

کسی ملک کی حکومت تب ہی قائم رہ سکتی ہے جب تک

اقتصادی لحاظ سے خود کفیل نہ ہو جائے
یا دیکھو! دنیا میں اب کوئی حکومت قائم نہیں رہ سکتی

نہ غمیر مذہبی جمہوریت کہلانے کی حقدار ہے جب تک محنت
 کشش مزدور اور کان بے کار نوجوانوں اور تمام غریبوں بے
 کسوں کو ہر طرح آسودہ، خوشحال اور آزار نہیں بنایا
 جاتا اور سب کا معیار زندگی بلند نہیں کیا جاتا۔ اور جب
 تک یہ غمیر مساوات مذہبی تفرقہ و فرقہ پرستی کا زہر قائم رہے
 گار اور ادیخ پنج۔ چھوت چھات ما امیر ما فقیر، گدا ما
 شاہ، آقا و بندہ، کارخانہ دار سرمایہ دار اور مزدور
 غریب و امیر کی... تفریق و تمیز رہے گی۔ ایک طرف
 لاکھوں کروڑوں رپیہ کا سامان زندگی کثرت سے ہم
 طرح طرح کے لذیذ کھانے اچھے لباس اور اعلیٰ
 مکانات ہوں۔ اور دوسرے بھوکے ننگے وہیں کمانے والے
 خون پسینہ ایک کر کے دانہ دانہ اور ایک ایک تار ریشم
 اور سوت کی پیدا کرنے اچھے عمدہ کپڑے اور لذیذ توتور
 کھانے پیدا کرنے والے بھوکے مریں۔ اور ان کا ایسی

ہما دردناک قابل رحم حالت قائم رہے اور بڑے بڑے
 امیر و وزیر جاگیردار، نواب، راجے، بدستور غریبوں، محنت
 کشوں کے خون سے پلنتے رہیں۔ ایسی صورت ہیں کیسے
 اسن و اطمینان قائم رہ سکتا ہے میشنل کانفرنس اور
 جناب شیر کشمر شیخ محمد عبداللہ اور اس کے
 ساتھی دن رات اس فکر اور کوشش میں اس وقت
 ان دو طبقات کے درمیان جنگ ہے ایک طرف جنہوں نے محنت
 کشوں، مزدوروں، مالکوں کی کمائی ہٹاپ کی اور لوٹ کھسوٹ
 جاری رکھے ہوئے ہیں۔ اور لاکھوں کروڑوں کے مالک بنے بیٹھے
 ہیں۔ اور خدا کی خدائی پر تکیا ہے۔ اور دوسرے طرف وہ لوگ
 جو لاکھوں کروڑوں محنت کش، مزدور، کان اور بے کار

نوجوانوں اور کارگیر جو دنیا کو بناتے اور اسے زندہ رکھنے میں
 سب سے اعلیٰ پارٹ ادا کرتے اور اپنی قیمتی زندگیاں قربان
 کرتے چلے آئے ہیں اور ان فی وجہ مگر ابھی پوری خوراک
 لباس اور باعزت آسودہ زندگی بسر کرنے کے خواب دیکھتا
 ہے۔

نیشنل کانفرنس ملک کو اقتصادی لحاظ سے خود

کفیل بنانا چاہتی ہے۔

جب تک یہ لوگ اپنا حق نہیں لیتے اور ان فی وجہ حثیت
 ایک پیہ نہیں حاصل کرتے اور سادات کا دور دورہ نہیں

ہوتا۔ اور تمام خدائی نعمتوں برکتوں سے بطریق مساوی نایکد
 اٹھانے کا موقع حاصل نہیں کر پاتے اور اپنی محنت کمائی کو اپنے
 استعمال کی آزادی و اختیار حاصل نہیں کر لیتے تب تک آزادی
 اور ترقی، امن و اطمینان کچھ معنی نہیں ہیں۔ اور اسی دوسری
 جماعت کو امیر اٹھانے اور حق انصاف مساوات سیاسی و
 اقتصادی مکمل آزادی کے لئے ہی نیشنل کانفرنس کو شان
 سے ۴۔ اور یہی اس کا آئندہ پروگرام ہے

دونوں رُخ

اب سیاسیات حاضرہ کے دونوں رُخ آپ کے سامنے ہیں
 کافی واضح صاف اور روشن اپنے دلش کی اس تصویر کے دونوں پہلوؤں
 کو بغور دیکھیں ٹھنڈے دل اور روشن دماغی سے اس کا مطالعہ
 کریں اور فیصلہ کریں کہ آپ کس کا ساتھ دینا ہے۔ ہند کا یا ہند

کے دشمنوں کا۔ دھرم کا ادھرم کا۔ مظلوموں کا یا ظالموں۔
 ترقی پر ورطاقوتوں کا یا رجوت پسند عناصر کا۔ غریبوں کا یا غریبوں
 کا خون چوسنے والوں کا۔

میرا تجربہ۔ میرا خیال اور میرا ضمیر تو یہ کہ کتاب کے کہیں نہ
 کا۔ دھرم کا یہ مظلوموں۔ ترقی پر ورطاقوتوں اور غریبوں کا ساتھ
 دینا چاہیے۔ اور اگر آپ بھی مجھ سے متفق ہیں اور جو کہ ضرور ہونا
 چاہیے۔ کیونکہ کوئی بھی شخص جسے ذرا بھڑکاسی اس نیت ہو اس
 امر سے انکار نہیں کر سکتا۔ تو پھر اس راستہ پر چلنے کا واحد ذریعہ
 نیشنل کانفرنس میں شمولیت۔ نیشنل کانفرنس کی تائید۔ اور
 نیشنل کانفرنس کی حمایت ہے۔

بے ہند بے کشمیر

(سرواں بدھ سنگھ رحیمی)

با اہتمام سیکرٹری سرکاری ایکشن بورڈ آل جموں کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس
 نیا کشمیر (اورینٹ) پریس رزیدنسی روڈ جموں میں چھپا

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Invasion of India — An Appraisal of Facts

“Invasion of Kashmir is Invasion of India
—V. K. Krishna Menon

(Text of the speech made by Shri V. K. Krishna
Menon, in Lok Sabha on
August 25, 1965)

Invasion then and now

The main problem that disturbs all our minds is the invasion of India, very nearly 18 years ago, Pakistan invaded India and then, as now, we called it by other names infiltration, intrusion, raiders and so on. Then, as now, large numbers of people had come across from our neighbouring area, infringing not only our sovereignty, but taking the first step towards the reconquest of India, which was the dream of the former empire. After 18 years, we should accept this fact that this is not just a frontier raid, not a penetration here or there. Whenever there is either a peace-talk or dialogue or conference or intervention by honest brokers, who are not always honest, it is only a chapter in this long history and it so appears to me—I may be wrong—that even the agreement, as Mr. Jinnah said, “I will go and sit on a desolate island rather than be in India,” that was not a desire to go away from us, but only to take the first step in order to absorb the whole of this territory.

Background of events

I think it is important at the present time, though some people may think it is

past history, to throw our minds back to the position in 1947. From 1947 till now, though there have been threats time after time, there have been no invasions on this scale. But the arguments, the conditions, are just the same. At that time when our Government, under instructions from our Prime Minister, pointed out that Pakistan has invaded India and told the Security Council on the 15th January about this, this is what Government of Pakistan informed the Security Council. I do not think they will even change the words, they will probably repeat it;: They said:

"The Pakistan Government emphatically deny that they are giving aid and assistance to the so-called invaders or have committed any act of aggression against India. On the contrary, and solely with the object of maintaining friendly relations between the two dominions, the Government of Pakistan continue to do all in their power to discourage the tribal movement by all means short of war."

This was what said at that time, but this did not last very long. A few months later, the Government of Pakistan informed the United Nations:

"The movement of tribesmen into Kashmir had in fact to be canalised through the north-western frontier. Further, tribesmen obtained petrol from local sources in Pakistan and made use of railways and motor transport."

That is to say, under severe cross-examination in the Security Council at that time, they admitted that they had come across this territory.

Having done that and denied the invasion, Sir Zafrulla Khan addressing the Security Council said, "this is all propaganda by India. We never invaded them." Later, Sir Owen Dixon, who was an eminent Australian Jurist, not a politician in any case and certainly not a person who is given to exaggerated statements, investigating the matter, said this:

"I was prepared to take the view that when the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed on, I believe, 20th October—a few days after our independence—by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law and that in May, 1948, I believe, units of the regular Pakistani forces moved into the territory of the State. That too was inconsistent with international law" a very restrained way

of saying that it has been invaded.

When the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan came here and elements of Pakistani troops were discovered by them at Poonch, when Pakistan was faced with this fact in the Security Council, Sir Zafrulla Khan said, "yes; we have invaded India. There are three battalions of Pakistan's army in Poonch, because if we did not invade India, India would have invaded us." That is the law of the snake. The snake strikes a man, because it is afraid of being struck by the man.

Cease-fire Agreement

Since then, various steps have been taken and I need not have to apologise for going into this, because the whole of our relations since then have depended upon what is called the cease-fire agreement. It is as well to recall now that this cease-fire agreement was not concluded by a country that was being defeated by a powerful army, not by a retreating army. Under instructions of the then Prime Minister, the Security Council was informed in these terms:

"We stopped a victorious army. We could have settled the issue. We were stronger at that time and God forbid, if our country were invaded again, we should still render

a good account of ourselves. But in obedience to the Charter we restrained the action of our military forces. Instead of obtaining what we could have obtained by use of force, we continue to negotiate, having accepted the idea of negotiations"

That is how this cease-fire agreement came into existence. In the coming months, there will be a great deal of debate as to whether we have violated agreements in the past in this connection. I very much regret I heard from the other side that we have already set example in breaking agreements we have made. I want to say with such knowledge as I have that we have not either in word or in law or in spirit violated any agreement we have undertaken to the United Nations. We never at any time gave an undertaking that we could have plebiscite in Kashmir without conditions.

This was the position. Our army was withdrawn and the cease-fire line was drawn. There is not the time to go into it, but we have repeatedly stated that this is purely an armistice line. What is the evidence of it? In the earlier part of this debate, Senator Warren Austen, who represented the USA, told the Security Council that when the British withdrew from the Indian States as they were then, the sovereignty of those States lapsed to the present Dominion of India. Therefore, the

sovereignty of the whole of Kashmir rests with India. That was the position of United States in 1947-1948 whatever might have happened afterwards.

So the cease-fire-line is drawn in this way and a commission for supervision was set up. It should also be said that in all these arrangements while the Government of India acquiesced we were never a party. We said if a commission wants to come, this is a hospitable country and we would not say no. But we were not a party. But, anyway, that position having been set up a commission for supervision on this line was created. On either side of the cease-fire-line of the national line—it is somewhere about 500 yards of territory into which neither of our countries are supposed to send in any armed troops. Since the conclusion of the cease-fire line till almost today there has been no time, no day, no month, no year, in which, in that so-called neutral belt, Pakistan has not infiltrated her troop and—unfortunately the Defence Minister may not be able to say so—the Commission of Supervision has always condoned it by various technicalities. That is to say, Pakistani personnel came armed and then the Commission is told these are not Pakistani soldiers, they are either civilians or people inside Indian occupied Kashmir who are discontented with their Government. Therefore, no action has been taken in this way.

So various steps were tried at that time. Pakistan has never carried out what she was expected to do.

Invasion of Kashmir is Invasion of India

What is the position? Our purpose at this time, having been invaded in this way, is to reiterate our position without any reservation whatsoever. In all these 18 years of controversy we have at no time surrendered the position of our sovereignty over the entire territory which was under the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir which acceded to us. That is to say, we have said that the entire territory of Jammu and Kashmir is part of the Union of India and by inference, therefore, the invasion of Kashmir is the invasion of India and there can be no withdrawal from that position. Our demand always has been, and stated in express words in 1957, that Pakistan should vacate this aggression. We have always said we are willing to negotiate with her, but not to negotiate to surrender our sovereignty but to discover ways and means whereby she can vacate that aggression.

Assurance by the United Nations Commission

It is not sufficient at this stage, Mr. Speaker, merely to say from our side that this was the position. When these discussions were going on the position of India was placed

before the Commission which was negotiating with the Prime Minister at that time. The Commission gave us this assurance, which is not a private letter but a document that has been circulated to both side—it is now before the Security Council as document called Annexure V X/PS 762. There is a note which sets out the following assurance given by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan before India's acceptance of the cease-fire resolution. We accepted the resolution in these conditions. One is that the responsibility of Security of the State rests with India—the State meaning the entire State. In another part of the resolution it is definitely stated that it is the responsibility of the Government of India to maintain law and order in all the lines of the cease-fire—that is to say, there were various rivulets in various places. The second part said that the sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir Government over the entire territory of the State shall not be brought into question. That is what is being argued. Thirdly it said that the plebiscite proposal was not binding upon India if Pakistan does not implement parts (i) and (ii) of the resolution that is to say, they do not go out, and they should have gone out in 1948. Then it said that there shall be no recognition of the so-called Azad Government and the territory occupied by Pakistan shall not be consolidated. What Pakistan has done is that under article

1(ii) of the constitution they have annexed our territory—I will say more about that in a moment. Then it said, reversion of the administration of the vacated area—that is to say, where Pakistan has illegally occupied the United Nations have asked them to go out. What the Commission told us was reversion of the administration of the vacated areas in the north of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and its defence to the Government of India that is to say, the internal administration was to be carried on by the State Government and the defence of it was to be carried on by the Government of India who were to maintain garrisons for preventing incursions of tribesmen and guard the main trade routes. This has reference to Gilgit and other areas where all those caravan routes and various other places where to go guarded by the Indian army. Then it was said that the Azad Kashmir forces shall be disbanded and disarmed. Lastly, exclusion of Pakistan from all affairs of Jammu and Kashmir. It was one of the articles of the agreement that even in the discussion of the plebiscite there was no question of Pakistan talking of plebiscite, it was always in consultation with the United Nations.

Cease-fire violations by Pakistan

Now, since then has gone on incursions across our frontier, across the cease-fire-line

which is not our frontier, somewhere about hundred times a year, and we have made various complaints. The general policy of the Commission has been as though there is a cricket match where there is scoring by each side—if there is one violation against them, there is one violation against us—and this went on in that way.

It may also be said here that this cease-fire observation corps consists mainly of the military allies of Pakistan so much so when the SEATO agreement was concluded in 1954 the Government of the day made it clear to the United States that she being the main SEATO power it would not be proper for her to take on this neutral position, and although the Government of the United States and we were at loggerheads in regard to SEATO, our relations with them were very good and therefore without much argument it was agreed that the United States personnel would be withdrawn from the observer corps. Since then, since 1954, there have been no Americans in the observer corps. There have been Australians, Canadians and various other members of the SEATO. Therefore, it was only right that if this observer corps continues we should insist that they would have to be by people whose neutrality is not in question at all. Further more, it has been part of the pro-

paganda and various endeavours have been made over the years to try and bring into Kashmir elements of the United Nations Emergency forces—That is to say, to internationalise this so-called dispute in the same way the Cyprus dispute is internationalised, and to import into the territory of Jammu and Kashmir United Nations Emergency Forces. The Government of India at that time said that in no circumstances would we allow foreign armies to come in to our territory and they are on our territory whether they come on this side of the cease-fire line or they come on the other side of the cease-fire line. Therefore, that was withdrawn.

Pakistan has not only, therefore, not withdrawn, she has, contrary to the terms of these resolutions, strengthened her hold over areas occupied by her. In that part of Kashmsir under Indian administration, until the Chinese invasion, the Government of India have been scrupulously careful not even to extend by a few feet our airfields and things of that character. But, on the other hand, in Gilgit they built airfields, they cut away Chitral from the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, they surrendered territories to the United States to build bases in the north and now, on 3rd March 1963, the so-called Sino-Pakistan Treaty was

concluded and was followed by the boundary protocol a few months later thereby handing over to China, not as was first said to be a temporary arrangement, 2000 square miles of Indian territory. Therefore, whatever were the basis of this agreement, that has disappeared.

Invasion now

Now, in recent days, some 5000 personnel of this army for the first time after the 1947 invasion, have entered our territory. The people of Kashmir, the police and the army elements and whatever other forces were available, when the facts were known, they have operated and, according to Government statements, large number of infiltrators have either been taken prisoners or killed. I do not think that one should be accused of being blood-thirsty but when there is infiltration of this kind, with all great respect to the Prime Minister, I would submit that it is not right to insist that the army should take them prisoners; they should be shot at sight and they should not remain anywhere.

It is not a war according to the ordinary or normal meaning of the word. When they are penetrating into the vitals of our nation the question that we have to

ask ouerselves in this. We do not know what numbers have penetrated. No Government, however efficient, will be able to say how many people penetrated. It is all guess work. When, for example, the Americans say, there are so many viet Cong guerillas or the Viet Cong troops say there are so many American spies, they are all only estimates. In this particular case, it is impossible even for Pakistan to say how many people have come across. But broadly speaking, there are about 4,000 or 5,000 of such people.

What we have to concern ouerselves is about the fact that even if we eliminate 1,000 either by imprisonment or by extermination there still remains in the territory of Kashmir 4,000 Pakistani garrisons, penetrating or dispersed all over the area and with a great deal of propaganda conducted by them on the one hand and, thanks to our general liberal attitude to our own people in the matter of expression of opinion on the other, it is not a question of Parliament or parliamentary procedures like a Vote of no-confidence or at least a cut motion-when propaganda is carried on both in the territory of Kashmir and in the territory of the Union with regard to the secession of these areas, taking the position that Pakistan has not invaded us, then I think we have a serious situation, in

the context of an invasion, whatever may be the justification in a country like ours, where we claim the freedom of speech or even irresponsible speech, which is not a very important matter in normal times, I think the time has come to call a halt to this kind of propaganda which supports in one way or the other, whether it be philosophic, whether it be political, religious or any other, the suggestion or argument that any part of this territory should go over. No citizen of India who accepts our constitution can't take up this position.

Secondly, while it is entirely left to the Government of the day to decide what steps must be taken, I think it is for us to express the opinion that priority has to be given to the removal of these, 4,000 infiltrators who have already come in, because it is not a question of 4,000 foreigners shaking the foundation of the police or military or other structure in that territory; but, it is a frontier area of a kind where for over 17 years there have been sabotages of various ways, either by bombs or by cutting of telegraphic wires or cutting telecommunications and there is a threat of the confidence of the people being shaken and their means of livelihood affected, when there are a large number of outsiders who, for some reason or the other, seem to be immune to the penal action that

we might take. Therefore, the Government has to be supported in all measures that may be taken, either through the police in the area itself or through the police imported from some other State, as we have done in Nagaland, or by asking the army to carry out combing out operations with the help of the people there.

Tributes to People of Kashmir

I think we have to be particularly careful that we do not unconsciously succumb to the propaganda that the populations inside kashmir are not entirely with the administration or are not hostile to the people coming in. The ordinary population anywhere when met by the enemies in superior numbers, you cannot expect them to stand up for political principles or to make individual sacrifices. If in a village, for example, half a dozen army people with considerable resources come and put pressures of one kind or another over the ignorant people, or isolate the people, certain consequences follow. But there is no doubt at all in my mind-and I am not one of those Members of Parliament who have now gone to Kashmir; I don't have; I think I have some knowledge of this matter-I have no doubt at all that a very significant part of the resistance, that a very significant part of the opposition and the greatest part

of the disappointment to the invader has come from the fact that the people of Kashmir will not help the invaders. I think we should not be apologetic about it and we should not allow it to remain not unknown to the world.

In regard to Kashmir we have been the unconscious victims of other people's propaganda whether they are small matters or big matters. In 1947 it was the people, men and women and children of Kashmir, who held the invaders at bay. They paid the largest price in lives in the sacrifice of the resources, of their honour, comfortability etc. In the early days before the armed forces of India could turn the tide of battle at Chitral in the following April. Therefore, it is very important-well, I should express what I feel about it that in this house we do not lend ourselves to the idea that when the people come from the other side, the people here are only waiting to join them, even though that is the propaganda that is put on.

In that connection there was a suggestion made by one of the leading members of the opposite side, either here or elsewhere, that the area of Srinagar should be placed under the control of the army. It is my respectful suggestion or submission that no more undesirable suggestion or procedure than this

can be thought of. It means that we can not trust the people over there. If it means that Kashmir can be held only by the force of arms, then we have handed over to the enemy a propaganda weapon of the greatest magnitude. In our system the army like the civil service carries out the orders of the Government. They are instruments of policy, they are not the makers of the policy. Any suggestion that there should be a military government in any part of that area is a free gift of good propaganda value to Pakistan and other enemies.

Mediation out of the Question

Secondly so far as the United Nations in the world context is concerned, while it is not for me but for the Government of the day to take decisions as are required. I would like to express the opinion that I have rather concerned by seeing press reports—of course, one can only place a degree of limited credence on them that there have been some suggestions of sending over the Under Secretary General to India in connection with this matter. Now the position is that this country is invaded. It is not a question of anybody coming here for negotiations, even though we have been accustomed to India and Pakistan being treated as equals in spite of one being the invaded and the

other invader. Even in the past, we have never agreed to the United Nations observers coming here. All that we said was that we are a hospitable country, if they come we shall not turn them away. Now to invite any kind of mediation or anything of that kind would be to accept equality with the invader in this matter, which is wrong.

Interested Powers Support Pak Aggression

I would also like to submit to the Prime Minister that it is of part our rights, on the one hand, and is part of what the Government may consider useful on the other that the United Nations should without any further delay publish the report of the UN observer, General Nimmo, the Australian General, who has been there for ten years. I do not want at this stage to pick out individuals and say anything. There is certainly a report. Either the report is in favour of us or against us. Even if it is against us, let us see it. Then we know the truth. If the report is against us, it would have been published long ago. Therefore, let us see that report. That does not belong to anybody in particular; it belongs to the United Nations in the sense that the Security Council has empowered the appointment of the observer corps. If there is any need for a meeting of the Security Council, it should be called

for. In any case, this report should be, without any further delay, made available. Secondly, it is essential that whatever we have to say on this matter should be communicated to the Secretary General with the request that it should be recorded. That is to say, it should form part of the United Nations' document which anybody can see. Otherwise, the propaganda will go on from one side. For the last 15 years the Great powers of the world have all the time supported Pakistani aggression. While they have said to us in the beginning of every meeting that they are not in it, we have discovered when the meeting went on and when they drafted the resolution where their sympathies were. It is only our policy of non-alignment, independence, our policy of not being tied to one side or the other that has prevented in the last sixteen years the United Nation from passing a resolution in favour of us.

Our Rights and Duties

The time has come now when those who believe in freedom, those who are against aggression, should come forward and say that aggression has been committed and not merely look at it as a piece of intrusion or anything of that character. The allegation is, so far as Kashmir is concerned, that the Government

of Kashmir does not have too much influence on the Central Government in regard to-day-to-day matters, that there is a great deal of show of confidence in the local population, that there are opportunities for them to defend their own homelands and that the cease-fire line though it is quite several hundred miles long, people do not come a long way and there are only a few points to which they come is properly sealed. I yield to no one in thinking that the reoccupation of the occupied areas is in furtherance of our rights and duties. We had in the past said that we would not change this position by force of arms, but now arms have been forced upon us and, therefore, defence becomes offence in this case.

First concern

While it is true that these areas Gilgit, Chitral and other areas are part of India, our first concern immediately is to see that those who have penetrated are either exterminated or interned or put in concentration camps or by any way sterilised so far as effective striking power is concerned because the fact that with the power they may do anything creates so much of effect; the moral of the people is so adversely affected. It is very difficult problem. It is easy enough to say that only a small number, about 2,500 or 5,000

comes; they are distributed in this way; the sealing of the cease-fire line should be done this way so that nobody comes through that

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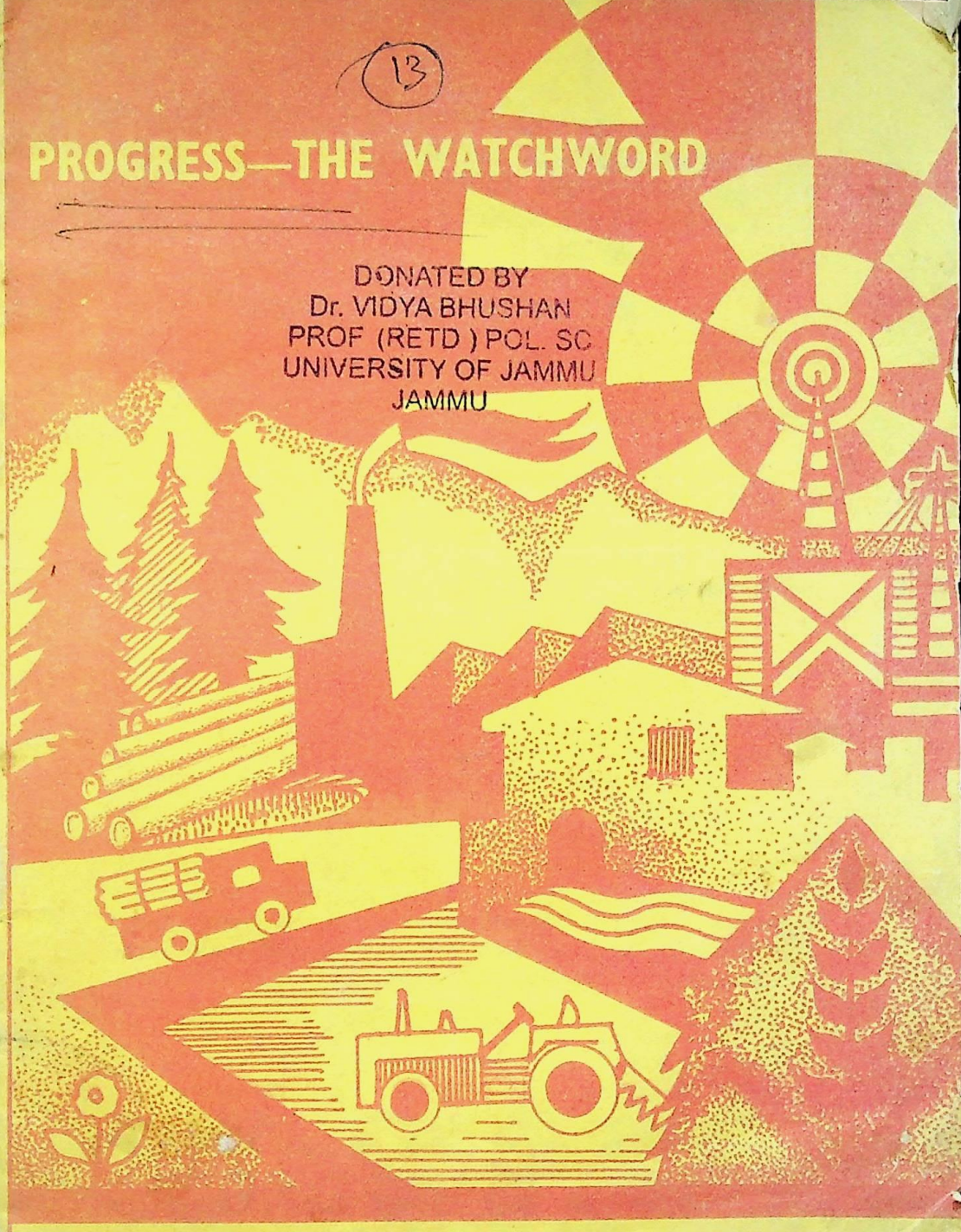
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PROGRESS—THE WATCHWORD

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Prospect and Retrospect.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah
Chief Minister,
Jammu and Kashmir.

We have completed 32 years of political independence and though this period could be described as a moment in a country's history, it is long enough for us to see whether we are steering our country in the right direction for the fulfilment of the noble objectives which our leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had set before us.

Far-reaching Achievements :

These 32 years have been a period of teething troubles, of ups and downs, of un-certain beginnings, of crucial ordeals and of trying times. And yet it has been a period of worthy deeds and far-reaching achievements. We have laid the solid foundation of a great democracy, wedded to the ideals of secularism, universal brotherhood and social justice. We have set in motion a process of development which aims at the attainment of a society based on equality and justice and free from all kinds of exploitation. Despite many hurdles, at no time in the post-independence era, did the masses of this great country lose sight of these noble ideals.

After having suffered and smarted under the yoke of colonial rule for centuries, India today, in a short span of three decades, is abreast of the most advanced countries in many respects. In the sphere of agriculture, industry, technology and advancement on scientific lines, India has taken great strides and enjoys a place of honour amongst the developing as well as developed countries.

One disconcerting feature causing concern to all patriotic citizens is the frequent outburst of communal violence in some parts of the country. Nothing could be more unfortunate at this crucial juncture of our history. Such incidents tend to create a sense of insecurity among minority communities thereby stalling their fuller integration and participation in national mainstream. The communal virus needs be eradicated for all times to come. Elements who thrive on communal carnage must be exposed and dealt with effectively.

Complacency, however, is the luxury no individual or nation can afford, least of all our country. We have to go a long way and strive harder to eradicate the age-old backwardness and make life worth living for millions of our countrymen.

Thrust on Economic Growth :

Jammu and Kashmir too has had its share of ups and downs. No doubt, the post-independence era in this State is punctuated by many a vicissitude but, by and large, the State has witnessed a thrust in economic growth. An all out endeavour for socio-economic development has been launched as a result of which a transformation has begun to take place in life of people.

Political Stability :

The years just gone by have been marked by political stability that has proved largely conducive to accelerated development effort. The State today presents the picture of a massive workshop of development activities. This climate of growth reflects in the enhancement of per capita income, which could be described as true index of progress. The per capita income in the State which stood at Rs. 835 in 1974-75 shot up to Rs. 986 by the end of March, 1978 and it continues to maintain an upward trend.

Self Reliance :

Self-reliance is our watchword for, we are convinced that without it there can be no self-confidence and self-respect. Agriculture being the corner-stone of our economy, we have paid more and more attention to production under this sector year after year.

Self-sufficiency in food production, which has eluded us all these years, is now in sight. The food production which was little over 10 lakh tonnes during 1974-75, has increased to 12.50 lakh tonnes in 1978-79, and we are poised to achieve a target of 12.80 lakh tonnes this year. The out-put will go up further in the coming four or five years and the State will achieve self-reliance in the agricultural sector.

Agricultural Production :

To achieve our objectives in agricultural production the pride of place goes to this sector in the matter of investments. Against Rs. 6.56 crores in 1974-75 the outlay for this sector this year has been fixed at Rs. 20.75 crores indicating a step-up of more than 200 per cent. The consumption of inputs has been also gone up over the years. The off-take of fertilizers recorded about three-fold increase over the past three years. While it was about 20,000 tonnes last year, it is expected to go further upto 25,000 tonnes. Likewise the pace of switchover to high yielding varieties has been kept up. It may soon reach the 100 per cent mark. It is only a question of a year or so when the State will completely wipe off the food subsidy.

The allied sectors like horticulture and the animal husbandry have witnessed significant growth. With the diversification of the market coupled with increased production the fruit export has more than doubled over the past few years reaching 3.33 lakh tonnes last year. To build up this sector further a massive project has been set up with the World Bank assistance which is likely to cost Rs. 21 crores. Similarly the meat and milk production have gone up substantially indicating an advance in animal and sheep husbandry.

Irrigation and Power :

The twin sectors that have claimed the highest investment over the recent years are irrigation and power. The outlay for these sectors this year has been fixed at Rs. 33.50 crores. These have a direct bearing on the development of agriculture and industries and are expected to bring about the desired affluence earlier than envisaged. Some massive irrigation projects are coming up with a promise of making vast arable lands verdant. These include the Rs. 46 crores Ravi Project and six medium

projects in the Valley at a cost of Rs. 11.24 crores. The total irrigation potential of these projects will be 75,000 hectares.

With the commissioning of the third unit of the Lower Jhelum Hydel Project later this year the installed power generating capacity is likely to go up to 210 Mws. showing a step up of more than 130 per cent over the past four years. This will help further gear up the rural electrification drive. This year alone 500 villages will be electrified taking their total number to 25,00. A number of the other hydel projects, including the ambitious Salal, are also coming up while some others are on the anvil. With the exploitation of the power potential to a greater extent the day might not be distant when the State will become surplus in power production.

Industrial Development :

The past four years have witnessed a phenomenal thrust in industrial development, especially in the medium and small scale sectors. In the small scale, village industries and handicraft sectors, thousands of new units have come up, not only boosting up the production but also absorbing a huge segment of job seekers. In the medium sector as many as 24 units have been set up by last year in the public, private and joint sectors. These include the Cigarette Factory, Wool Combing Plant, Joinery Mill and Tawi Sectors in Jammu and the Rice Husking Plant in the Valley. The production of goods from these units has been of the value of about Rs. 700 lakhs. The most striking feature in the industrial sector is the increase in export of handicrafts. It has more than double in just two years.

Transport and Communication :

Other development sectors like the Transport and Communications, public works, health and education and social services have witnessed tremendous growth over the recent years. All these have a direct bearing on the socio-economic transformation of the State. The overall road length upto the end of last year was 7,600 Kms to which another 1,100 Kms would be added this year. The number of villages having drinking water facility is likely to go up to 1,770 with a population of 15.27 lacs. While the Government health services, have improved all over the

State a massive medical Institute is coming up with Central assistance which will enable the State to dispense with the sophisticated services from outside.

Epoch-making Experiments : The State has the distinction of having pioneered some of the epoch-making experiments. These are the introduction of the single line administration system and agrarian reforms.

Single line administration system has yielded highly encouraging results infusing an element of democratisation and decentralisation in the process of planning and development. A few years of practice have convinced the State about the usefulness of the measure. It has given a new direction and meaning of to the effort of planned development.

Land Reforms :

Coinciding with this the State has embarked upon the implementation of the second phase of land reforms. The Martyr's Day this year touched off the large scale transfer of the resultant surplus land of 8 lakh acres to the tillers. With a view to speeding up the administration and justice the creation of four more districts in the State marked the urge for rationalising the size of the administrative units. This step is bound to gear up the development effort further.

Peace and Tranquility :

It is in this context that the State has a greater yearning for peace and tranquility. While agitational politicking could be an effective tool against autocratic rulers before 1947 it has no relevance after the State achieved freedom. Nevertheless some areas have been haunted by occasional disruption on one flimsy ground or other. Needless to mention the Government is keen to ease out all the irritants. There have been some disenchanting factors responsible for creating tensions. In the past, some areas, especially those remote and far off, have been subjected to neglect and deprivation. But the present Government is keen to remove the disparities and bring about balance in the development. The Government has recently constituted an Inquiry Commission headed by the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice S. M. Sikri, to go into the complaints of any imbalances in the past.

Benefits to Employees :

The Government is also alive to the problems facing employees. The increase in the dearness allowance announced recently was a step in this direction. To make it all embracing and comprehensive the Government has recently set-up a Pay Commission which will go into their problems at length.

What is needed most this time is that all the people should summon up their energies to build up the development tempo. They should bid adieu to sectarian and petty interests and join in the biggest task of uprooting poverty from the State. This way alone will the independence gained after great many sacrifices assume meaning and content. And this way can the dream of Naya Kashmir be rendered into a reality.

Building A Sound Economy

D. D. Thakur
Finance and Planning Minister

In Jammu and Kashmir, the natural resources like forests, irrigation waters, hydro-electric potential, mineral wealth etc. are in abundance. These have not been fully developed because of huge investments involved but a beginning has been made in this direction.

Despite the disadvantages of mountain-locked region and high cost economy Jammu and Kashmir is well set on the road to progress and development. Spectacular progress has been registered in various socio-economic endeavours which are the direct outcome of increased planned development investments coupled with decentralised process of planning.

Plan Outlay :

The total outlay provided under the annual plan for the year 1979-80 is of the order of Rs. 118 crores against Rs. 48 crores during 1974-75. In addition, Rs. 18 crores will be non-plan committed expenditure. Agriculture, irrigation and power constitute the bulk of the allocations. The expenditure during the past years has been increasing at a rapid rate. During 1977-78 the expenditure had been estimated at Rs. 94.23 crores against the annual plan of Rs. 89.69 crores. Likewise over Rs. 109.70 crores had been spent last year against annual plan of Rs. 108 crores.

The present Government decided to reduce non-productive expenditure to the minimum. As an outcome subsidies on food-grains were progressively reduced. The total amount saved on this account was Rs. 6.30 crores during 1977-78 and Rs. 7 crores during 1978-79.

Decentralisation :

For achieving a balanced regional development in the State the Government introduced planning at district and block levels. This a very important measure introduced with a view to decentralising the planning process. Fully representative development boards at the district and block levels have been appointed.

State Income :

The State income is a fair indicator of the level of economic development. The per capita income at current prices has registered a rise to Rs. 986 during 1977-78 as against Rs. 835 in 1974-75. This rising trend in the per capita income is expected to have continued during the year 1978-79.

During the year 1977-78 the sector-wise contribution to the total State income at current prices had been Rs. 313.94 crores by agriculture, Rs. 99.07 crores by mining and quarrying, Rs. 53.89 crores by transport and communications and Rs. 70.89 crores by other domestic services.

Prices :

Price structure in the State is directly affected by the price trends in the markets outside the State. For most of the requirements of consumption as well as investment the State has to depend on imports from outside the State. The cost of living index which is a fair indicator of the price trend, has increased from time to time. The index with 100 as base in 1960 rose from 306 in 1976 to 318 in April 1977 and further to 348 in April 1979.

The major source of investment in the State is the State is the State development plans and other expenditure being incurred by the State Government under normal State budget. The total net disbursements under the State budget have been increasing at a very rapid rate. These were Rs. 223.78 crores during 1976-77 and Rs. 246.89 crores during 1977-78, Rs. 280.29 crores (revised estimated) in 1978-79 and Rs. 299.80 crores (estimates) for the current fiscal year (1979-80).

Another feature of the expenditure of the State budget is that the development expenditure within the revenue account has been increasing at a high rate. During 1975-76 the expenditure under this head was Rs. 7.99 crores which shot up to Rs. 20.63 crores during 1976-77. During 1977-78 it further increased to Rs. 25.10 crores. The estimates for 1978-79 are Rs. 36.94 crores and for 1979-80 Rs. 32.53 crores. This marks a shift in the pattern of expenditure even under non-plan budget.

Employment :

Employment is another very important indicator of the health of the economy. Self employment has provided the answer to ever increasing problem of educated un-employed. The programme of self-employment launched in the State has proved a viable answer to the jobless and has caught the imagination of many jobless youth. In a short period of last five years about 2500 units have sprouted in the self-employment sector. To make the programme more viable and attractive several remedial measures have been taken. These include among others subsidising the rate interest beyond 7½ percent, revival of closed and sick units. With the removal of difficulties faced by the entrepreneurs about 12,500 persons are expected to get employment through this scheme during the 6th plan period. Separate funds have been provided for training the prospective entrepreneurs. An outlay of Rs. 1.50 crore is provided for the infra-structure for the programme in the sixth plan.

New Power Projects

—Sonam Narboo
Minister for
Works Power and Ladakh Affairs

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is blessed with a vast hydel potential. But, only a fraction of this stands harnessed. As, such, surveys and investigations to identify hydel potential and to prepare project reports based on the techno-economic studies has been taken up. For this purpose a separate wing has been put incharge of identification and investigations of new hydel schemes. Surveys conducted have identified a hydel potential of the order of about 5,370 MWs and further investigations are in progress.

The pre-independence level of power generation in the State was 6.5 MWs only which rose to 93.78 MWs at the end of December, 1974. With the commissioning of two more units of 5 MWs each of Chenani Hydel Project in 1975-76, State's power generating capacity went up to 103.78 MWs. The Commissioning of first two units of 35 MWs. each of the Lower Jhelum Hydel Project in February, 1978 and January, 1979 boosted the power generation to 173.38 MWs. The third unit of 35 MWs. of this project is expected to go on stream shortly.

As per the 10th Annual load survey, the power requirements of the Jammu and Kashmir State, both peak and energy, have been assessed as under :—

| Year | Peak (MWs.) | Energy (Million Units) |
|---------|-------------|------------------------|
| 1977-78 | 135 | 661 |
| 1978-79 | 158 | 774 |
| 1979-80 | 189 | 927 |
| 1980-81 | 222 | 1091 |
| 1981-82 | 247 | 1212 |
| 1982-83 | 275 | 1351 |
| 1983-84 | 306 | 1500 |
| 1988-89 | 585 | 2890 (for 5 years) |
| 1993-94 | 1095 | 5450 -do- |
| 1995-96 | 1382 | 6900 |

The outlay for the current financial year for power development is Rs. 19.00 crores against Rs. 18.83 crores for 1978-79. Of this, Rs. 4.32 crores have been earmarked for the completion of on going schemes, Rs. 68 lakhs for the new schemes and Rs. 9.50 crores for laying of transmission and distribution system. For rural electrification programme Rs. 3.71 crores have been kept apart which includes Rs. 2.21 crores as loan assistance from the Rural Electrification Corporation of India. An allocation of Rs. 65 lakhs has been made for surveys and investigations and Rs. 14 lakhs for other works. During 1975-76 and 1976-77, Rs. 51.33 lakhs and Rs. 45 lakhs respectively were spent on the investigation of the new schemes. Besides, Rs. 25 lakhs for the year 1976-77 and Rs. 15 lakhs for the year 1977-78 were arranged from Government of India as aid for the purpose. During the past two years Rs. 1.36 crores have been incurred for this purpose. However, due to paucity of funds, the spread of investigations has been restricted to the following schemes —

Uri Project :

The Uri Hydel Project site is about 100 Kms. from Srinagar on the Srinagar-Uri National Highway. It utilises a drop of 257 metres in a river length of 16 Kms. to generate 480 MWs. of power with a discharge of 8,000 cusecs. The biggest component of the project is the head race tunnel which is about 10 Kms. long. However, 5 working faces are available and the project can be completed within six years from the commencement of the project. It is estimated that the project will generate 2,800 million units in a year with

a capital cost of Rs. 240 crores (Rs. 224 crores for main project and Rs. 16 crores for transmission system upto pooling point in the Northern grid).

Upper Sindh Stage II

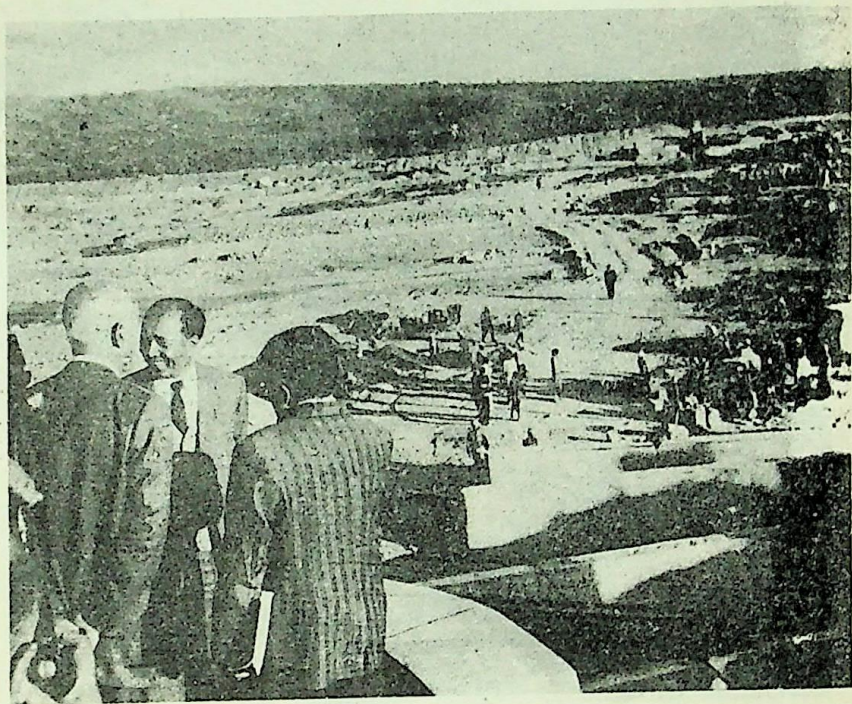
The project site is 39 Kms. from Srinagar on Srinagar-Leh road. The project envisages taking off canal from tail race of Kangan Power House. A canal from Wangat to Kangan for utilising water of Wangat Nallah has also been provided. The total length of the canal is 24 Kms. It will have an installed capacity of about 30 MWs. and is estimated to cost Rs. 21.5 crores. The project is proposed to be completed by 1982-83. The scheme stands almost investigated and the project report was prepared in 1969. The upto date project report is expected to be submitted to the Central Electricity authorities shortly.

Gangabal Hydel Scheme :

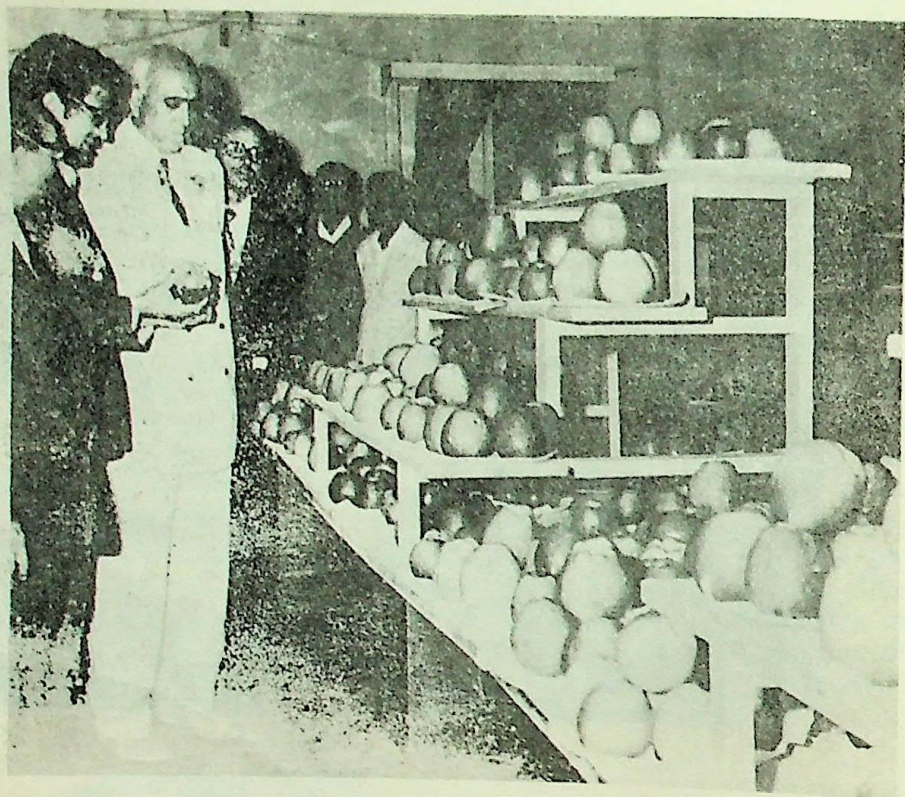
The scheme envisages utilisation of the storage capacity of 60,000 acre feet of the Gangabal Lake for power generation during winter. This will help in reducing the gap between summer and winter generation. The head available is about 4,800 feet which is proposed to be utilised by constructing a tunnel from the bed of the lake to the power house site. As per preliminary estimates the scheme will cost Rs. 35 crores. The generation capacity of the project is 100 MWs. for 100 days in winter. An amount of Rs. 10 lakhs is provided for the current year for meeting the expenditure on infrastructure and communications.

Gurez Hydel Scheme :

The scheme estimated to cost Rs. 68 lakhs is envisaged to have an installed capacity of 600 KVs. The scheme has been necessitated because of the fact that supplying power to this bad pocket from the State grid will be too expensive. For, the transmission lines to connect the area will have to pass over high snow covered mountains and areas prone to avalanches in winter. Besides making it extremely difficult to maintain the lines for reliable power supply, the cost of power supply will be high in view of these facts. The project is proposed to be completed in five years.



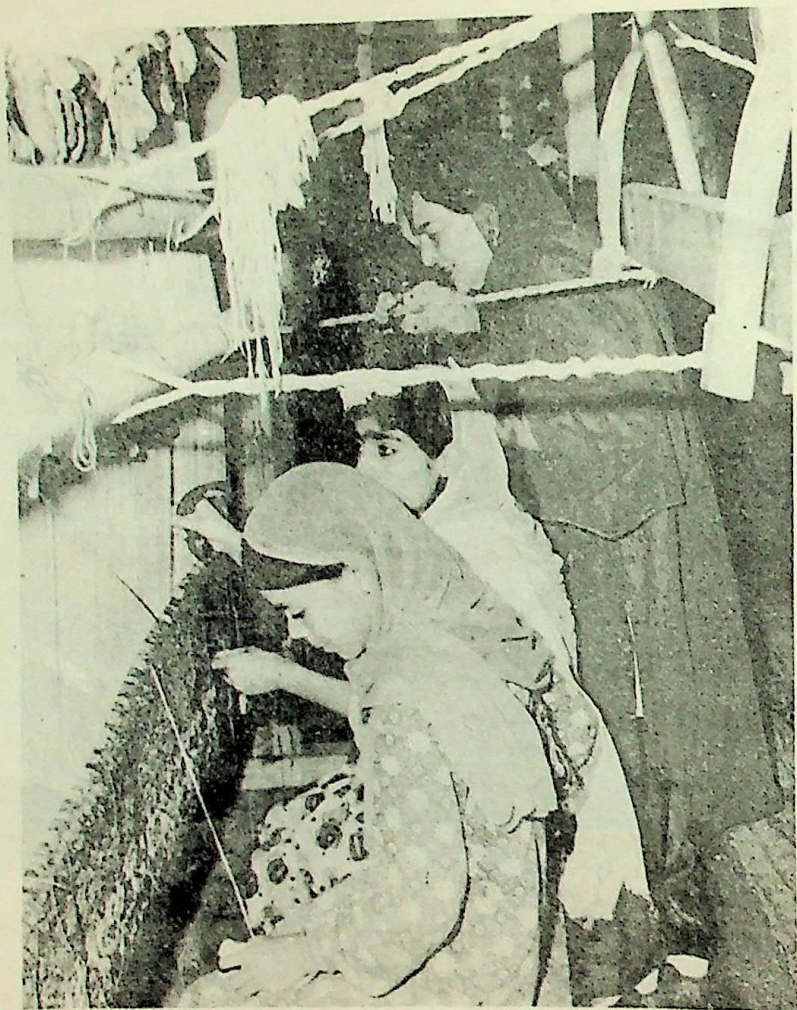
Work is in progress on Ravi-Tawi Canal Project.



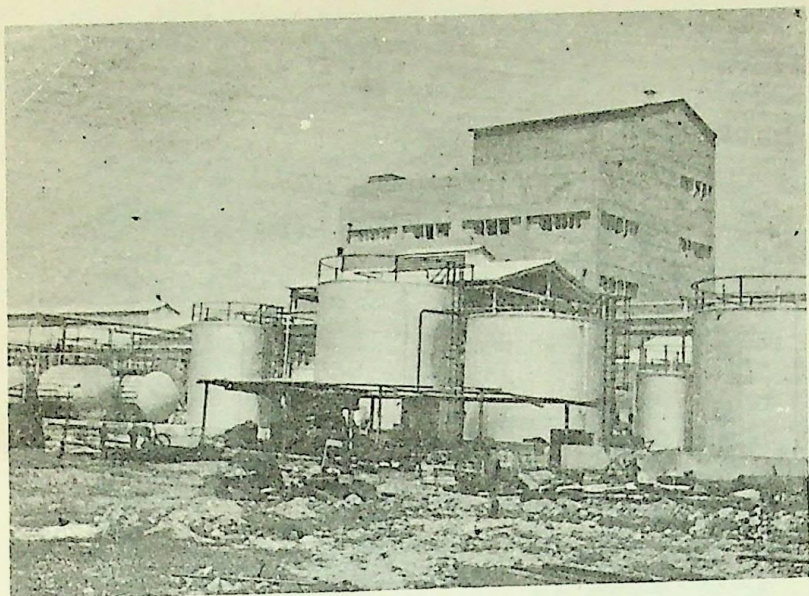
Development of Horticulture in the State.



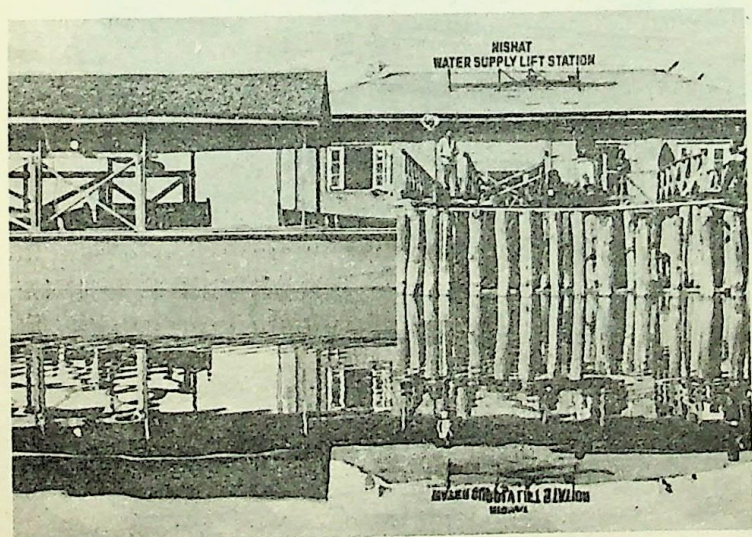
Harvesting of wheat in Jammu Province.



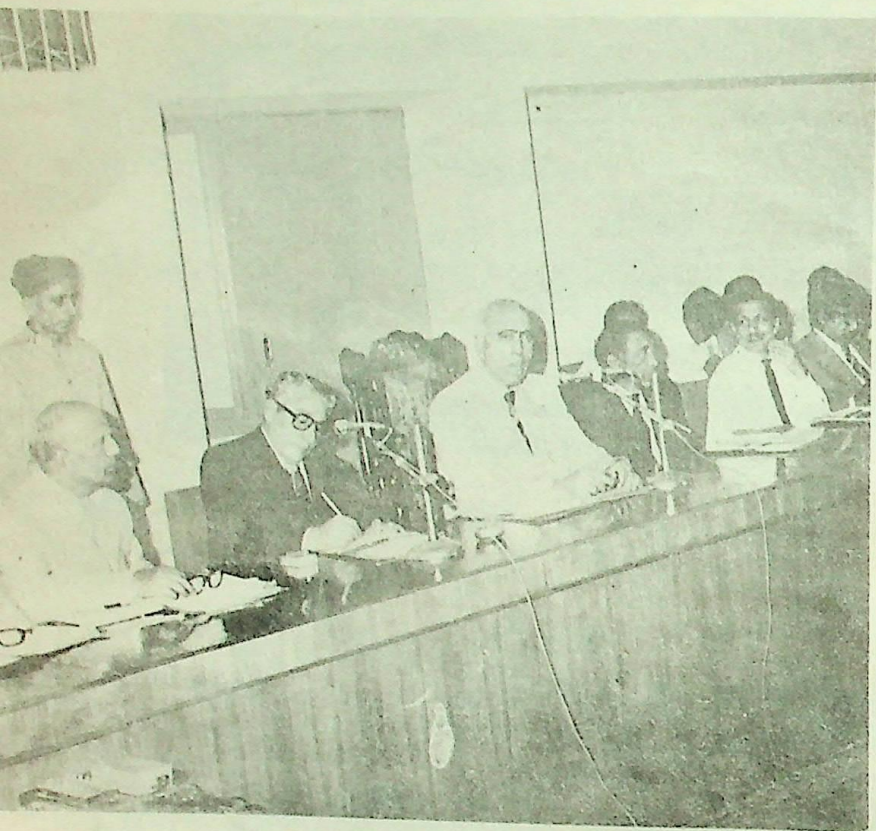
Pegum Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah at the Carpet Weaving Centre, Miskeen Bagh, Srinagar.



Detergent Plant at Bari Brahmana Industrial Complex, Jammu.



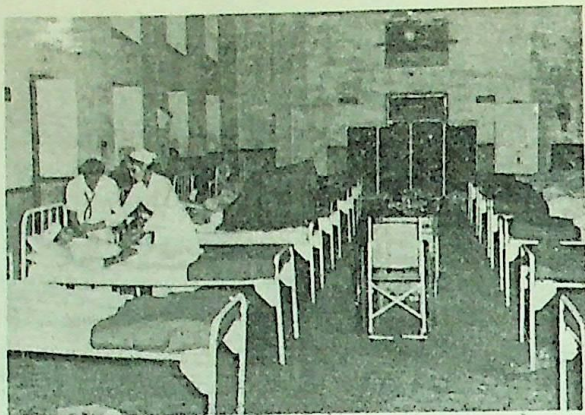
Nishat Water Supply Lift Station near Srinagar.



Sheikh Sahib presiding over the Leh and Kargil
District Development Board meeting.



Green Gold of the State.



A view of a Hospital ward in Jammu.



The Chief Minister laying the foundation stone of
Water Treatment Plant near Nagrota, Jammu.
CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

Sewa Hydel Project :

The proposed Sewa Hydel Project in block Bani of tehsil Basholi, one of the most backward areas, is sure to give fillip to the economic growth in the area. Out of all the minor projects identified in the Jammu province, this nallah has the biggest potential. A hydel scheme with a potential of 48 MWs. is under investigation at present.

The terrain is difficult and the project site is deficient of access. It is essential to construct an approach road to power house a site at Patyarna from Sander (20 Kms.). Only about 6 Kms. of the approach road is nearing completion. An allocation of Rs. 25 lakhs has been made for the current year for pre-construction works on approach road and hutments. The approach road will cost Rs. 2.31 crores.

The drilling at these sites will be started in September, 1979 and it is expected to complete the investigations and formulate the project report by August, 1980. Subject to clearance of project, it is proposed to start construction in the year 1980-81

Kirthai Scheme :

The investigation on Kirthai Hydel Scheme in Chenab basin is in progress. The scheme is proposed to have an installed capacity of 1150 Mws. This will be only scheme in the State where storage on river Chenab shall be made to the extent permissible under Indus Water Treaty. The storage will help in framing up of power generation from all down stream Hydel Projects on river Chenab.

Parkhachik Hydel Scheme :

The proposed Parkhachik Panikhar Hydel Scheme on river Suru in Ladakh division with an installation capacity of 21 Mws. for the summer discharge of 400 cusecs is estimated to cost Rs. 50 crores. The scheme envisages construction of a weir across river Suru at Parkhachik to divert the flow through a 4 Kms. long tunnel across the mountain and thus providing a gross fall of 967 feet to the proposed power house at Thulus village (opposite

village Panikhar). The topographical and hydrological surveys are nearing completion. The underground exploration has started. Some investigations at barrage site and tunnel alignment have already been made. The investigations are proposed to be completed by March, 1982.

Dul Hasti Project :

The project on river Chenab has been fully investigated by the Central Water Commission. The project is located in Kishtwar and will have an installed capacity of 390 Mws. The Government of India has agreed to take up the project immediately in the Central Sector.

The investigations of Mundi Hydel Scheme, Parnai Hydel cum-Irrigation Scheme, Sonamarg Storage Scheme, Lidder Hydel Scheme in Jhelum basin (Kashmir Valley) are in progress. The generating capacity of these schemes are envisaged at 15 Mws., 20 Mws., 150 Mws. and 124.5 Mws. respectively. In the Chenab basin (Jammu Division) 4 schemes namely Kalnai-Kuligad Hydel Scheme, Neru Hydel Scheme, Bichlary Hydel Scheme and Ans Hydel Scheme with generating capacity of 56 Mws., 40 Mws., 46 Mws. and 37 Mws. respectively are under investigation. The Dhumkhar Hydel Scheme with generating capacity of 16 Mws. in the Indus basin (Ladakh) is also under investigation.

Strengthening Rural Economy

Ghulam Nabi Kochak

Minister for Revenue and Sericulture

The phenomenal fillip that our agricultural build-up received during the past few years has considerably neared us to the goal of self-sufficiency on the food front making our pursuit throb with new zest and hope. Carrying the objective to this prospect has materialised primarily because of the intensified and strenuous efforts of the Government coupled by the active participation of the farmers. Steady increase in the agriculture out-lays over the years and that 17% of the State's total plan outlay for 1979-80 has been earmarked for this sector is an unequivocal pointer to the importance being attached to this vital sinew of our economy. Running parallel to it has been the enactment and implementation of the radical land reforms to unshackle the peasantry from the remnant bondages of the feudal system.

Determined efforts are being made to modernise the agrarian structure with the adoption of improved scientific practices through the use of high yielding variety of seeds, fertilizers and mechanisation.

Food Production :

The food production which was about ten lakh tonnes during 1975-76 rose to 11.24 lakh tonnes in 1977-78 and crossed the mark of 12 lakh tonnes last year. During last year food imports were reduced by Rs. 6.50 crores. This year we are expecting a bumper crop. A target of 12.80 lakh tonnes is expected to be achieved during current year. If the present rate of increase is maintained, the achievement of self-sufficiency in food production is not a distant dream.

Research Products :

In our agriculture planning, considerable stress has been laid on expanding research facilities. There are ten All India co-ordinated research projects on various crops under implementation in the State. These are in addition to State research schemes. Research work on rice-staple food of about 60% of population is being carried out at Main Rice Research Station, Khudwani and Rice Research sub-stations at Larnoo (Pulwama district) and Pounichak (Jammu). A sub-station for warm temperate zone has been established at Rajouri. A number of varieties of paddy have been evolved at these stations. Two varieties K-78 (Barkat) and P-19 have been released. Two more new high yielding varieties are under process and are being released next year which are higher yielding as well as disease resistant. Research for evolving better strains of wheat, maize, fodder are being carried in Jammu and Srinagar.

High Yielding Programmes :

The area under high yielding of paddy, maize and wheat has been increasing for the last three years. The area under high yielding programme which was 3.45 lakh hectares in 1975-76 increased to four lakh hectares during 1977-78. Last year additional twenty-five thousand hectares were covered under this programme. Besides four thousand hectares were covered under Jawar and Bajra. This year additional eleven thousand hectares are expected to be brought under this programme. As against 19,000 quintals of improved seeds of paddy, wheat and maize distributed during 1977-78 about 23,600 quintals were distributed during last year.

In order to sustain the high yielding programme attention was paid to increase consumption of fertilizers. The off-take of chemical fertilizers which was 7,000 tonnes during 1974-75 went upto 20,000 tonnes last year. The average consumption of fertilizers has registered a corresponding increase over the years. Current year's target is 25,000 tonnes.

Plant Protection Schemes :

Due attention has been paid to plant protection measures, an important input for agriculture production. The area covered under plant protection measures has more than doubled during last two years. This year also 95,000 hectares are expected to be covered.

Priority is being given to the development of other fields allied to agriculture like oil seeds, vegetables for overall rural economic growth.

The area under oil seeds has increased to seventy-five thousand hectares during 1977-78 as against 39,000 hectares during 1975-76. The cumulative area covered under the vegetable development programme has increased from about 2820 hectares in 1975-76 to over 5600 hectares in 1977-78. Last year about 6800 hectares were covered under vegetable development programme and this year it is expected to increase to 8000 hectares.

There has been spectacular increase in mushroom production. The mushroom production which was 301 kgs. in 1966-67 touched 1,19,000 kgs. last year and this year it is expected to go upto 1,48,000 kgs.

Development of Horticulture :

Greater attention has also been paid to the development of horticulture in the State. The industry earns about Rs. 50 crores annually and provides job facilities to thousands of people. The strategy of the present Government for horticulture development has been concentration of efforts on increasing fruit production in the State both through extensive and intensive means of cultivation. An additional thirteen thousand acres of land were covered under orchards thus bringing total area under orchards to 2.48 lakhs acres. Further fifteen thousand acres are expected to be brought under orchards this year.

Fruit production and export of fruit from the State has registered considerable increase during the past few years. There has been a sharp increase of over 75,000 tonnes of the fruit in the

State during the last four years and within the same period exports have also registered an increase of 72,000 tonnes. The export of fruit last year touched 3.33 lakh tonnes.

To protect the fruit trees against ravages of pests and diseases, fungicides are provided to farmers on 75% subsidy. During 1977-78 and about 90,000 acres were sprayed and last year it increased to 3.60 lakh acres. The subsidy provided during 1977-78 was of the order of about Rs. 40.12 lakh and last year it increased to over Rs. 1.43 crores. This year subsidy is expected to touch over Rs. 2.70 crores.

Two horticulture development projects are being executed in the State with the assistance of the World Bank and the Australian Government. The World Bank project is to cost over 23 crores and Australian project Rs. 63 lakhs. These two projects will help in improving quality of fruit, their grading packing besides preparation of juice and its by-products.

The World Bank project and Directorate of Planning and Marketing is making all out efforts to find new export markets where fruit will be exported directly. All steps are being explored to export fruit to Middle East countries.

Advance arrangements for carriage of fruit from the State to various terminal markets in the country are being made. A high level committee is reviewing transport arrangements after every fortnight for transportation of fruit.

Land to the Tillers :

Our peasantry had suffered tremendous afflictions and oppression for centuries together under autocratic and feudal rule. The freedom struggle which we launched was not only aimed at to remove feudal system but also to usher in an era of total socio-economic transformation based on justice and equality. Jenab Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah immediately after taking over reins of administration introduced revolutionary land reforms to relieve peasants from exploitation. In 1950, 36 lakh kanals of land were distributed among farmers free of cost. After receiving massive mandate from the people in July 1977 the present Government initiated efforts to introduce second

phase of agrarian reforms and implemented them from 13th July last year. A balanced approach was adopted in the Act to achieve twin purpose of giving farmers their rightful place in the social order and ensuring more efficient utilisation of land resources.

Sixty four lakh kanals of land will become surplus and the same is expected to be distributed among 4.80 lakh landless, displaced persons and other categories defined in the Act. This year on Martyr's Day mutations transferring over 7,000 kanals of land about 2100 beneficiaries in the State were attested. More mutations are expected to be attested on this auspicious day. This process will continue till all available surplus land is transferred to peasants.

Cottage and Agro-based Industries :

A number of schemes including setting up of agro-based cottage and small industrial units under Self-Employment Programme have been sanctioned by the Government to strengthen rural economy. Under the scheme educated youth who intend to set-up small industrial units like bee-keeping, growing of mushroom, vegetable cultivation, poultry production, dairy units, rice huskers, oil extraction, power tillers etc. are being provided necessary incentives by the Government by way of financial assistance, technical know-how etc. Stipend of Rs. 125/- per month is sanctioned for 12 months. Loan from commercial banks is sanctioned after issue of 25% Government guarantee. Training wherever necessary is also provided by the Government. About 2400 small scale industrial and agro-based industrial units have been set-up in the State so far under Self-Employment Scheme. Loans amounting to over Rs. 1.90 crores have been advanced to these units by various financial institutions.

Forest Resources of Jammu & Kashmir State

M. K. Tickoo
Minister for Forests.

Jammu and Kashmir is fortunate enough to be gifted by nature with a vast resource of forests covering an area of 20,983 Sq. Kilometers including 718.15 Sq. Kilometers of Sanctuaries and Game reserves.

The forests in the State are mostly confined to the slopes of mountains from 500 metres to 3500 metres. The importance of forests and the vital role they play in the country can hardly be over emphasized. Stress is, therefore, being laid on proper protection, conservation and utilization of forests resources. A compelling reason today for greater interest displayed for development and preservation of forests in the growing concern about atmosphere pollution and the urgent need to maintain ecological balance.

Scientific Management :

The forests of the State come under regular scientific management and at present the latest techniques silviculture, forest management and forest statistics are being applied. The preparation of forest inventories for assessing the growing stock has undergone a radical change. The old and conventional method of assessing wood resources by enumeration of trees has been replaced by "point sampling technique" which is more accurate and statistically relevant. This method is being followed in all advanced countries of the world. Similarly, in preparation of forest maps use of serial photographs is being made more frequently.

Working Plans :

At present the entire forest area of the State except Keran, Karnah and some patches of forests in Kargil and Zaskar are covered by regular Working Plans. The Working Plans which run for a period of 10 years usually aim at improvement of stock and ensure maximum yield from forests on sustained basis.

Our forests at present meet the diverse needs of the State and the country including the increased demand of forest based industries. They play an important role in the State's economy and they also provide gainful employment to thousands of people. The Department earned a total revenue of Rs. 18.78 crores during 1978-79 as against Rs. 10.82 crores earned by it during 1977-78. The revenue from the sale of resin was Rs. 6.96 crores during the same period. The revenue from forests has sharply increased since 1974-75 when it was only Rs. 1.06 crores. This is mainly because the forests which were once considered inaccessible and uncommercial to work, have been brought under the fold of regular management for purposes of exploitation. Similarly the increased extraction of resin from Chir belt of Jammu region which covers an area of 1,45,000 hectares has greatly helped in raising the revenue. From the current year the entire quantity of resin is being extracted by the Forest Department through wage contractors and its export outside the State has also been stopped. The entire output from the Chir forests will be supplied to the existing local industries and also to those which are being set up at various places in the State. The Department has made commitments for supply of 30,544 Metric tonnes of resin to various industries.

The exploitation of forests and the extraction of resin from Chir belt could not have been possible without construction of a net-work of forest roads. An expenditure of about Rs. 40 lakhs for construction and upgrading of 780 kilometer long different roads during 1978-79 in far-flung and inaccessible areas has been incurred. More than Rs. 6 lakhs have been spent on construction of 5 Rest Houses and 7 Huts and also for repairing and renovation of 10 Forest Rest Houses and Divisional/Range Offices.

Timber Extraction :

Timber is the first and most important forest resource of the State. During 1978-79, 535.00 thousand cubic meters of timber were extracted from the forests as against 455.66 thousand cubic meters extracted during 1977-78. The Forest Department has also supplied 7.21 lakh quintals of firewood during 1978-79 to the people of Srinagar and other towns in the valley as against 6.36 lakh quintals supplied during 1977-78. Since about 50% of our rural population is dependent on forests for firewood for their hearths, the people living within 3 miles of forests in rural areas are permitted to remove fallen material for use as firewood. In view of the increasing demand for firewood about 10,544 hectares of land are being brought under intensive plantation scheme. In order to ensure supply of timber to small and big industries, in Kashmir valley poplars, walnut and mulberry trees and in Jammu region Sheesham, Kheir, sajal and bamboo trees are being sown over an area of 10,025 hectares. Special emphasis is also being laid towards prevention of ruthless cutting of mulberry trees, which are being used in the manufacture of sports goods and for the Sericulture industry in the State.

Forest Products :

Our forests are rich in minor forest products also. These include minerals, gum, resin, zeera, colchi-cum-mushrooms, medicinal plants etc. The Forest Department is the main supplier of raw material to a number of pharmaceutical industries which manufacture drugs like Diosginin, Cedar Wood Oil, Santonin, Tinctures including other Allopathic and Auyurvedic medicines. More than 2500 quintals of important drugs like discorea, artimesa, pyrethrum, and belladonna were extracted from the forests during 1978-79. A factory on modern lines has been established at Digiana (Jammu) for manufacture of Katha and the department is supplying Khair wood to it from its forests. Also raw material is being supplied to the Government Santonin Factory and the Match Factory run at Baramulla by the Jammu and Kashmir Industries Limited.

Wild Life Preservation :

Wild life is yet another important forest resource and a great asset to the State. The total area under Rakhs and Game reserves is 718.15 kilometers i.e. 3.4 percent of the total forest area. In order to preserve the State's wild life birds the Government has initiated a number of measures such as the enactment of Jammu and Kashmir Wild Life (Protection) Act, creation of a separate Directorate of Game Preservation and constitution of State Wild Life Advisory Board. The Jammu and Kashmir Wild Life Act has come into force from January, 1979. The proposed outlay under the Wild Life Scheme for 1978-80 is Rs. 55 lakhs.

Nationalising Forest Exploitation :

The exploitation of forests is being gradually nationalized and it is expected that by 1982 the forests in Kashmir division will be completely brought under the public sector and by 1984 the exploitation of Jammu forests is likewise being brought under this sector. This work was being done by the Government Lumbering Undertaking which has now been converted into the Jammu and Kashmir Forest Corporation from 1st July, 1979.

The Forest Department has also been concentrating on plantation of species which are required by the wood based industries in the State. Plantation of popular, willow, walnut, sheesham, Khair, bamboo and mulberry are being raised and it is expected that over 10,000 hectares of forest lands will be brought under these species. At the moment there are 102 nurseries in the State spread over an area of 103.73 hectares which supply plant material to various divisions of the Forest Department and to other agencies like Army and Educational Institutions. During 1978-79, 50 lakh plants were planted in these nurseries. Likewise, Rs. 88.37 lakhs have been spent on various forestry schemes and Rs. 33.95 lakhs on soil conservation schemes in the State. To fulfil the requirements of rural population and also to lessen pressure on forest resources it has been decided that all blank hill sides and other available land outside the forests like

village lands, panchayat lands, road sides, canal banks etc., will be planted with quick growing species under the Farm Forestry Scheme which has been started during the 4th Five Year Plan.

Labour Welfare :

The Forests also provide labour to a large number of skilled and unskilled labourers annually. The total employment generated through our forest is about three million man-days annually. Consistent with its policy of improving the lot of labourers, the forest Department has for the first time initiated action for constructing Rest Homes for labourers and providing shelters at various places. Also medical aid is being provided to the labour working in forests. The Department has constructed primary school buildings and dispensaries in such areas which are considered to be the main centres of labour. The anticipated expenditure on these items will be about Rs. 13.00 lakhs.

Last but not the least important wealth of our forests, is their attractive landscape which attracts thousands of tourists annually. The majestically standing coniferous trees, the numberless streams and tarns which have their origin in snow covered mountains maintain the forest community in the most delightful and fascinating manner.



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جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس زندہ باد



انتخابی منشور

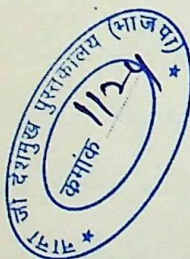
جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس

قائد عالی ڈاکٹر فاروق عبداللہ زنده باد

جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس زنده باد

جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس
کا

انتخابی منشور



ضمنی پارلیمانی انتخاب
برائے 6 حلقہ جموں
فروری 2002ء

جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس
شیر کشمیر بھون - جموں -



اس وقت جبکہ جموں۔ پونچھ پارلیمانی حلقے میں ضمنی چناؤ ہو رہے ہیں۔
 ہماری ریاست ایک دور ہے پر کھڑی ہے۔ بارہ سال بلکہ اس سے زیادہ عرصے
 سے ہم اپنے پڑوسی ملک کی سلگائی ہوئی درپردہ لڑائی سے جو جھ رہے ہیں۔ ہماری
 ریاست اور ہمارے بے قصور لوگوں کو اس بُخراں میں کیا کیا بُھکتا پڑا ہے۔ وہ کچھ
 ہم ہی جانتے ہیں۔ مار کاٹ۔ قتل۔ غارت گری۔ تباہی بربادی اور بے پناہ
 مشکلات۔ لیکن کالے بادلوں میں اُمید کی کرن نظر آرہی ہے۔ امن، دوستی،
 خیر سگالی۔ سیکولر طرز حکومت اور ترک تشدد کی برکتوں کو اب ہمارا پڑوسی ملک
 علی لاعلان تسلیم کرتا ہے۔ لیکن ابھی خدا خیر کرے۔ ورنہ اس تاتنی اور خوف
 کے ماحول میں کوئی چنگاری بھی بھڑک کر تباہی مچا سکتی ہے۔ جموں۔ پونچھ کا
 سارا علاقہ، جو اس ضمنی انتخاب کا میدان ہے۔ اس کشمکش میں گھرا ہوا
 ہے۔ سرحدی علاقوں کے ہزار در ہزار پڑا امن ریاستی شہری اپنے گھربار چھوڑنے
 پر مجبور ہو گئے ہیں اور دور کے ڈیروں میں دُکھ اٹھا رہے ہیں۔ ہاں اچھی خبر یہ ہے
 کہ اس وقت ساری دنیا جنگ کو ٹالنا چاہتی ہے اور ہمارے موقف کی تائید کرتی
 ہے۔ ہمارے موقف کی دُستی اور فریق مخالف کی پشیمانی سے آس بند ہتی ہے
 کہ دیر سے ہی سہی اُسے امن و سلامتی کا راستہ اختیار کرنا ہو گا۔ اس عالمی اور
 علاقائی تناظر میں امن اور دوستی کی اُمیدیں پیدا ہو رہی ہیں۔ جموں و کشمیر نیشنل
 کانفرنس کے قائد محترم وزیر اعلیٰ جناب ڈاکٹر فاروق عبداللہ ریاستی عوام کو

درپیش عذاب کو خوب سمجھتے ہیں۔ اسی لئے وہ بار بار کہتے ہیں کہ جھگڑوں کے کانٹے کو ہمیشہ ہمیشہ کیلئے نکال دو کہ اب ہمارے عوام کو دکھ سہنے کی تاب نہیں رہی۔ اُمید زندگی کا چراغ ہے اور اس خوش اندیشی کی وجوہات موجود ہیں کہ ہم ایک نئے دور کی چوکھٹ پر کھڑے ہیں۔ ہماری تنظیم کے بانی جناب شیر کشمیر شیخ محمد عبداللہ ہند اور پاکستان کے درمیان خیر سگالی کی وکالت کرتے رہے اور مدت سے نایاب اس چیز کی تلاش میں انہوں نے 1964ء میں پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کے کہنے پر پاکستان کا سفر بھی کیا۔ وہ کہتے تھے کہ بٹوارہ ایک اٹل حقیقت ہے لیکن ہند اور پاکستان کے عوام مشترکہ تواریخ، جغرافیہ، معاشیات، کپھر، زبانوں، طرز زندگی اور برادری کے ایسے رشتوں میں بندھے ہیں کہ دُنیا میں کوئی اور دو ملک اس طرح کے نہیں ہیں۔ جھگڑے غیروں کے علاوہ بھائیوں میں بھی ہو سکتے ہیں۔ لیکن تدبیر، دور اندیشی اور خیر سگالی سے کوئی بھی مسئلہ حل کیا جاسکتا ہے۔ لگتا ہے کہ اب دیرسویر حالات ہند اور پاکستان کو امن سے رہنے پر مجبور کریں گے۔ روشن کہیں بہار کے امکان ہوئے تو ہیں۔

اُمید اور آرزو کے اس مرحلے پر ہماری جماعت کو اپنے اصولوں اور اپنی جدوجہد کے ریکارڈ پر فخر ہے۔ ایثار اور قربانیوں سے سُرخ رُو اس جماعت نے یہ منزلیں پالینے کیلئے اپنا رول خوبی سے ادا کیا ہے۔ دور کی بات نہ بھی کریں تب بھی اس روشنی کی کرنیں اُس وقت کھلنے لگیں جب 1996ء

میں اس جماعت نے عوام کے سامنے جا کر اُن کا اعتماد حاصل کرنے کیلئے قدم بڑھایا۔ اس کے جیلے لیڈر اور کارکن خطرات کے آگے سینہ تان کر کھڑے ہو گئے۔ عوام نے اس جماعت کے اُمیدواروں کو عام چناؤ میں اپنا اعتماد بخشا۔ اس طرح چھ سات سال کی بے چہرہ سرکار کے بدلے عوام کے سامنے جواب دہ حکومت آگئی۔ اس کے سینکڑوں لیڈروں اور کارکنوں کو اپنے اعلیٰ اصولوں کیلئے جس طرح اپنی جانیں نچھاور کرنا پڑیں۔ وہ اس جماعت کی حب الوطنی اور عوام دوستی کا شاندار باب ہے اور یہ جائزہ سلسلہ اب بھی بند نہیں ہوا ہے۔ لیکن وطن دوستی اور اصول پسندی کی راہ پر اس تنظیم کے قدم نہ ڈگمگائے اور نہ پیچھے ہٹے ہیں۔

ایک پارلیمانی حلقے کے ضمنی انتخاب کیلئے ہماری سرکار کی پوری کارکردگی کا جائزہ لینے کا یہ محل نہیں ہے کیونکہ ریاست کی ترقیاتی مہم ریاست گیر اور ڈویژن کی سطح پر بہت سی شکتیوں سے جاری رہی ہے اور الگ الگ حلقوں میں اس کو محدود کرنا درست نہیں۔ لیکن ہمیں اطمینان ہے کہ اسمبلی اور پھر دو پارلیمانی انتخابات میں ہم نے عوام سے جو پیمانہ باندھے تھے۔ وہ تسلی بخش حد تک پورے کئے جا چکے ہیں۔ چند اشارے بات کی وضاحت کریں گے۔

ریاست میں مستحکم اور معتبر جمہوری نظام کیسی سطحوں پر استوار ہو گیا ہے۔ ہماری حکومت کچھ دوسری ریاستوں کی طرح عدم استحکام کا شکار نہیں۔ پچھلے سال ریاست میں ۲۳ سال کے بعد پنچائتوں کے الیکشن کرائے گئے۔

پنچائتی حلقوں کے قواعد کے تحت نئی حد بندی کی گئی اور اُن کی تعداد
 1468 سے بڑھا کر تقریباً 2702 گئی یعنی 2702 ہو گئی۔ یہ انتخابات غیر جماعتی
 بنیاد پر مگر جوش و خروش سے ہوئے۔ جن میں پہلی بار خواتین پنچوں کی خاصی
 تعداد بھی ابھر آئی ہے۔ پنچائتوں کو مزید اختیارات دیئے گئے ہیں اُنکی مالی
 حیثیت بھی بڑھائی گئی ہے تاکہ وہ دیہات کی ترقی میں اہم حصہ ادا کریں۔
 کو اپریٹو اداروں کے انتخاب بھی اتنی ہی مدت کے بعد کرائے گئے۔ بلکہ
 کو اپریٹو بنکوں اور اعلیٰ سطحی اداروں کے انتخاب 25 سال کے بعد ہوئے۔
 ڈسٹرکٹ ڈیولپمنٹ بورڈ پھر ضلوں کے ترقیاتی منصوبوں کی ترتیب اور
 عملدرآمد کیلئے سرگرم کر دیئے ہیں۔ ضلع صدر مقامات پر ہونے والی
 میٹنگوں میں وزیر اعلیٰ اور سبھی وزیر شامل ہوتے ہیں۔ اس دوران لوک سبھا
 کے دوائلیشن بھی ہوئے جس میں عوام نے اپنے حق رائے دہندگی کا استعمال
 کیا۔ بیس سال کے بعد ریاست میں پچھلے سال مردم شماری ہوئی جس میں
 چالیس ہزار ریاستی ملازمین نے حصہ لیا اور اب اُسی کی بنیاد پر ترقیاتی منصوبے
 اور جمہوری ورکشاپس طے ہو گئی۔ ریاست میں تباہ شدہ بنیادی ڈھانچے کو پھر
 سے لگ بھگ پورے کا پورا تعمیر کیا گیا ہے۔ اس میں سکولوں کی سینکڑوں
 چھوٹی بڑی عمارتیں، سینکڑوں بڑے اور چھوٹے پل ہزاروں کلو میٹر، تباہ شدہ
 یا نئی سڑکیں شامل ہیں۔ اور بہت کچھ جسکی تفصیل شائع کی جا چکی ہے۔ جموں
 شہر کو ہی لیجئے۔ تو یہ 21 کروڑ روپے کی لاگت سے ایک اور پل چالو ہو گیا

ہے اور چوتھا ٹیل تیار ہو رہا ہے۔ پونچھ میں سوانو کروڑ کی لاگت سے بے تاڑ
 دریا پر کوئی 500 میٹر لمبا مادرِ مہربان ٹیل تعمیر کیا گیا ہے۔ جموں کے پارلیمانی
 حلقہ انتخاب میں چار نئے کالج کھولے جا رہے ہیں۔ ضلع جموں ریاست میں
 شرح خواندگی میں سب سے آگے ہے یہ شرح 77 فی صد سے زیادہ ہے۔
 پونچھ ضلع کی دور افتادگی کے باوجود وہاں خواندگی کی شرح 56 فی صد کے اوپر
 ہو گئی ہے۔ صحت عامہ کے میدان میں سہولیات کا دائرہ بڑھایا گیا ہے۔ جموں
 میں ڈنٹل ہسپتال چالو ہو گیا اور میڈیکل کالج ہسپتال میں کروڑوں روپے کی
 لاگت سے تشخیص اور علاج کی جدید ترین مشینیں لگادی گئی ہیں۔ جن میں دل
 کے مریضوں کا علاج کرنے کیلئے Cath lab کی مشین بھی ہے۔ راجوری
 میں ڈسٹرکٹ ہیلتھ سنٹر کی up gradation پر سات کروڑ کا خرچہ کیا جا رہا
 ہے۔ پونچھ میں 17 نئے پرائمری ہیلتھ سنٹر اور 14 سب سنٹر کھولے گئے ہیں
 ڈسٹرکٹ ہسپتال میں جدید ساز و سامان اور اعلیٰ تربیت یافتہ عملہ تعینات کیا گیا
 ہے۔ اہم بات یہ ہے کہ بجلی کی پیداوار میں کمی کے باوجود اور خشک موسم کے
 سبب دریاؤں میں پانی کم ہونے کے باوصف بجلی کی سپلائی بہتر بنائی گئی ہے۔ جو
 بیس گھنٹوں میں پانچ گھنٹے اور وہ بھی مناسب وقتوں میں بجلی کی کٹوتی ہوتی ہے۔
 ساری رات بجلی جاری رہتی ہے کہ طلباء اپنی تعلیم میں رکاوٹ محسوس نہ
 کریں۔ بجلی کی کمی پر مکمل قابو پانے اور ریاست کو خود کفیل بنانے کیلئے کئی
 پروجیکٹوں پر کام کیا جا رہا ہے۔ جن میں بھگلیار پروجیکٹ بھی ہے۔ یہاں

سے 450 میگاواٹ پاور پیدا ہو گا اور یہ دو سال کے اندر یعنی 2004ء میں چالو ہو گا۔ اس طرح ساؤ لاکوٹ کا بڑا پروجیکٹ بھی تیاری کے مرحلے طے کر رہا ہے۔ سلال۔ ڈول۔ ہستی وغیرہ کے پورے طور چالو ہونے کے بعد خدا کی مہربانی سے ہم اپنی ضروریات کے علاوہ ریاست سے باہر بھی بجلی بیچ سکیں گے۔

اس دوران ریاست میں ایک لاکھ سے زیادہ تعلیم یافتہ نوجوانوں کو روزگار دیا گیا جن میں جموں۔ پونچھ اور راجوری کے ہزاروں نوجوان بھی ہیں۔ ریاست میں انسانی حقوق کی پاسداری کیلئے ایک ہیومن رائٹس کمیشن کام کر رہا ہے۔ ہمارے سماج کے نصف بہتر حصے یعنی خواتین کی حالت سدھارنے اور انہیں سماج میں برابر حصہ دار بنانے کیلئے کئی اقدام کئے گئے ہیں۔ ان میں اعلیٰ سطح کے ویمینز کمیشن کا قیام شامل ہے۔ حکومت بہت جلد فیملی کورٹس قائم کرنے کیلئے قانون بنا رہی ہے۔ جس سے مظالم اور امتیاز کی شکار مائیں بہنیں اپنے لئے انصاف حاصل کر پائیں گی۔ ایم بی بی ایس کی پچاس فی صدی نشستیں لڑکیوں کیلئے ریزرو کر دی گئی ہیں۔ پچاس توں سے لے کر اعلیٰ جمہوری اداروں تک خواتین کو بہتر نمائندگی دینے کیلئے اقدامات کئے جا رہے ہیں۔ ریاست دودھ کی پیداوار میں خود کفیل بن گئی ہے۔ جہاں ملک میں فی کس روزانہ دودھ کی اوسط 225 ملی لیٹر ہے۔ وہاں ریاست میں یہ فی کس اوسط 290 ملی میٹر تک پہنچ گئی ہے۔ اناج۔ خوردنی گوشت۔ اُون اور

مویشیوں کے چارے کے سلسلے میں خود کفالت کی منزل بہت قریب ہے۔ میڈیکل کالج جموں میں ایم بی بی ایس کی سیٹیں 100 سے 120 کر دی گئی ہیں اور پوسٹ گریجویشن کا سلسلہ پھر جاری کر دیا گیا ہے۔ اور اس کیلئے باقاعدگی سے ہر سال امتحان لیئے جارہے ہیں۔ کشمیر ایڈمنسٹریٹو سروس اور دوسری گزٹڈ آسامیوں پر اس حلقہ انتخاب کے امیدوار جن میں پسماندہ جاتیوں کے بہت سے نوجوان ہیں۔ کامیاب قرار دئے گئے ہیں اور سچ تو یہ ہے کہ آبادی کے تناسب کے مقابلے میں اُنکا سلیکشن کہیں زیادہ ہے۔ ریاست کی علاقائی زبانوں کو نصاب تعلیم میں لایا گیا ہے اسکا فائدہ حلقے میں ڈوگری۔ گوجری۔ پنجابی، پہاڑی اور کشمیری زبانوں کو ملے گا اور یہ زبانیں بولنے والوں کی ثقافتی پہچان نکھر آئیگی۔ ریاست کی آمدنی کے سرچشمے۔ خاص طور ٹیکسوں کی وصولی تقریباً سوکھ گئے تھے۔ موجودہ سرکار کی ان تھک کوششوں سے گزشتہ سال یہ وصولی آٹھ سو کروڑ تک پہنچ گئی۔ جو 1995ء کے مقابلے میں دو سو گنا زیادہ اور ایک نیاریکارڈ ہے۔ اس سے ریاست کے اپنے ذرائع کا استحکام ہوا ہے۔ آئیے اب اس حلقے کے تین ضلعوں کے بارے میں کچھ اور اعداد و شمار پر سرسری نظر ڈالتے چلیں۔

جموں شہر کو پینے کے صاف پانی کی سپلائی میں روزانہ ایک کروڑ چالیس لاکھ گیلن سے زیادہ اضافہ کیا گیا ہے۔ رنیر اور پرتاب کنال کی جدید کاری کے لئے نوے کروڑ کے منصوبے زیر کار ہیں۔ گورنمنٹ گرلز کالج پریڈ

گراؤنڈ میں دو سو بستروں کا رہائشی ہوٹل تعمیر کیا گیا ہے۔ جس میں دور دیہات سے آنے والی طالبات قیام کرتی ہیں۔ جموں میں فلیے اور۔ نیئی اور۔ کشادہ سڑکیں۔ تجارتی پلازہ وغیرہ تعمیر کئے گئے ہیں اور اس وقت اسکا شمار ملک کے تیزی سے ترقی کرنے والے شہروں میں ہوتا ہے۔ اس ضلع کے چار قصبوں بشمول سانہ کو پینے کے پانی کی روزانہ سپلائی کئی گنا بڑھادی گئی ہے۔ باڑی برہمٹاں میں ریاست کی سب سے بڑی انڈسٹریل اسٹیٹ ابھر آئی ہے۔

جموں میں ہی ایک نیا انجینئرنگ کالج سرکاری سیکٹر میں قائم کیا گیا ہے۔ جموں ڈویژن کیلئے الگ سے اگری کلچرل یونیورسٹی قائم کی گئی ہے۔ ضلع پونچھ میں آب کاری کی 90 سیکمیں مکمل کر لی گئی ہیں اور 46 زیر تکمیل ہیں۔ شہر کو پینے کے صاف پانی کی سپلائی میں روزانہ ساڑھے چھ لاکھ گیلن کا اضافہ کیا گیا ہے۔ گورنمنٹ کالج کی توسیع کے بعد اب یہاں پرائیویٹ سیکٹر میں بھی ایک کالج چالو ہو گیا ہے۔ سرنکوٹ اور مینڈھر میں کالج قائم کرنے کے مطالبات پر سرگرمی سے غور کیا جا رہا ہے۔ 70 مزید گاؤں تک برقی روپہونچائی گئی ہے۔ 120 عیسیٰ صنعتی اکائیاں قائم کی گئی ہیں۔ زیر کاشت اراضی میں نو ہزار ایکڑ کا اضافہ ہوا ہے۔ درجن سے زیادہ میڈیم سائز کے پل نئے تعمیر کئے گئے ہیں۔ اور سڑکوں میں ڈیڑھ سو کلو میٹر کے قریب اضافہ مکمل کیا گیا ہے۔

ضلع راجوری میں ڈسٹرکٹ ہیلتھ سنٹر کو ترقی دی جا رہی ہے اس پر سات کروڑ کی لاگت آئیگی۔ 77 مزید گاؤں کو پینے کے لئے صاف پانی مہیا کیا گیا ہے۔ راجوری میں پانچ کروڑ کی لاگت سے ریڈیو سٹیشن کی تعمیر ثقافتی سرگرمیوں کے فروغ میں اہم رول ادا کریگی۔ نوئے ہل تعمیر ہوئے ہیں۔ 28 تعلیمی ادارے جو ناخوشگوار حالات کی وجہ سے بند کئے گئے تھے۔ پھر سے چالو کر دیئے گئے ہیں۔ 104 سکولوں کی چھوٹی بڑی عمارتیں۔ ایک کمیونٹی سنٹر۔ ایک پرائمری ہیلتھ سنٹر اور 4 میڈیکل سنٹروں کی عمارتیں بنا دی گئی ہیں۔ 335 نئی صنعتی اکائیاں قائم کی گئی ہیں۔ سُنڈر بنی، کالا کوٹ اور کوٹرنکا میں نئی عدالتیں کھولی گئی ہیں کہ لوگوں کو انصاف ملنے میں آسانی ہو۔ ضلع میں 413 کنوئیں، جن میں درجنوں ٹیوب ویل بھی شامل ہیں کھودے گئے ہیں۔ تاکہ آب کاری اور پینے کیلئے عوام کو سہولت ہو۔ یہ تینوں اضلاع بورڈ ایریا ڈیولپمنٹ سیکمؤں کے دائرے میں بھی آتے ہیں۔ اس لئے یہاں ان سیکمؤں کے تحت کروڑ ہاروپے کی لاگت سے عوامی بہبودی کی سیکمؤں پر عمل ہو رہا ہے۔ جن میں مُتَحَق طلباء کے وظائف بھی شامل ہیں۔ ان علاقوں کے بہت سے نوجوان پیشہ ور کالجوں سے ڈاکٹری۔ انجینئری وغیرہ کی تربیت حاصل کر کے ریاست کی تعمیر میں آگے آگے نظر آرہے ہیں۔

اعداد و شمار کی تفصیل بہت لمبی ہے۔ لیکن جو کچھ بیان کیا گیا ہے اُس سے اندازہ کرنا مشکل نہیں کہ ریاست کی ترقی کے قافلے میں اس حلقہ انتخاب کے

حلقوں کو بھی بڑی اہمیت ملی ہے۔ اگرچہ تشدد کاری کی وجہ سے دور افتادہ علاقوں میں بہت کچھ کرنا باقی رہ گیا ہے۔ ہم اپنی جماعت کے اصولوں اور اپنی حکومت کی کارکردگی پر ضلع جموں۔ راجوری اور پونچھ کے معزز ووٹروں سے اپیل کرتے ہیں کہ وہ 21 فروری 2002ء کو ہمارے امیدوار **چوہدری طالب حسین** کے حق میں ووٹ دیں اور اپنے جانے پہچانے انتخابی نشان بل پر اپنی مہر لگائیں۔ اس وقت لوک سبھا میں ریاست کی چھ نشستوں میں چار پر نیشنل کانفرنس کے ممبر حضرات اپنے حلقوں اور ریاست کے عوام کی نمائندگی کیلئے موجود ہیں۔ حلقہ انتخاب جموں۔ پونچھ سے آپ ہمارے امیدوار کو کامیاب بنائیں تو اس میں ایک اور ممبر کا اضافہ ہو گا۔ اور انکی آواز کچھ اور پُر اثر ہو جائیگی۔ ہم آپ کا قیمتی ووٹ طلب کرتے ہوئے آپ سے وعدہ کرتے ہیں کہ ہم مندرجہ ذیل مقاصد و مسائل کے حل کیلئے انتھک طور سرگرم رہیں گے۔

1. ہم ملک گیر سطح پر قومی اتحاد۔ یک جہتی اور استحکام کی قوتوں کا ساتھ دیں گے۔ اور فرقہ پرستی۔ فسطائیت۔ رجعت پسندی اور استحصال کا مقابلہ کرنے میں پوری طاقت سے سرگرم رہیں گے۔

2. ہم ریاست میں معمول کی زندگی بحال کرنے۔ امن و امان اور قانون کی بالادستی بنائے رکھنے کیلئے مسلسل کوششیں کریں گے تاکہ دہشت گردی۔ تخریب کاری اور لاقانونی کا خاتمہ کیا جائے۔ ریاست کے پُر امن

شہری شائستہ طور زندگی بسر کریں۔ خواتین کی عزت و ناموس محفوظ رہے۔ طالب علم اپنی پڑھائی سکون کے ساتھ جاری رکھیں۔ کاروبار اور صنعت کا بول بالا ہو۔

3. ہماری ریاست کے عوام کو اندرونی خود مختاری کی جو لگن ہے اور جس کا وعدہ وفاق کے بانی رہنماؤں نے ہم سے کیا ہے۔ ہمارے ممبران اُسکو بحال کرنے کیلئے سرگرم رہیں گے۔ یہ ریاست کے تمام باشندوں کیلئے برابری کی سطح پر ہوگی۔ ہم ریاست کے تمام علاقوں اور خطوں کے لوگوں کو اعلیٰ اختیار و اقتدار میں مساوی طور شریک بنائیں گے۔ تاکہ کسی خطے علاقے یا کچلر لاکائی کو کسی محرومی۔ امتیاز یا استحصال کی شکایت نہ ہو۔ ہمارا عقیدہ ہے کہ اس قسم کے احساس سے دلوں میں ناراضگی بڑھتی ہے جو بعد میں سب خرابیوں کی جڑ ثابت ہوتی ہے۔

4. ہم ریاست کے اتحاد اور ایکتا کو مقدس امانت جانتے ہوئے اسکی ہر قیمت پر حفاظت کریں گے اور تنگ نظر عناصر کی طرف سے ریاست کے بٹوارے کی ریشہ دوانیوں کے خلاف ڈٹے رہیں گے۔ تاکہ ہمارے رنگا رنگ موسموں۔ نظاروں تہذیبی جھانکیوں میٹھی زبانوں اور عقیدوں کا یہ گلدستہ ہمیشہ سرسبز اور مہکتا رہے اور اسکا یہ امتیاز ایک مثال بن رہے۔

5. ہم اس حلقہ انتخاب اور دوسرے سرحدی علاقوں کے اُن پناہ گزینوں

کا عارضی قیام آرام دہ بنانے کیلئے ہر ممکن اقدام اٹھائیں گے۔ جنہیں سرحدوں پر مسلسل فوجی تناؤ اور جماؤ کی وجہ سے اپنے رہائشی گھروں سے اکھڑنا پڑا ہے۔ مرکز اُن کی امداد کیلئے وعدہ بند ہے ہم اُسکے تعاون سے پناہ گزینوں کے عارضی قیام اور اُن کی آباد کاری کیلئے منصوبے بنائیں گے آئندہ کسی ناخوشگوار صورتحال کا مقابلہ کرنے کیلئے پیش بندی کی جائیگی اور مرکزی امداد سے ایک جامع منصوبے کو عملی جامہ پہنایا جائیگا۔

6. قدیم مغل روڑ کی تعمیر و تجدید کے کام میں تیزی لائی جائیگی۔ اس شاہراہ کا بڑا حصہ تیار ہو چکا ہے اور اسکی تکمیل سے وادی کشمیر کو باقی ملک سے ملانے کیلئے ایک متبادل شاہراہ کی ضرورت پورا ہوگی اور اس کی بدولت پونچھ۔ راجوری کے علاقوں میں سیاحت، تجارت اور اقتصادی سرگرمی کو بہت فروغ ملے گا۔ اور عوام کی ترقی کے لیے دروازے کھلیں گے۔

7. سیاحت کے فروغ کے لئے جموں۔ پونچھ اور راجوری خاص طور بڑے امکانات رکھتے ہیں۔ ماتا ویشنودیوی کے یاتریوں کی تعداد پچھلے سال ساٹھ لاکھ سالانہ تک پہنچ گئی ہم اس دہائی کے ختم ہونے سے پہلے اس تعداد کو ایک کروڑ تک لے جانے کیلئے جتن کریں گے۔ راجوری

اور پونچھ کے پہاڑوں اور جنگلوں کی آغوش میں بہت سے خوبصورت مقام موجود ہیں۔ تشدد کا گراف نیچے آتے ہی ہم ان مقامات کو سیاحوں کیلئے پُرکشش بنانے کیلئے کوششیں کریں گے۔ پونچھ اور راجوری کو جموں اور باقی مقامات سے ملانے کیلئے اعلیٰ معیار کی سڑکیں تعمیر کی گئی ہیں۔ اور نامساعد حالات کے باوجود شاہدرہ شریف میں لاکھوں زائرین پہنچتے ہیں۔ سیاحت کے سارے بنیادی ڈھانچے کی تعمیر کیلئے جو منصوبے تیار ہیں۔ اُن پر عمل شروع کر دیا گیا ہے۔

8. ہماری ریاست کا قدرتی حُسن اور اس کا صاف ستھرا ماحول ہمارے لئے قدرت کا تحفہ بھی ہے اور ہمارا انمول اثاثہ بھی۔ ماحول کی خوبصورتی قائم رکھنے اور فضا کی کثافت دور کرنے کیلئے اس حلقہ انتخاب کے سبھی علاقوں میں سیکموں پر اور زیادہ زور کے ساتھ عمل کیا جائیگا۔

معزز رائے دہندگان! جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس آپ کی آزمودہ کار جماعت ہے۔ اسکی کارکردگی اور قربانیوں کا ریکارڈ اور اس کے پروگرام کی روشنی آپ کے سامنے ہے۔

☆ 21 فروری کو اس کے اُمیدوار کو کامیاب بنائیے۔

☆ ہل کے نشان پر اپنی مہر لگائیے۔



بے پناہ قربانیوں اور جدوجہد سے حاصل کئے گئے اپنے ووٹ کو ضائع
 مت ہونے دیجئے۔ اور اسے جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس کے انتخابی
 نشان ہل کے لئے ہی صندوق میں ڈالیئے۔

امن۔ اتحاد اور خوشحالی کی منزل کی طرف ایک اور قدم بڑھائیئے۔

ہل کو دیجئے اپنا ہل
 روشن ہو گا آپ کا کل

☆ جموں و کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس کو ووٹ دیجئے۔

☆ اس کے مقبول عوام نشان ہل پر اپنی مہر ڈالیئے۔


☆ ہل کی کامیابی آپ کے تمام مسائل کا حل ہے۔

ضمنی پارلیمانی انتخاب فروری 2002ء

برائے 6 حلقہ جموں

ہمارا انتخابی نشان



جنرل سیکریٹری نیشنل کانفرنس نے  چھپوا کر
شیر کشمیر بھون۔ جموں سے شائع کیا۔

24

2



DONATED BY
DR. VIDYA BHUSHAN
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JAMMU

Kashmir's Special Status

(IN THE LIGHT OF AGREEMENTS)

DONATED BY
Dr. VIDYA BHUSHAN
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March 1997

All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference

FOREWORD

Public memory being proverbially short, it is very often forgotten that behind the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India there lies a plethora of documents of historic importance that have since been consigned to the archives. The purpose of this booklet is to reproduce a few of these documents for the benefit of the reader with a view to refreshing his memory and to throw into bold relief the fundamental basic issues underlying the historic step of the State's accession to India in 1947.

This booklet seeks to reproduce the salient features of the Delhi Agreement of 1952 negotiated between the Kashmiri leadership headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, and the Indian leadership headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. Also included is a letter addressed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on July 16, 1953 as the Prime Minister of the State to the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, then Education Minister in the Government of India. The accord signed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mrs. Indira Gandhi in February, 1975 is reproduced to apprise the reader of the circumstances under which Sheikh Sahib assumed the reins of Government after a break of twenty-two years.

To understand the background and the *raison d'être* of these documents it will be necessary for the layman reader to know something of the circumstances leading to their existence. At the time of the partition of the Indian Sub-Continent India was conceived as a federation of States. Upon the creation of the Independent Dominion of India, the princely States of the erstwhile British India were offered the choice to join either the Dominion of India or the Dominion of Pakistan. A third alternative of remaining independent of the two Dominions was also offered by the Dominion Power. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir the Maharaja of the State executed the Instrument of Accession which is reproduced herein along with the Schedule thereto. This action of the Maharaja was endorsed by the premier

political party of the State, the National Conference. The accession of the State thus established was given legal and constitutional validity and sanction by the incorporation of Article 370 in the Indian Constitution which defined the State's special relationship with India. After some time the Delhi Agreement was negotiated in 1952 to fill in the nuances and technicalities resultant upon the incorporation of Article 370. The Delhi Agreement was approved by the Indian Parliament and the State's Constituent Assembly.

With the passage of time a perceptible change came in the thinking of the Indian leadership in relation to the federal set-up of the country. A clear shift from federalism to centralism became discernible. In the case of the princely states other than Jammu and Kashmir the former were persuaded to merge completely with the Indian Union by surrendering any internal sovereignty that they enjoyed under the provisions of the Instrument of Accession executed by them. However, it was the State of Jammu and Kashmir alone that stuck to both the letter and spirit of the Instrument of Accession in toto. This strict adherence to the Instrument of Accession gave rise to a conflict between the State and the Centre which ultimately culminated in the coup d'état of 9 August, 1953.

A voluminous correspondence was exchanged by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah and the Central leaders during the period leading to the holocaust of 1953. A very small portion of this is reproduced with a view to making the reader aware of the issues involved and to throw light on the entire position of the relationship between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and India that was so assiduously and pains takingly evolved in order to cement this relationship.

Gulam Mohi-ud-Din Shah
General Secretary
All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference



INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides as that from the fifteen day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an Independent Dominion known as INDIA, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify, be applicable to the Dominion of India.

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935 as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof :

Now, therefore, I, Shriman Inder Mahindar Rajrajeshwar Maharaj-adhiraj Shri Hari Singhji, Jammu Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshahipathi, Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor-General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India, on the 15th day of August, 1947, (which Act as so in force is hereafter referred to as "the Act").

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-

General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purpose of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request, acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me, transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future Constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future Constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument effects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October Nineteen Hundred and Forty Seven.

Sd/- HARI SINGH
Maharajadhiraj of Jammu & Kashmir State

SCHEDULE

The matter with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

A. Defence :

1. The naval, military and air forces of the Dominion and any other armed force raised or maintained by an Acceding State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion.

2. Naval, military and air force works, administration of cantonment areas.

3. Arms ; firearms ; ammunition

4. Explosives

B. External Affairs :

1. External affairs : the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries, extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's Dominions outside India.

2. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from India, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in India of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any Acceding State ; pilgrimage to places beyond India.

3. Naturalization.

C. Communication :

1. Posts and Telegraphs, including telephones, wireless broadcasting, and other like forms of communications.

2. Federal railways, the regulation of all railways other than minor railways, in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibilities of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers, the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the Administration of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Maritime shipping and navigation including shipping and navigation on tidal waters, Admiralty Jurisdiction.

4. Port Quarantine

5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports ; and the constitution and powers of the Port Authorities therein.

6. Aircraft and air navigation ; the provision of aerodromes ; regulation and organisation of air traffic and aerodromes ;

7. Light houses, including lightships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft..

8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

9. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the Police force belonging to any unit to railway area outside that unit.

D. Ancillary

1. Elections to the Dominion Legislature, subject to the provisions of the Act and of any order made therein.

2. Offences against laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters.

3. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the aforesaid matters.

4. Jurisdiction and power of all Courts with respect to any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the Acceding State, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any Courts other than Courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that State.

DELHI AGREEMENT 1952

On August 11, 1952 Sheikh Abdullah made a statement in the Kashmir Constituent Assembly in Srinagar on what is known as the Delhi Agreement, an agreement regarding the basis of the State's association with India, negotiated by the Prime Minister of Kashmir with the Prime Minister of India. These were, according to Abdullah, "certain broad principles" and certain "tentative decisions". The scope and jurisdiction of the Union powers were confined to the terms of the Instrument of Accession. Abdullah went on to state: "I would like to make it clear that any suggestions of altering arbitrarily the basis of our relationship with India would not only constitute a breach of the spirit and letter of the Constitution, but it may invite serious consequences for a harmonious association of our State with India". In arriving at the arrangement the attempt was to preserve the maximum of State autonomy, while discharging obligations as a unit of the Federation.

THE DELHI AGREEMENT

The main features of the Delhi Agreement, according to the Premier, were the following :

1. **Residuary Powers** : Residuary powers would vest in the State in the case of Kashmir, although in regard to all other States it would vest in the Union. More powers could be transferred to the Union by the people of Kashmir.
2. **Citizenship** : The residents of the State would be the citizens of India. "It was further agreed that the State legislature shall have the power to define and regulate the rights and privileges of the permanent residents of the State, more especially in regard to acquisition of immovable property, appointment to services and like matters".
3. **Fundamental Rights** : The decisions regarding land compensation would be protected and whether a chapter on separate Fundamental Rights should be included in the Kashmir Constitution would be decided.
4. **Supreme Court** : The Supreme Court's jurisdiction was recognized in regard to such Fundamental Rights as would be agreed

to by the State, as also regarding disputes mentioned in Article 131 of the Indian Constitution. It would be the final court of appeal. But detailed examination of this would be necessary and "it was agreed that we should have time to consider it further".

5. ^{Nationalist} **State Flag:** The new State Flag was no rival to the National Flag, but its continuance was necessary for historical and other reasons. The Union Flag would occupy the supremely distinctive place in the State.

6. **President of India:** Powers to grant reprieve and commute death sentences would belong to the President of the Union.

7. **Headship of State:** Following principles were agreed upon :
a) the Head of the State shall be the person recognized by the President of the Union on the recommendation of the legislature of the State ; b) he shall hold office during the pleasure of the President ; c) he may, by writing under his hand addressed to the President, resign his office ; d) he shall hold office for five years ; and e) he shall continue to hold office till his successor was elected.

8. **Financial Integration:** The necessity of some financial arrangement was seen, but a detailed and objective examination was considered necessary.

9. **Emergency Powers:** On the application of Article 352 of the Indian Constitution opinions differed, but it was ultimately agreed upon that Central intervention in regard to internal disturbances could come only at the request or with the concurrence of the government of the State. The Government of India did not press for the application of Article 356 or Article 360. Other Articles were acceptable to Kashmir, but the delegation of the State wanted some time to study the implications.

After enumerating the heads of agreement, Abdullah added that the Government of India's attitude had been "most helpful" and there had been a good deal of accommodation of respective points of view.

On August 14 1952, Abdullah wanted the Assembly to consider the agreement. During the debate, emphasis in the speeches varied, although no dissident opinions were expressed. One member, Mubarak Shah, said that, "his faith in India had been strengthened after the agreement". Mir Qasim maintained that "we have acceded to India with a definite purpose, unless this purpose is achieved, we will stick to it". All members generally emphasized the need for autonomy and the amendments moved were an indication of the trend of

opinion. One amendment moved by Abdul Gani Goni wanted the head of the State to hold office, "as long as he commands the confidence of the legislature" and not of the Indian President. Another amendment moved by Ghulam Rasul wanted Article 352 to be used at the request of "the Jammu and Kashmir State" and not of the **Government** of the State. Assad Ullah Mir wanted a separate set of Fundamental Rights for the State. Although the amendments were not accepted, the predominant urge for a degree of special autonomy for Kashmir could be seen. In this urge, the components were not always similar. While one section feared that full-fledged integration with India would throw the State open to "outsiders", others believed that a separate status would help re-model Kashmir's socio-economic structure on socialistic lines without any constitutional hurdles in the way. One common argument was that the National Conference was committed to this in the "New Kashmir Programme" of 1944.

"KASHMIR—A Study in India-Pakistan Relations"

by

SISIR GUPTA

Feb 24, 1975

KASHMIR ACCORD—DOCUMENTS

August 23, 1974

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Shri Parthasarthi,

Apropos to our talks yesterday and the day before, I hope that I have made it abundantly clear to you that I can assume office only on the basis of the position as it existed on 8th August, 1953.

With regard to the provisions of the Constitution or the Union Laws and Entries applied to the Jammu and Kashmir State after 9th August, 1953, judgement thereupon will be deferred until the newly elected Assembly comes into being.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) S. M. Abdullah

Shri G. Parthasarthi,
Oberoi Palace Hotel,
Srinagar.

AGREED CONCLUSIONS

1. The State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is a constituent unit of the Union of India, shall, in its relations with the Union, continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Constitution of India.
2. The residuary powers of legislation shall remain with the State; however, Parliament will continue to have power to make laws relating to the prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about cession of a part of the territory of India or secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the Indian National Flag, the Indian National Anthem and the Constitution.
3. Where any provision of the Constitution of India had been applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir with adaptations and modifications, such adaptations, and modifications can be altered or repealed by an order of the President under Article 370, each individual proposal in this behalf being considered on its merits; but provisions of the Constitution of India already applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir without adaptation or modification are unalterable.
4. With a view to assuring freedom to the State of Jammu and Kashmir to have its own legislation on matters like welfare measures, cultural matters, social security, personal law, and procedural laws, in a manner suited to the special conditions in the State, it is agreed that the State Government can review the laws made by Parliament or extended to the State after 1953 on any matter relatable to the Concurrent List and may decide which of them, in its opinion, needs amendment or repeal. Thereafter, appropriate steps may be taken under Article 254 of the Constitution of India. The grant of President's assent to such legislation would be sympathetically considered. The same approach would be adopted in regard to laws to be made by Parliament in future under the Proviso to clause 2 of that Article. The State Government shall be consulted regarding the application of any such law to the State and the views of the State Government shall receive the fullest consideration.
5. As an arrangement reciprocal to what has been provided under Article 368, a suitable modification of that Article as applied to the State should be made by Presidential order to the effect that no law made by the Legislature of the State of Jammu and

Kashmir, seeking to make any change in or in the effect of any provision of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir relating to any of the undermentioned matters, shall take effect unless the Bill, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, receives his assent; the matters are—

- (a) the appointment, powers, functions, duties, privileges and immunities of the Governor; and
 - (b) the following matters relating to Elections, namely, the superintendence, direction and control of Elections by the Election Commission of India, eligibility for inclusion in the electoral rolls without discrimination, adult suffrage and composition of the Legislative Council, being matters specified in sections 138, 139, 140 and 50 of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.
6. No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is therefore remitted to the Principals.

(Sd.) Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg

(Sd.) G. Parthasarathi

New Delhi,

Dated November 13, 1974.

MATTERS RESERVED FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME

The following specific questions were left over for further consideration :—

1. What should be the convention with regard to the consultations with the State Government for the appointment of the Governor under section 27 of the State Constitution ?
2. Whether any modification is called for with regard to the extension of the scheme of the All India Services to the State ?

(Sd.) M. A. Beg
13-11-1974

(Sd.) G. Parthasarthi
13-11-1974

Camp New Delhi,
November 13, 1974.

Dear Shri Parthasarthi,

In the course of our discussion, I made a proposal that appeals to the Supreme Court under Articles 132 of the Constitution of India from the decisions of the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir, should lie only on a certificate under clause (1) of that Article. After a detailed discussion on this, you had agreed to the proposal and stated that it can be implemented by an Order under Article 370 making suitable modifications to the modifications made under Article 367.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg

Shri G. Parthasarthi,
31, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

31, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi-11,

November 13, 1974.

Phone No. 615986

Dear Beg Sahib,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 13th November, 1974. The proposal referred to therein was discussed between us at length and agreed to by me. It can be implemented by an appropriate Order of the President in accordance with the procedure prescribed under Article 370.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) G. Parthasarthi

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg,
Camp New Delhi.

Camp New Delhi,
November 13, 1974.

Dear Shri Parthasarthi,

I have today signed the document containing the points on which we have reached agreement.

2. As you may recall, in the course of discussions we had on the various issues, I made proposals regarding the following matters:—

- (i) The provisions relating to the fundamental rights to be incorporated in the State Constitution.
- (ii) The superintendence, direction and control over elections to the State Legislature by the election Commission should be removed.
- (iii) Article 356 should be modified to require the consent of the State before an order is issued thereunder, or some similar safeguard should be provided.

After prolonged discussions you did not agree to these proposals. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg

Shri G. Parthasarthi,
31, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

31, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi-11,
November 13, 1974.

Phone 615986

Dear Beg Sahib,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 13th November, 1974, about the points of agreement and disagreement between us. It is correct to say that for the reasons I had stated during the discussions, I could not agree to the proposals referred to in paragraph 2 of your letter.

2. I may add that the fact of our disagreement on these points are referred to in this correspondence only for the information of yourself and Sheikh Sahib. It is clearly understood that these facts should not be made public without Prime Minister's consent.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) G. Parthasarthi

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg,
New Delhi Camp.

(Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah)

Phone No. 2178
Mujahid Manzil,
Srinagar (Kashmir),
November 25, 1974.

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Indira Ji,

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg has written to me that he and Shri G. Parthasarathi have reached the conclusions in regard to constitutional matters concerning the relationship between Jammu and Kashmir State and the Union of India. At our instance they had detailed discussions on these matters and I have received copies of documents from Mr. Beg containing points on which agreement has been reached between them and those over which no agreement could be reached.

I have several times explained to you my point of view in regard to matters on which the two emissaries have disagreed. I trust you will kindly accommodate our view point to enable me to achieve the main objective.

Some points have been left over for settlement between you and me. I hope that we shall be able to sort out these points satisfactorily when we meet. I feel sure that such a settlement will provide an amicable basis for me and the people of the State to co-operate in cementing Centre-State relationship.

I am awaiting your convenience when we can meet to consider these issues.

I hope you are doing well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) S. M. Abdullah

Shrimati Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

7
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi,
December 16, 1974.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Sheikh Sahib,

I have your letter of November 25, 1974. Shri G. Parthasarthi has also given me the documents which he and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg have prepared at the conclusion of their talks.

You have referred to matters on which our two representatives have disagreed. As you are aware, these are basic issues on which there have been thorough discussions between them in the course of which Beg Sahib presented your views fully. I doubt whether anything will be gained by our discussing these matters again.

We can discuss the points which have been reserved for our consideration when we meet.

Shri Parthasarthi has told me that you would write to me about the maintenance of those basic features of the State's Constitution which are necessary not only for uniformity but also to give a measure of confidence to the people regarding the democratic functioning of the Government in the State.

I too am anxious to conclude our discussions. I entirely agree with you that political co-operation between us will further strengthen the bond that exists between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union. As you know, I am extremely busy in Parliament these days. We can perhaps meet during the last week of this month on a mutually convenient date.

With regards to you and Begum Sahiba.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Indira Gandhi

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah,
10, Maulana Azad Road,
Srinagar, Kashmir.

10, Maulana Azad Road,
Srinagar (Kashmir)
29-12-1974

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Indira Ji,

I have received your letter of 16th December, 1974 marked 'Confidential'.

I am sorry to say that your representative should have found it necessary to ask me to write to you about the maintenance of those basic features of the State's Constitution which are necessary not only for uniformity but also to give a measure of confidence to the people regarding the democratic functioning of the Government in the State. It pains me that even after the decades of my sufferings and sacrifices for these very cherished values, I should be called upon to sign an undertaking to stand by them. This attitude clearly shows the lack of trust which continues to exist in the minds of those with whom I may have to deal in the future. I hope you will agree with me that the only way to repair the vast damage done to the Indo-Kashmir relationship by the Arbitrary action of 9th August, 1953 is possible only through complete understanding and mutual trust. If this trust is lacking even in a very small measure, all our efforts to reach an understanding will prove fruitless.

Ordinarily, the broad principles of the partition of the sub-continent might well have taken the State to Pakistan in 1947, but for various reasons, things happened other way. And because of our identity with the basic ideals and fundamental values for which India stood, the Leadership of the National Conference supported the accession of the State to India, on the basis of the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja. But in order to make the Indo-Kashmir relationship durable, means had to be devised to have the support of all the sections of the State's population for the Action of the National Conference Leadership. The minorities within the State, no doubt, felt secure once the Leadership of the National Conference decided to throw its lot with India, and their support was, therefore, assured. But what about the Muslim Majority? The Muslims of the State were simultaneously a minority in relation to all India population and a majority within their own State. Therefore, all fears and apprehensions that they would be dominated by all

India majority had to be dispelled and they had to be assured that within the State their rights as a majority would be guaranteed. Their fear complex could be dispelled only by ensuring complete internal autonomy of the State as envisaged in the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja. Accordingly, an agreement governing the Centre-State relationship was hammered out by the leaders of the two sides. In evolving this relationship all aspects of the problem and special features of the situation were taken into consideration. The provisions of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution were the result of these efforts.

I have no doubt in my mind that the manner in which the Government of India systematically eroded both the letter and spirit of the special provision of the Union Constitution jeopardised the very foundation of the relationship so laboriously built over years of tireless effort and dedication. I recall with pain and anguish that once a former Home Minister of India publically characterised Article 370 as a 'Tunnel' obviously implying that through it the internal autonomy of Kashmir will be eroded and this exactly was assiduously accomplished behind our back after 9th August, 1953.

Recently, a responsible dignitary of the Government of India was candid enough to tell me that India would not be prepared to throw the minority community of the State, at the mercy of the majority by allowing the fundamental rights to be kept in the State Constitution. I told him that such an attitude of India will completely shatter the trust and confidence of the majority who, in 1947, put their faith in the declarations of Indian leadership, and gave enough proof, if any was needed, that it was capable of protecting the interests of the minorities, at the most crucial moments even at the cost of its own life. He had no answer.

Myself and the Plebiscite Front Leadership were purposely kept behind the bars or externed from the State at the time of every general election to the State Legislature or the Parliament in the years 1957, 1962, 1967 and 1972. As if this was not enough large scale rigging in elections was taken recourse to. Obviously these means were adopted so as to bring into being a legislature and Government in the State of a particular choice and keep effective opposition out of the way, thus facilitating the erosion of Article 370—a process which has been going on for over last two decades.

In spite of this all betrayal and sufferings and tribulations that we had to undergo for years on end, I welcomed your desire, which you expressed in 1972, to take a fresh look at the Indo-Kashmir

relationship. I made it clear to you and to the public at large that my differences with India were not over the issue of the accession of the State but on the quantum of accession. In my opinion accession and autonomy are inter-dependent. I had agreed to throw in my lot with India on the basis of the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja which guaranteed complete, internal autonomy to the State. If this autonomy is taken away, then the every foundation to the relationship is destroyed. I therefore, pleaded the view that in case you wished me to help in rebuilding the faith and confidence that the majority community in the State has lost in India, I can only start from the point where I left off in August, 1953. For me to take even this position is not going to be without difficulties, and I shall be faced with many a doubting mind. But I would nevertheless give it a try.

You have written in your letter that matters on which our two representatives have disagreed are basic issues and that nothing will be gained by discussing these matters again between ourselves since they have already been thoroughly discussed. If there is no agreement on these basic issues, then what would be the use of discussing issues that are not basic? We consider the matters on which agreement has not been reached equally vital and basic for us and, unless there is agreement on them. I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by prolonging our discussions.

Begum Sahiba sends her respectful regards, I hope you are doing well.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

Shrimati Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

Despatched by hand through Nisar Ahmad on
30th December, 1974.

(Sd.) S. M. A.

3, Kotla Lane,
New Delhi,

11-2-1975

9. CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Prime Minister,

I have seen the text of the conclusions reached between Shri G. Parthasarathi and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg on the various Constitutional issues concerning the Centre-State relationship between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the union of India. I have studied the document and have also had discussion with you. As you are aware, it is my view that constitutional relationship between the Centre and the State of Jammu and Kashmir should be what it was in 1953. Nevertheless, I am happy to say that the agreed conclusions provide a good basis for my co-operation at the political level and for Centre-State relationship.

I appreciate that the main purpose of the dialogue was to remove misapprehensions on either side to ensure that the bond between the Union and the State is further strengthened and to afford to the people of the State full scope for undertaking social welfare and developmental measures.

The accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India is not a matter in issue. It has been my firm belief that the future of Jammu and Kashmir lies with India because of the common ideals that we share. I hope you would appreciate that the sole reason for my agreeing to co-operate at the political and Governmental levels is to enable the State Government to initiate measures for the well-being of the people of the State which I have always considered as my sacred trust. It will be my constant endeavour to ensure that the State of Jammu and Kashmir continues to make its contribution to the sovereignty, integrity and progress of the Nation. By the same token, I am sure that the Central Government would co-operate with the State Government fully in respect of measures to be undertaken by the State Government to further the progress and welfare of the people of the State as an integral part of India.

The country is passing through a critical period and it is all the more necessary for all of us who cherish the ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism, to strengthen your hands as the leader of the Nation and it is in this spirit that I am offering my whole-hearted co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

Shrimati Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister,
New Delhi,
February 12, 1975.

Dear Sheikh Sahib,

I am happy to receive your letter expressing your concurrence with the conclusions reached between Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg and Shri G. Parthasarathi on certain constitutional aspects of the relationship of the Centre with the State of Jammu and Kashmir and offering your whole-hearted co-operation at the political and Governmental level to further promote the well-being of the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. I am aware of your views on the Centre-State relationship in respect of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. I have already explained to you that the clock cannot be put back and we have to take note of the realities of the situation. I am appreciative of the spirit in which you have expressed your agreement with the terms of the agreed conclusions.

The agreed conclusions have been examined and I am in a position to inform you that such appropriate executive action as may be necessary to give effect to them will be taken. I have been in close touch with the Chief Minister of the State who is in agreement with the approach in regard to political co-operation with you and the understanding reached about the relationship of the State with the Union.

The Central Government would undoubtedly continue to co-operate with the State Government fully in respect of measures to be undertaken by the State Government to further the progress and welfare of the people of that State, which is of equal concern to the Central Government.

As pointed out by you, the country is passing through a critical period and it is a matter of great satisfaction to me that a person of your stature who made an outstanding contribution during the freedom struggle should come forward again to co-operate in the task of strengthening the nation and sustaining its ideals.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Indira Gandhi

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah,
3, Kotla Lane,
New Delhi.

Text of the letter dated 16 July, 1953, from Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister of India.

Srinagar,
July 16, 1953.

"Respected Maulana Sahib,

Your letter of July 9, reached me yesterday. It appears certain misunderstanding has arisen in regard to the matters raised by me in my letter to Pandit Ji. There are two aspects of the problem of our State: one concerns the relationship arising out of the signing of the Instrument of Accession and the other is related to settlement between India, Pakistan and the people of the State of the dispute about the future of the State. These two aspects may be called the internal and external aspects of the Kashmir problem. It appears no distinction is drawn between these two aspects in discussions about the dispute.

✓ As is well known to you, the present relationship of the State is based on the document of Instrument of Accession. We, the people of Kashmir, regard the promises and assurances of the representatives of the Government of India, such as Lord Mountbatten and Sardar Patel, as surety for the assistance rendered by us in securing the signatures of the Maharaja of Kashmir on the Instrument of Accession, which made it clear, that the internal autonomy and sovereignty of the Acceding States shall be maintained except in regard to three subjects which will be under the Central Government.

✓ I mention here in this connection, the clear assurances given by Sardar Patel to Indian States on July 5, 1947. He observed: "We do not want anything more from them than accession in these three subjects, therein lies the good of the entire country. We respect their independence in all other matters".

✓ At that time it clearly appeared that even handing over to the Centre of Defence, Communications and External Affairs implied no financial liability on the States. You would recall that Lord Mountbatten declared at the time of Independence in 1947 that "Instrument of Accession enables Indian States to accede to either of two Dominions without financial liability. Moreover, it is clearly stated in one of its clauses that the Central Government has no power under any circumstances to interfere with the internal autonomy and sovereignty of the Indian States".

✓ Mr. V. P. Menon, whose opinion is considered quite authoritative in respect of Indian States, observes: "Accession involves no financial obligation on the States. There is no intention to usurp their internal autonomy nor will they be forced to accept the Central Constitution".

✓ It is regrettable that despite these clear declarations about these matters, the Government of India has tried several times to impose financial obligations on this State. This action of theirs is in clear violation of the assurances given by its responsible representatives. The State acquired such a status as a result of concessions allowed under its Instrument of Accession to India. When the Consti-

tuent Assembly of India proceeded to frame the Union Constitution there arose before it the question of the future position of the State. Our representatives took part in the last sessions of the Assembly and presented their point of view in the light of the basic principles on which the National Conference had supported the State's accession to India. Our view-point drew appreciation and Article 370 of the Constitution came into being determining our position under the new Constitution. Sardar Patel again reiterated his assurances: "In view of the special problems confronting Kashmir we have enacted a special provision to continue the existing relationship between the Union and this State".

✓ As time elapsed, it began to become clear that this special position was conceded with certain reservations and there arose objections against this 'special treatment'. It is important to note here that responsible representatives of the Government of India themselves gave rise to many doubts by terming this position as provisional, and the ensuing events confirmed us in our belief that the relationship between India and Kashmir arising out of the document of Instrument of Accession was not final. Even the Government of India entertained doubts about this position. During the debate on this important issue in the Constituent Assembly it emerged that apart from the limitations imposed by the Instrument of Accession the very relationship between India and Kashmir entailed certain responsibilities and many letters were exchanged to secure one's position resulting in the Delhi Agreement.

I hope you are not unaware of the fact that even after the Delhi Agreement responsible spokesmen of the Government of India declared that their ultimate objective was to secure the complete merger of the State with India and that they waited for appropriate time and conditions to bring that about. These statements reveal that the Delhi Agreement could not provide a basis to finalise the relationship between India and Kashmir; but that it (Delhi Agreement) provided temporary arrangements to finalise accession. The only difference between the Government of India and different elements in the country on the issue is whether to bring about the merger of the State with India now or after some time. This sums up the relationship between Kashmir and India. It should not be forgotten that this is a temporary or provisional relationship as the contending parties have yet to settle the future of the State according to the wishes of the people. This temporary relationship—which we had hoped would strengthen our position—gradually underwent a change with restrictions imposed upon the majority community in the State. The finalisation of this relationship between India and Kashmir caused concern among the people here and has given rise to doubts and fears in their mind. I am very happy to hear from you that the Government of India is willing to declare that the special position given to Kashmir will be made permanent and that the Government of India will be bound by it without any conditions. If such a declaration had been made at an appropriate time, it would undoubtedly have strengthened our hands and unified various organisations

and public opinion in the State and even if the masses had been asked about accession, a majority of them would have come out in favour of India. But, unfortunately, that was not to be. And the changes effected on several occasions in the relationship between India and Kashmir greatly agitated the public opinion and also weakened our hands to a great extent. Although such a declaration would be welcome, it remains to be seen if it would draw the support of different sections of people in India and parties in Kashmir. You would appreciate that without such support, this declaration would not suffice to dispel the fears that have arisen in the minds of the people of Kashmir. A big party in India still forcefully demands merger of the State with India. In the State itself, Praja Parishad is threatening to resort to direct action if the demand for the State's complete merger with India is not conceded. I do not understand how in the face of this stiff opposition, your proposed declaration would be able to reconcile different points of view that have arisen concerning the issue of Indo-Kashmir relationship. Assuming such an agreed solution to be possible, it is still to be seen if the resultant benefits would accrue equally and fairly to all sections of people in the State.

7 (also) In my letter of July 4 (copy of which was sent by me to you) I made it clear to Pandit Ji that a majority of people in the State feel that they have been completely ignored even in respect of matters which have passed under the control of the Central Government. We will have to settle their future administration without loss of time in a practical way. Naturally, only that solution will be satisfactory which is honourable and acceptable to all parties concerned. Today the contending parties are, between themselves and internationally committed to the principle of free and impartial plebiscite. Mixed populace would naturally give rise to many difficulties and real problems. We have carefully weighed the various pros and cons and have reached certain conclusions after careful deliberation over these matters. Bakshi Sahib and Beg Sahib have been directed to convey these decisions to you. It is now up to you and your colleagues seriously to examine them and decide if they lead to fair solution of the problem. If you do not consider these proposals practicable, then you should put forth your own proposal keeping in view the importance of internal and external aspects of the matter. No doubt, we have had close and intimate relations between us for a long time and you and I both have high regard for them, but when we have to decide issues of national importance, regard for our mutual friendship should not be allowed to come in the way of their dispassionate consideration and discussion. I respect your views but wish at the same time that you appreciate my difficulties. I can be a friend and loyal, as a responsible representative of the people, if I keep to the fore the interests of people whose trust and confidence I enjoy. If I fail to gain the confidence of the people here I will not be able to render any service to my friends. I hope you will appreciate my position and accept my real views after careful deliberation".

Sincerely yours,

Sd/-

Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah

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Books

MAHARSHI, THE GURU : an international symposium; edited by Martin Ebon; Pearl Publications Private Limited, Bombay; 164 pages; Rs. 3.

With the Beatles deserting him so mercilessly after a briefish courtship two years ago, they have almost stopped talking about Maharshi Mahesh Yogi, the sage who travelled in jet planes, lived in air-conditioned ashrams and made meditation a fashionable profession.

Magic of Meditation. But it doesn't diminish the influence he has had on his 1,15,000 disciples in some 35 countries all over the world. He was one of the very few of the most-talked-about men in recent years. He was a phenomenon of the twentieth century in the sense that he captured the imagination of a restless, unhappy, bored and lost generation and promised to cure them with his magic of meditation.

Mahesh Yogi was born in Uttar Kashi on October 18, 1911. Son of an income tax official, he graduated from Allahabad University with physics in 1942. He worked in a factory for some time and gave it up to study Indian scriptures and to learn Sanskrit. For 13 years he was at Jyotirmath with Swami Brahmananda Saraswati. Then he began teaching his special meditation technique in Madras.

The "Guru" trained initiates for six months who, in turn, were training others. This was a rather slow process and he calculated that this would take no less than 200 years to get all the humans on this earth to meditate! So he said to himself, this won't do. He knew what to do to add his magic: he went West.

Fun and Fashion. In 1959 he set the International Meditation Centre and began teaching his lessons in a modest apartment in London. That's how it all began. One day his became too irresistible even for big fish, the Beatles. With them came their thousands of fans, and fame. Then Mia Farrow. It was fun, this meditation thing, and fashion too!

What is it all about? Well, you meditate for half an hour each day and night, and you are bound to achieve "bliss consciousness," whatever that may mean, though. You don't have to give up your wordly

pleasures. You can gamble, go to movies, drink and talk about other people's wives. It doesn't matter at all. You do whatever you like whole day, but meditate you must, an hour a day.

If you haven't got it right, then listen to George Harrison the Beatle: "You just sort of sit there and you let your mind go wherever it's going. Doesn't matter what you're thinking about. Just let it go; and then you just introduce the *mantra* or the vibration, just to take over from the thought..." It's like trying "to describe to somebody what chocolate tastes like" (Lennon), or to tell somebody "how it is to be drunk. They've got to be drunk themselves before they know what it is" (Harrison).

The Guru Speaks. Says the Guru. "Deep meditation gives a man peace with himself. It takes him behind and beyond the tears and anxieties which so easily invade his mind. It allows him to rest, and while he is resting, to draw strength from the innermost core and centre of his being. Its effects begin immediately and are at the same time cumulative and increasing." If this impresses one, all that one needs to do is to take the train to Rishikesh. The Maharshi's academy there, is spacious — 16-acre-wide — and has 58 rooms. One has to spend three months there, and pay Rs. 3,000 for the course. The Guru guarantees, one can have peace for a lifetime.

The 19 articles in this little volume have appeared in well-known journals the world over. —S.V.N.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA by Nalini Devdas, Pub : Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, P.O. Box 1504, Bangalore-6, pp. 224 vi, Price Rs. 3.50.

The 19th century saw a new ferment in Indian thought. The Western modes of thought had penetrated India and searching questions about all aspects of life had begun to be asked. The Hegelian interpretation of history as a progressive development had taken hold of the intellectuals. The theories of evolution had made them sceptic and even question the sanctity of life. It was in this intellectual climate that Swami Vivekananda sat about reinterpreting Vedanta. His aim was to show that philosophy is not divorced from practi-

cal life, that Vedanta has universal validity and has a bearing on practical life.

Nalini Devdas attempts a critique of Vivekananda's reinterpretation. Whether Vedanta has practical relevance and universality she does not deny or prove; what she points out is that Vivekananda is not logical enough and has not made his case. Her argument is, while Vivekananda declared his open-hearted desire to know all religions from within, his metaphysical scheme with Dvaita and Vishishtadvaita as the graded levels of knowledge through which the seeker passes to Vedanta is preconceived and religious experiences cannot be fitted into this scheme. "Where would we find the criteria for such classification? Each religion must be allowed to interpret its own tradition. Each religion has its own teaching regarding its relation to other faiths, which requires careful consideration. It is important to understand with "head and heart" how any religious tradition interprets itself.... Vivekananda has already prejudged that those who do not accept this scheme are in ignorance."

Unsuccessful Attempt. The author is not, however, the first to attack this "ladder theory" of Vivekananda. It is generally considered an unsuccessful attempt to formulate a "comprehensive" Vedanta.

On the question whether Vedanta has practical relevance or not, the author holds that Vivekananda "has not given us a metaphysical basis for holding together the two poles of spiritual experience: the renunciation of the world and loving service in the world" His "Practical Vedanta" is inadequate because he does not accept that the universe has significance and purpose — "maintaining that like the dog's tail, nature must forever retain its crooked curl." In contrast, she points out, Aurobindo has held together the Advaita experience of non-duality, the Vishishtadvaita vision of the Supreme Person including and transcending all things, and the Dvaitin's concern for the value and reality of the world and individual self.

The author's conclusion is: "The genius of Swami Vivekananda lies in the fact that he was able to point out the central problems which must be tackled in the interpretation of the

Vedanta, and to inspiring others to carry forward this task of interpretation." And it is a fair conclusion, for Vivekananda himself has admitted in one of his letters to a brother sanyasin that he was only attempting at a systematisation of Indian philosophical thought. —V.K.

SPATIAL DIMENSION OF URBANIZATION IN RELATION TO DEVELOPMENTAL PLANNING IN INDIA; by Sujit Benerjee, I.A.S.; Associated, 1969; Pp. 104; Rs.13.

In spite of about two decades of planning characterised by a commendable degree of economic sophistication, planning in India continues to display a lack of the spatial dimension of developmental planning.

Planning analysis concerned with the formulation of public policy for maximising national income has focussed chiefly on choice of criteria for optimum resource allocation between different sectors of economy. The analysis has been conceived mostly in terms of macro-level sectoral projections and balances between sectoral outputs, of optimum allocation of capital between broad types of programmes and choice of optimum techniques among alternative techniques of production. Such analyses have not been related to a spatial planning framework and the consequences of alternative locational decisions have not been made.

The main concern of this study (originally a Masters degree thesis by this 30-year-old I.A.S. officer) at Wisconsin has been with the dimension of space in planning for development in India, particularly in relation to phenomenon of urbanisation. Some students of Indian planning have in recent days drawn attention to the neglect of the spatial dimension in planning. The concern, however, has been mostly focussed on discussions of town-size, migration patterns, industrial locations, new towns and centralisation vs. decentralisation of people and activities. Not much of an attempt has yet been made to view the dimension of space in a broader context from an overall planning point of view and particularly in relation to policy considerations affecting economic and socio-political development of the country. The significance of Banerjee's study would seem to lie in the fact that it has attempted to relate the dimension of space to such a broad and relational perspective. —D.B.R.C.

THIS WEEK IN HISTORY

By S. N. Munshi

JULY 12 : Immediately after hearing the news of dismissal of the once-disgraced and then-rehabilitated banker and financial expert, Necker, the early revolutionary leader of the Cordeliers, Camille Desmoulins exhorted a Paris crowd this day in 1789 "to arms" and these words worked a miracle as with them started the march of the French Revolution. Two days later, the Bastille fell. But as it happened with almost all the revolutionary leaders, Desmoulins was guillotined in 1794 along with his closest and most dominating comrade Danton.

JULY 13 : Having lived for centuries as a colony of Turkey, Greece, Austria and Russia, the Balkan country of Rumania was declared independent this day in 1878 in pursuance of the Treaty of Berlin, but lost the territory of Southern Dobruja to Russia. In World War I, though neutral in the beginning, it joined the Allies and lost its vast areas to Austro-German troops. Later in 1918 it re-declared war on Germany and gained back all her promised territory at the Peace Conference. Thus it more than doubled its size. In World War II it was with the Axis Powers and participated in the attack on the Soviet Union. Later when the Russians reached there, it changed its policy. After the War, a Communist Government was imposed in 1945 and a People's Democracy was declared.

JULY 14 : It was the most critical period for Allies in World War II, particularly in relation to India. While in the north-west, German forces were making their thrust inside the Soviet Union, pitched battles were being fought on Stalin-grad streets and the Nazis were at the gates of Caucasus, the Japanese had overrun practically the whole of Burma in the east. It was at this juncture that the Congress Working Committee at its Wardha meeting this day in 1942 passed its famous "Quit India" resolution which was later endorsed by the AICC at Bombay in the following August. Besides, the CWC had, only a few days earlier, rejected the British proposals made through Sir Stafford Cripps.

JULY 15 : This day marks the ascendancy of British political and military power in India as the noto-

rious traitor Mir Jaffar, who had replaced the patriot Nawab of Bengal, Sirajuddaula, only a few days ago, signed in 1757 a treaty "of slavery" with the British. In the treaty, Mir Jaffar said: "The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans Whenever I demand English assistance, I will be at the charge of maintenance of them." By these words, the puppet Nawab openly placed himself at the mercy of East India Company.

JULY 16 : The Mohammedan era dating from the *hijrat* or the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, began this day in 622 A. D. of the Gregorian calendar. The Muslim year has an average of 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes and is divided into 12 months of 30 and 29 days alternatively. There is a cycle of 30 years, 19 of which have 354 days and 11 have 355 days, the extra day being added to the last month of the year. The method of calculation does not correspond with the solar system year.

JULY 17 : Potsdam conference began this day in 1945. The principal Allies of World War II (U. S., U. S. S. R. and Britain) met to supplement, clarify and implement their agreements reached earlier at Yalta. The Potsdam agreement divided Germany into U. S., British, French and Russian occupation zones under four-power Allied Control Council, Berlin into four occupation zones under Joint Allied *Kommandatura*. It also abolished the Nazi military and political power and provided for war-crimes trials. However, the rift between the U.S.S.R. and Western Powers caused the agreement to fail.

JULY 18 : The British Parliament passed the last Bill about India this day in 1947. It was the Indian Independence Bill. There was no difficulty in getting it through the two Houses. Incidentally it deserves mention that even the Conservative leader, Sir Winston Churchill had found his way to accept the plan for transfer of power. As passed, the Independence Act contained comprehensive provisions to enable the Governor-General and Viceroy to divide India countrywise and province-wise, into two Dominions of India and Pakistan by August the same year.

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N. N. Gidwani

Sir: I was very glad to see an article on Narain N. Gidwani and his only "daughter" — *Index India*. The "daughter" draws most attention of your correspondent, I in the "father" to your readers. Narain (popularly "Nari" among his friends) was born in Hyderabad Sind in the 'twenties. He came to Bombay in 1947. After completing his education, he entered the field of education and soon be-

came the principal of a school. While, teaching, he joined librarianship course at Bombay under his and my guru, D. N. Marshall.

Once a librarian, he shifted to this profession in 1957, and since then he has stuck to it. From Bombay University, he moved to his present assignment via Nagpur University, which owes its present efficiency to him. He is friendly and ideal for many librarians.

The only trouble with him is he

This Week's Cover Story

Pages 6-8

If the present political turmoil in different States takes its logical course, soon enough we shall have as much as one-third of the country under President's rule. Bihar is already taken; A. P. is on the verge of it; Kerala is almost asking for it; Bengal and Madhya Pradesh are not too far behind; anything can happen in volatile Punjab and Haryana and the war-drums have started being sounded in staid Mysore as well as in splitting up the State. Now comes a demand for Central takeover from the least expected State: Jammu and Kashmir. The veteran Kashmir leader, Prem Nath Dogra, in an interview with *Enlite* correspondent, O. P. Koul, recently suggested that a Central take-over alone can save the State out of the pervasive gloom. Dogra considers the President's rule a disciplinary measure calculated to bring the State administration out of its apathy and confusion.

Dogra is one of the few vintage leaders now left in the country. He has watched the patient that is India for the last 60 years and is able to recall every lit-



tle detail and nuance of our political life during this period. More particularly of Kashmir. An eminent Jan Sangh leader of all-India standing, Pandit Ji, as he is popularly known, makes no bones about his association with a party that has often been described as communal. He has all along stood by the more positive elements in the party and has always admired its dedication to India.

Although his party is not much of a force in Kashmir, Pandit Ji enjoys a unique position among the people and politicians there. His counsel is sought by all and sundry; his house in Jammu is a veritable *sarai*, open to all. When moved to talk, Dogra admits to being sorely disappointed at the falling standards of everything in India, more so in politics and administration.

is working too hard and burning his energy at a higher rate than he can replenish it.

Banaras

R. P. Hingorani

Oustee Compensation

Sir: As a result of the construction of the Beas Dam about 26,000 families are likely to be uprooted. The Government has not seen its way so far to announcing a fair and reasonable price for the property that will be acquired. As a result, the people affected have filed a writ petition.

What I now want to bring to public notice is that some interested and selfish people have started to purchase land in Kangra district at nominal prices so as to benefit as "oustees" when that land is acquired for

the dam. This class includes *inter alia* the staff of the Beas Dam Project. This means that the real oustees will be adversely hit.

It was decided officially long ago that only those who were *bona fide* residents of Kangra and owned land before the date of notification (1963) would be considered eligible "oustee." It is therefore high time the Government made it clear to all those who are purchasing land now that they will not be eligible for compensation. *Dharamsala(H.P.)* *Paras Ram*

Arable Land

Sir: In its 76th report on forestry presented to the Lok Sabha recently, the Estimates Committee has drawn attention to the requirements of the

National Forest Policy which is aimed at bringing a third of the land area under forests. During the past 17 years the area under forests has dwindled from 22.48 per cent to about 21 per cent. This trend is a result of the unplanned allotment of forest land to agriculture, river valley projects and the extension of perennial cash crops like tea, rubber, etc.

In this context it is most disheartening that the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture should have told a recent conference of Harijan and Adivasis at Murwai (M. P.) on May 24, that there was "nothing wrong in encroaching upon arable Government land to bring it under the plough."

Rewa

M. A. Waheed Khan

Weekly Wash—

After all, Mrs. Gandhi wants smaller States!

By Cassandra

The Central leadership of the Congress had to eat crow. It is well that it did so as it failed to show the basic foresight in tackling a complicated problem like Telengana.

Here is a problem of one region of a State speaking the same language as the other but still having grievances against each other. The Telenganites have never been on the war-path and this seems to have made Congress leaders feel that they could shout them down.

Gentlemanly Shouting. It is not true that the Telengana leaders started to discover the inequities suddenly. For 13 years they had been agitating against the non-implementation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. As gentlemen they did not shout, of course, and this seems to have gone against them.

It is now well known that Telengana became a pawn in a power game. The game is played between the Prime Minister's camp and the Syndicate. So long as Kasu Brahmananda Reddy was the starry-eyed supporter of Mrs. Indira Gandhi he got all support. None thought of the agitation in Hyderabad and the rest of it. When it appeared that Mrs. Gandhi had realised the depth of the agitation, Kasu started playing the game.

Kasu suddenly found himself being pleasantly treated by the Syndicate — till then he had been something of an outcast. A high-up in the Syndicate even encouraged Kasu to say "no" to Mrs. Gandhi when

she invited him to Delhi for talks on the eve of the Congress Working Committee meeting.

But what is it that one hears about Mrs. Gandhi supporting the cause of smaller States? Konda Lakshman, who had an endless round of meetings before Kasu clamped him in Rajahmundry jail, told some friends that his impression was that Mrs. Gandhi would like nothing better than smaller States.

One does not ask questions as to why she should think so. Smaller States mean smaller men and more dependence on the Prime Minister who in turn could enjoy greater political base. But one will certainly be surprised that she should entertain such views while the Deputy Prime Minister has been saying everywhere that he would never countenance further fragmentation of the country.

Pleasing Power. The view ascribed to Mrs. Gandhi lays one more coat on the muck that envelopes the Telengana problem. The creation of Haryana found a pliant Bansi Lal and perhaps one more Bansi Lal is expected from Telengana. There could be more of them from Vidarbha, Saurashtra and Jharkand. With such an army tugging at the saree plaits of Mrs. Gandhi, what more can please one in power?

Whatever that pipe-dream, the fighters for Telengana's rights are no small-visioned men. Whether it is Konda or Chokka Rao or Dr. Chenna Reddy, they know that they

belong to the Telugu-speaking fraternity and would be anxious to bring about normalcy once the irritant is removed. With or without Kasu a solution is bound to be found for the Telengana issue in the next few weeks.

The days of oracles is over. Even the one oracle of India — Mahatma Gandhi — was silenced years ago. So Mrs. Gandhi is no oracle. But she seems to have a point where she tells in private that only she, the all-India leader and men like Kamaraj or Nijalingappa are regional men. Why could she not have the present Congress President and or the former Congress President visit Telengana? Kamaraj speaks Telugu of sorts and he has a ring of friends and admirers in Andhra Pradesh.

The Central leadership is ageing but that cannot be the only reason for its having allowed the Telengana sore to fester. The reason lies in the inability of top leadership to rise above personal rivalries and equities and save a State from turmoil.

No Business to Pontificate. It is anyone's guess as to whether the Central Parliamentary Board will take strong, far-reaching decisions which will mean imposition of President's rule and the suspension of the Andhra Pradesh State Assembly. May be it will do so, may be will not. A leadership which cannot go to Hyderabad and face the agitation has no business to pontificate.

Enlite

THE NATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE

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The Nation

THE CAPITAL

and Support For Indira?

ideologically, the differences between the two "official" communist parties in India have narrowed to a vanishing point but at the lower end of practical politics, they are still fighting it out in the open. Whether the recent world communist summit, staged by Moscow, would result in a detente between the two parties is hard to tell. It would be of some interest to know that two top leaders of the CPI(M), B. T. Kanadive and Harikishen Singh Surjeet (both members of the Politbureau) had gone to Rumania a few days before the Moscow summit began, in the hope the Rumanian party might intervene to secure for them invitations to attend the summit as observers. But the Dange-led CPI would not have countenanced such a situation because it has been claiming to be the sole genuine communist party in India and that in any case, a country cannot have more than one communist party. But Dange disclosed in Moscow that a top Rumanian party leader asked him if he had any objection to Rumanian mediation to bring the two Indian parties together.

Imponderables. Objectively, everything points to a detente between the two parties. But there are several imponderables, subjective factors in the situation which rule out such a detente. The CPI(M) gradually lapses into "revisionism" after the 1967 general elections. The proximity to political power in Kerala and West Bengal led the party to compromise its militant line and its obsessive preoccupation was with staying in power through weird opportunistic alliances.

The CPI(M) was no different from a "revisionist" CPI because neither party really believed in extra-parliamentary forms of struggle. The CPI(M) was at pains to dissociate itself from anything smacking of subversion to Peking ideologically. The

Madurai ideological draft of the party (adopted in August, 1967) was the basis for a furious ideological debate which culminated in the split in the party at the Burdwan plenum (April 1968) and the hardlining Maoists were thrown out of the party thereafter. Over Czechoslovakia, towards the end of 1968, the CPI (M) proved itself more loyal to Moscow than the CPI. The CPI(M) lost no time in endorsing Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia while the CPI was on the brink of indecision for a long time.

The CPI (M) was seeking international legitimacy. Having demarcated itself from the Chinese international general line, it was anxious to secure recognition from the communist parties of the Soviet bloc. Alongside, the Soviet attitude to the Indian parties seemed to be changing. The Dange-led CPI, on which Moscow had banked heavily, came home a cropper at the fourth general election while the CPI(M) emerged a much stronger party, holding a dominant position in the two coalition ministries of Kerala and West Bengal.

To Back Indira. The recent "summit" talks between the leaders of the two Communist parties was largely under Moscow's pressure to unite the two behind Mrs. Indira Gandhi to stabilise her position. Mrs. Gandhi's reliance on these parties for support on crucial issues, whenever she faces a serious challenge from the rightist parties or from the factional rivals within the Congress, is no secret. This is exactly what Moscow seems to have been trying to ensure.

But the immediate question is whether the two parties, now engaged in a fight in Kerala, would break up the United Front ministry. In July the Namboodiripad ministry enters its 28th month. In 1959, the ministry was dismissed exactly after 28 months. Will 1969 witness the repetition of the 1959 story? In 1959, Mrs. Indira Gandhi

was the Congress President and played a key role in getting the Namboodiripad ministry dismissed, much against her father's wishes, one is told. But 1969 finds the communists her best allies.

The fight in Kerala is over Namboodiripad's decision to amend the Kerala Publicmen Enquiry Act which provides for procedure to govern enquiries into charges of corruption against publicmen. The CPI(M) now wants to water down its own bill to render it innocuous and vesting decisive powers in the Chief Minister. If the bill is amended as proposed by the CPI(M) nobody in this country could be deemed corrupt because the definitions now proposed in the place of old ones for even a term like "corruption" are so incredibly absurd. Nothing can be strictly deemed a corrupt act under the proposed definitions.

Not in a Vacuum. Namboodiripad's obvious strategy seems to be to ease the CPI out and reconstitute the ministry dropping some of the troublesome elements. But he cannot take any decision in a vacuum. Estrangement with the CPI in Kerala would jeopardise the CPI (M)'s chances of securing recognition from Moscow. The Soviet party, content to lead a truncated international, full of dissidents, wants to hold a world anti-imperialist Congress to which it might invite the CPI(M).

So in the ultimate analysis, the CPI(M) just cannot afford to break up the United Front in Kerala and however corrupt, the ministry will last. Both the parties now realise that the greater challenge they face together is from the Naxalites. It might not be serious in Kerala but in Andhra Pradesh the Naxalite movement has spread to four districts and cannot be ignored. It would hardly be surprising if the two parties together extend political co-operation for any Central action against the Naxalites.

KASHMIR

Vintage Politician Dogra

(See Cover)

At 85, Prem Nath Dogra, respectfully known as Pandit Ji, has not lost any of the athletic qualities for which he distinguished himself years back in school and college. His memory remains as sharp and his movement as swift. He does not run any more, but even the youngsters who move about with him just cannot keep pace with the grand old man of Jammu and Kashmir who must take long morning and evening walks every day, whatever the exigency and whatever the weather. He recounts the events he has been through — the rules of Maharaja Pratap Singh and Maharaja Hari Singh, Sheikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq — with the ease and accuracy that are enviable.

A living monument of high integrity, humility and fearlessness, Pandit Ji is among the few public men in the country whose morality has not been shadowed by the "benefits" that have accrued to many since 1947. A gentleman *par excellence*, he is accessible to all and sundry, available for any assistance ranging from attesting the signatures of pensioners who crowd at the post office adjoining his house to giving his calm, uninhibited counsel on matters that may be vexing the shrewdest of politicians and administrators. His house is as good as a *sarai*: its front portion is open 24 hours and may be used by anybody. The compound is a parking place for cars belonging to his affluent neighbours. Inhaling at the *hukka*, the only "vice" he has carried with him from his school days, Pandit Ji is busy listening to people's problems and simultaneously dialling the appropriate number on his telephone to render assistance.

Old Parliamentarian. Dogra has possibly the longest legislative experience in India. He was nominated and elected to the Praja Sabha (then State Assembly) in 1936 and 1942 respectively. Dogra was also elected to the Jammu Municipality and functioned as its Vice-President for over a decade till 1949. He was elected to State Legislative Assembly in the general elections of 1957, 1962 and 1967 from the Jammu city (north) constituency. With possibly the highest attendance in the Assembly, Dogra, though not a very good speaker, is heard with respect and rapt attention. His role as a parliamentarian

has more than once been appreciated by such of his political adversaries as former State Premier Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and the present Chief Minister Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq.

Born in October 1884 in Sumyalpur village of Jammu district, Dogra received his education in Lahore. He graduated from Foreman Christian College in 1908 and returned to his home town with a bagful of testimonials, which were later described as of "unusual character" by the then Settlement Commissioner of Jammu, Talbert, for outstanding attainments in both academic and other fields especially in athletics and football. He joined the State Government service as a Tehsildar in 1909 and later served in various capacities like Settlement Officer, Lent Officer In-charge Bhaderwah Jagir and Wazir Wazarat (Deputy Commissioner). As an officer of the Government, Dogra never indulged in the "indecent" of polishing his superiors for gains. He did not even bother about the then Chief Secretary to Maharaja Hari Singh, Wakefield, who was then "all in all in State affairs". Wakefield wanted to pull up Dogra when the latter was posted in Bhaderwah Jagir where he exercised the powers of a Session Judge also. Wakefield's grouse against Dogra arose out of "baseless anonymous" complaints made to Maharaja by some local officers who were jealous of him. Dogra snubbed Wakefield point-blank saying that he (Wakefield) was the cause of administration having become allegedly loose in Bhaderwah.

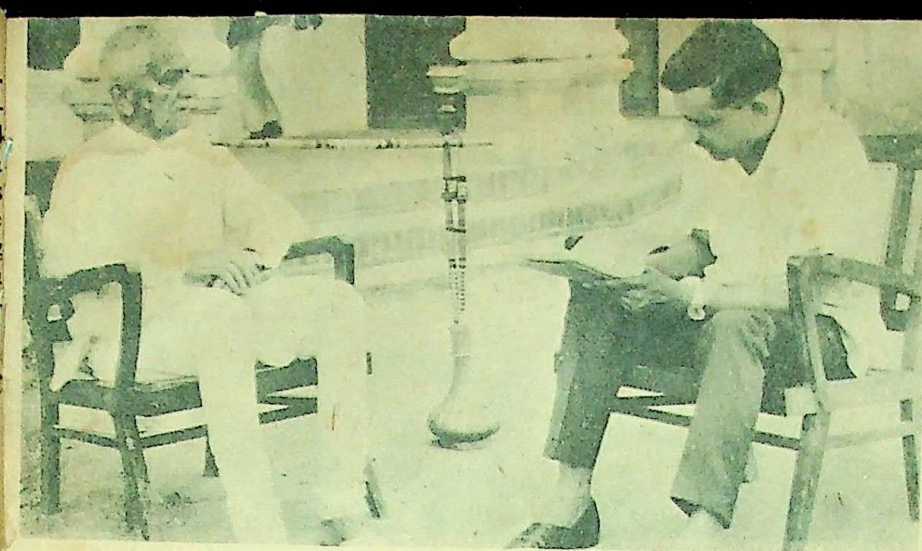
Notwithstanding the respect he commanded in State service, Dogra was prematurely retired from service in 1932. According to Dogra, this was done by a then Minister "who was jealous of my popularity among Muslims". Dogra says that with his firm belief that justice must be meted out to people irrespective of caste or creed, "I was virtually worshipped in Muzaffarabad where no untoward incident took place at that time when elsewhere there used to be regular clashes". However, Kartar Singh did not take kindly to Dogra being "mild" in dealing with the Muslim Conference agitation led by Sheikh Abdullah in 1931, and succeeded in seeing him prematurely retired.

Against Untouchability. This official attitude towards a Brahmin created resentment in the *baradari* against the officialdom. But the sportsman

in Dogra took it in stride and asserted himself against fanning *baradari*. The Maharaja was impressed and nominated Dogra to his Praja Sabha. He was launched into politics without any party affiliation as we have them today. He started acting for the good of the lowly and, for a Brahmin at that time, took the unusual step of joining a Harijan Sewa Mandal to fight against the evil of untouchability. Dogra was subjected to severe criticism by his *baradari*. Dogra did not waver. He reacted by joining the Brahmin Mukhya Mandal to reform the Brahmins.

In the meantime, the workers of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), who were already active in Jammu, approached Dogra. He was impressed by their faith in discipline and unity of Hindus. For the first time, he was obliged to align himself. He was selected RSS Sanghi Chalak for the entire State and held this position till 1963-64. In this capacity, he came in contact with people from different walks of life in and outside the State. He remained President of the State Hindu Mahasabha during 1946-48. He became President of the Praja Parishad in 1949. The formation of Parishad, according to Dogra, was "need of the hour" as there was no political party in Jammu which could effectively function under the "changed circumstances" and on democratic principles. The Parishad was merged with the All India Jan Sangh in 1964. Dogra remained President of the State Unit of the Jan Sangh till 1966 when at his request he was replaced by Thakur Baldev Singh. He was elected President of All India Jan Sangh for the year 1955-56. Pandit Ji continues to be the brain-trust of the Jan Sangh in the State. The party continues to be identified with him if only for the reason he is sober, gentle and accommodating. The only office he holds in the party today is that of the leader of the three-member Jan Sangh group in the Assembly.

It is generally felt that Prem Nath Dogra's association with RSS and the Jan Sangh is a very big contradiction. Confronted with this question Dogra told *Enlite* that this feeling was based on the "incorrect premise" that Jan Sangh is against Muslims and that it is a fanatic Hindu body. Dogra maintains that in Jan Sangh he has found the projection of his basic belief that "all men are equal irrespective of caste or religion". He adds, "I have practised it more than



Six decades in Kashmir's history being relived

anybody else during my service with the State Government." Asked why he did not join the National Conference in 1947 if his desire was to have a political party wedded to democratic principles under the changed circumstances in which the monarchic rule had ended, Dogra said, "I do not agree that with the change of Sheikh Abdullah's Muslim Conference into National Conference, the party owed any real faith in nationalism. We have had our doubts about it right from the very beginning. Transformation of Muslim Conference into National Conference was merely a strategic move."

Dogra regrets the feeling that it is the Jan Sangh which antagonised the Sheikh. "Upto 1950 we never opposed him. Praja Parishad was not at all well established: we could not get somebody to become its president. We kept a watch over the developments till Sheikh struck his first blow in 1950-51 when he carved a separate Doda district out of the then Udhampur district purely on communal basis. Then followed the famous 1952 speech of the Sheikh at Ranbirsinghpore. Sheikh freely talked of limited accession with India. Obviously, he was not true to the country and we would have failed in our duty if we had not reacted as we did".

Election Boycott. It may be recalled here that the first imprisonment suffered by Dogra was in 1949 when he was arrested by the State Government headed by Sheikh Abdullah. His arrest sparked off an agitation and he was released after 10 months. Dogra was arrested again by the Sheikh-headed State Government in 1952 for leading the movement for full integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of the country. He remained in detention for nine months when the agitation

was withdrawn on an appeal made by the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru following the death of then Jan Sangh President Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee while in detention in Kashmir. The Praja Parishad under the leadership of Dogra boycotted the elections to the State Constituent Assembly as 42 of the 65 nominations filed by it were rejected on "flimsy grounds." The decision to boycott polls was taken after "due consultations in Delhi". The decision, Dogra now confides in *Enlite*, was, however, not appreciated by Shyama Prasad Mukerjee who was not available in Delhi at that time.

Special Status. Dogra who passionately advocates the removal of "constitutional anomalies" in Kashmir's relationship with India, believes that Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which confers special status on the State "is not a bridge but an impediment in bringing Jammu and Kashmir at par with other States of the Union". He thinks that people should be made aware of the fact that there is nothing in Article 370 which goes in their favour. When *Enlite* pointed out that any attempt to do away with the special status of Kashmir might create a hostile reaction particularly from Sheikh Abdullah, Dogra says, "The interests of the State cannot be subjected to the whim of an individual howsoever great he may be".

In drawing a political profile of the leaders who have ruled Kashmir since 1947, Dogra has many regrets to offer. According to him, Sheikh was never a nationalist nor shall he ever be one. He thinks the Prime Minister of the first popular Government of Kashmir is now taking Kashmir towards communalism. According to Dogra, Sheikh cannot be "rescued" though he has the poten-

tialities of a leader commanding a sizable following. Dogra believes that if the Sheikh had remained consistent in his political faith, "he would have today been the greatest Muslim leader in the country". Dogra recognises in Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, who ruled the State from 1953 to 1963 and now leads the National Conference opposition, "a dynamic, intelligent and tireless" politician. He, however, regrets that the Bakshi was mainly responsible for corrupting life in the State. Notwithstanding the fact that Bakshi was the person in whose time the jurisdiction of Supreme Court, Election Commission and the Auditor General was extended to Jammu and Kashmir, Dogra does not understand the logic behind the former State Premier's insistence on the retention of Article 370 in the Indian Constitution. As regards the present State Chief Minister, Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, Dogra has this to say: "I have always thought that he is not anti-national. But his own colleagues in the Government and the Congress party now surprise me by saying that he is in league with Sheikh Abdullah. I have believed that he is not corrupt and that he is a man of integrity but the things happening around him and under his nose bewilder me. Possibly, he chooses to pose ignorance about things".

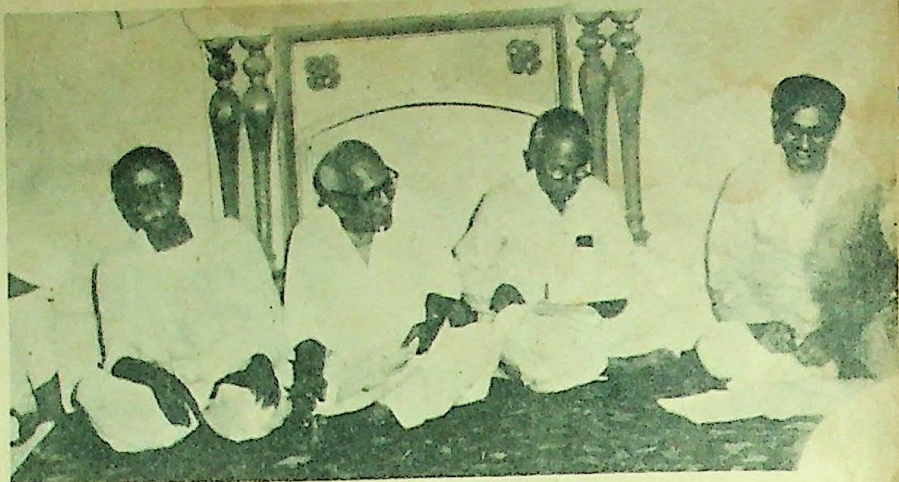
Central Take-over. This being the situation of the State leadership, where do we go from here, *Enlite* enquired of the grand old man. "Mir Qasim is angry and sitting aloof. The only solution I can conceive of in the present situation is that the Centre should take over for some time".



After his first detention (1949)

replied Dogra. According to him, we can straightaway have a three years spell of President's rule which will help political leaders of the State to "get a bit disciplined". They need a "course in discipline", he emphasises. While welcoming Dr. Karan Singh's plunge in active politics, Dogra regrets that the prince is not a "large-hearted person". "He has too much of a personal ambition". Dogra maintains and adds that this is evident in the suggestion made by Dr. Karan Singh about reorganisation of the State envisaging merger of Jammu with Himachal Pradesh.

Dogra ardently believes in the efficacy of democratic institutions. His experience with the legislature during the past nearly two decades is, however, not wholly pleasant. "You feel sorry at the way they deal with it. Questions are never replied in full. No action is taken on allegations made on the floor of the House. The report of such important a Committee like the Public Accounts Committee is not even read, what to speak of action being taken on it". He said even when Shams-ud-Din, the present Speaker, in his capacity as the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee brought certain cases to the notice of the Chief Minister in writing, no action was ta-



With the former Jan Sangh Presidents: Ghosh, Rau, Dr. Upadhyaya

ken. Another unhappy experience of Dogra is that no "conscious" effort is made by the leadership to pick up "proper people" for election to Assembly. Stressing the need for immediate administrative reforms, Dogra thinks elections should be free enough to inspire confidence in and attract men of high integrity to the Assembly.

Poorer People. Pandit Ji who combines in him vast administrative experience and political acumen, is not happy at the prevailing administrative standards either. Comparing the State of administration today

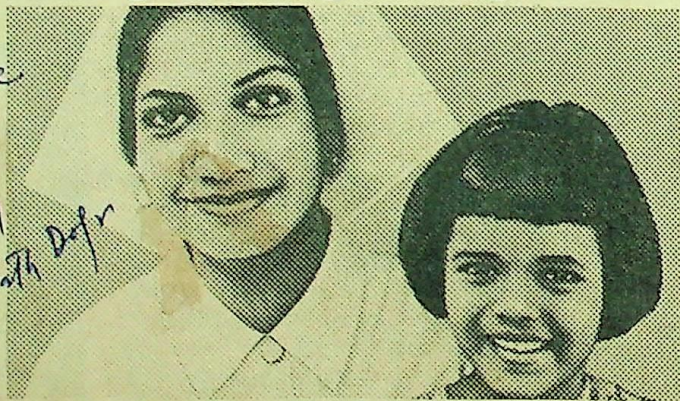
with that in the Maharaja's time, he says, there was less of inefficiency and corruption at that time. He recalls with pride that during Maharaja's time, the civil service in the neighbouring State of Punjab "looked up to us with respect". He describes the situation obtaining today thus: "Only people nearer the seat of power have benefited. People in general have remained where they were and in some cases become poorer". Reasons for this, according to Dogra, are "lack of statesmanship, absence of an all-pervading authority and political corruption".



*I can't afford to fall ill with
Colds & Flu*

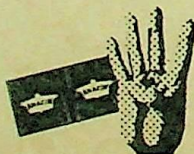
—says Angela Fernandes,
private nurse

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The World

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Another Chinese Road to India

The Chinese-built Gilgit-Sinkiang Road will be opened to traffic soon.

Despite Pakistan's persistent protestation that it is meant for trade, it has a definite military significance. It is meant for purposes other than to facilitate overland trade, observers say. Even a Pakistani press comment is: "We do not know what goods — and may be also ideas — will be coming from that side this time."

Military Collaboration. There is little possibility of developing trade between China, Pakistan and West Asia in the foreseeable future by the land route through the 15,000 feet high Mintaka Pass in preference or in addition to the sea route. "It is rather difficult to justify such a vast expenditure on the construction of a commercial link, particularly when the industrial areas of China are in the east and the population in the border areas is sparse," says an observer. "In view of the nature of the road built and the limited chance of developing trade, the road can only be used for military collaboration."

The road will provide an alternative to the sea route for transportation of supplies and equipment from China to West Pakistan. It will give capability to China to induct its forces in the northern territories of Jammu and Kashmir and increase the possibility of the Chinese menacing the present cease-fire line.

The road is an ancient caravan route and celebrated in history as the silk road, as silk was the most important trading item passing through it. Five countries, China, Soviet Russia, Tibet, Afghanistan and India meet in the Pamir region at the tip of northern Kashmir. Pamir is about 200 miles from Gilgit which is also at the same distance from Srinagar.

Four Posts. People of many nationalities passed through Gilgit for all manner of business, trade being the main incentive, which was seasonal and never substantial. It moved along the caravan route on which there were four principal posts, Gilgit and Kashmir and Yarkand and Kashgar in Sinkiang. With Srinagar as the starting point, Indian traders could go to Gilgit and from there to

Sinkiang through either the Kilki pass or the Mintaka pass. But they generally preferred Mintaka. There is another pass, Parpik, on the east of Mintaka. From these passes the road leads up to Yarkand and then to Kashgar.

In spite of its importance as a trading route, the Gilgit area was not developed. The terrain is dotted with high passes, gorges, glaciers and deserts. Its ice-fields are swept by violent winds. Adventurers and explorers in different ages have left record of their journey through the region. The Chinese-Buddhist pilgrim Huan Tsang in the 7th century wrote: "Perilous were the roads and dark the gorges. Sometimes the pilgrim had to pass by loose cords; sometimes by light stretched iron chains. Here, there lodges hanging in mid-air, these flying bridges across abysses; elsewhere paths cut with the chisel or footings to climb by." Marco Polo in the 13th century wrote: "The country looks as if it had never been traversed by man or beast." The 20th century explorer Sven Hedin in his book *Silk Road* wrote: "The limitless expanse of yellow sands looked like a roaring sea suddenly frozen into a solid mass."

A Chinese road through Aksai Chin, which was built in 1955, was the first major attempt to break the isolation of this region. The second attempt is the Gilgit-Sinkiang road, making this part of India's northern border vulnerable to possible enemy attack. During the last 13 years or so, more minor roads have been built in northern Kashmir under Pakistan. China has already completed a heavy load-carrying road on its side. It is of class 9 type on which three-tonners can ply. This is part of the complex, comprising the Aksai Chin road, its extension to Yarkand and Kashgar and the link-up of the latter two with the Pamir border. This also links up with the Korakoram road from Tibet to Sinkiang.

On Cease-fire Line. The road to northern Kashmir (Pakistan) will also ultimately be of class 9 type. The Gilgit-Pasu road is ready and jeepable. It is being extended up to Mintaka. It connects not only China, but also some vital points within Kashmir itself. One such is Skardu, a 155-mile-long all-weather, jeepable road, linking Gilgit with Skardu,

opened in September last year. Skardu is only 60 miles from Kargil on the cease-fire line on the way to Leh.

The Gilgit-Sinkiang road is the second Chinese bid to make a big dent in the Himalayan defence wall, the first being the Kodari road in Nepal which joins Kathmandu with Lhasa.

KENYA

For Better 'Barflies'?

Kenya's two principal political opponents are to face the masses next year in their first real test between them. They are Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first President, who leads the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU), and "Jaramogi" Oginga Odinga, who leads the Opposition, Kenya People's Union (KPU).

President Kenyatta took the opportunity earlier last month, while addressing the nation on the sixth anniversary of Kenya's attainment of internal self-government, to announce that the first general election since Independence would be held before next June. A likely date is understood to be February, 1970.

Staunch Supporter. In the last general election, which swept KANU into power, the fight was between KANU and the Opposition, Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), which was led by Ronald Ngala. At that time, Odinga was a staunch supporter of KANU and its policies. He played a leading role after the elections in persuading the KADU leaders to dissolve their party in favour of a one-party State. This was finally achieved in December, 1964, when Ngala voluntarily dissolved his party and Kenya became a republic within the Commonwealth and a one-party State.

Odinga became Kenya's first Vice-President. He is a well-known champion of socialism and, although the KANU Government was committed to African Socialism, it was occasionally embarrassed by his public utterances. For example, while it was a government policy to encourage private ownership of property, as enshrined in the Kenya Constitution, Odinga publicly advocated State ownership of property and the nationalisation of big commercial firms.

While the Cabinet maintained the traditional system of collective res-

possibility, the Government often found itself divided between the extremist group which favoured Odinga's policies, and the moderates, who felt the best way to develop the country was through gradual development. The matter came to a climax in 1966, when a KANU annual delegates' conference was hurriedly convened by Kenyatta to review the party structure.

"*Limuru Conference.*" The conference popularly known as "The Limuru Conference," marked the turning point in the Kenya political set-up. The delegates agreed to change the party constitution to provide for eight vice-presidents on a provincial basis instead of one as before. Odinga found himself stripped of the post of party vice-president. For some time after the Limuru conference, he held the second highest position in the Government while holding no position in the ruling party. It was a foregone conclusion that he would be forced to relinquish his position as Vice-President of Kenya.

In February, 1966, Odinga announced his resignation from the Government at a crowded press conference in his office. Two of his closest supporters, Achieng Onoko, who was then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, and Tom Okello-Odongo, an Assistant Minister for Finance, also resigned to help in the formation of an opposition party to KANU.

To show the country that he had some backing in Parliament Odinga's resignation was supported by a group of some 100 M.P.s who indicated their intention to join him in forming an effective opposition party in the House.

Fresh Mandate. The Government then rushed through a Bill requiring any M.P. who crossed the floor to join another party, to seek a fresh mandate from his constituency through a by-election. This law frightened some of the M.P.s who had earlier signed a declaration backing Odinga. The remaining 27 M.P.s stood firm behind him and fought by-elections.

This was known in Kenya as the "Little General Election" in which 20 former M.P.s were defeated and Odinga was accorded a corner in the National Assembly chamber where he sits with his opposition group of seven in a House composed of 158 elected M.P.s, 12 specially elected and one ex-officio member.

Speaking about the coming elections, Odinga says, "You know this

is the first time the Kenya people will be required to put my party on the carpet, as it were. I have pleaded with the Government to ensure fair play and show honesty in handling the forthcoming elections. I have full confidence that the masses will reject the present KANU tendency to encourage capitalism in Kenya and will return a KPU Government."

Clear Conscience. On the other hand KANU is not taking the election issue lightly. The party's Secretary-General, Tom Mboya, who is also the Minister for Economic Planning and Development, remarks, "We go to the polls with a clear conscience. KANU has never promised the country that it will work miracles. In our new manifesto, now being prepared, we shall tell the country what KANU has achieved within the six years in office. We are ready to meet the challenges that are ahead of us."

The life of the present Parliament will come to an end after the current session. Then the election campaign proper starts throughout the country.

The Government has decided to introduce a new system of having primary elections first. Although the details of the system have not been disclosed, the idea is to involve the people in nominating candidates of their own choice for election.

Speaking about the new system, President Kenyatta says, "This will make it impossible for candidates to contest the election without the mandate of the people. It will also prevent any intrigues aimed at giving seats to men of wealth or relatives of party officials."

Another Chance. For the first time since *uhuru*, (freedom) the people of Kenya are going to decide whether to give the ruling KANU party another chance to continue in office or not. One thing, however, is clear, whether it turns out to be a KANU or KPU victory; many of the present M.P.s will not be re-elected. There has been widespread and noisy dissatisfaction with many of the present incumbents, largely because of their failure to visit their constituencies. Such M.P.s have become known as the Nairobi "barflies," and many can expect a period in the political wilderness.

MALAYSIA

Democracy Shattered

The corpses that littered some streets in the nervous city of Kuala Lumpur have been buried. More than

100 burned-out cars have been crushed away. But evidence of May 13 post-election racial riots is still easy to find — in many gutted houses, barren tracts of crumpled, corrugated iron, in the lists of people still missing and in the traffic jams as people rush home before the curfew hour resumes.

But especially it is to be seen in the refugee camps, where hundreds of families wait for something to turn up — a new house, a new job, a chance to move to another part of the country. The resilient refugees will nevertheless eventually solve their problems. But Malaysia as a whole has a much tougher path to tread.

Hair-raising Episode. Though violence touched but part of only one city, the country has lost its former sure touch for stability and progress. One hair-raising episode has negated its democracy and clouded its future.

There is no responsible argument about what happened. The ruling Alliance Party was dealt a rude shock in the May 10 elections (though it retained a good majority). The largely-Chinese Opposition parties celebrated their David-like success in tackling the Alliance Goliath. Some of these celebrations degenerated into insults directed at the Malay population. And the Malays hit back.

Recovery could begin with an official public appreciation of this sequence — but the new emergency administration, the National Operations Council, has so far refused to concede anything like it. Instead the official line has been to blame "Communist agents and anti-national elements," though no evidence has been produced of Communist involvement. Because the underground Malaya Communist Party is predominantly Chinese (and Maoist), the effect has been to blame part of the Chinese population for the trouble. It seems impossible to foresee political reconstruction on this basis.

Non-negotiable Rights. The recent events have probably cost the Malays a great deal of previous Chinese consent to the continuation of the special position — but, at the same time, Malay opinion has hardened to make the rights virtually non-negotiable.

A moratorium on politics has been suggested as a temporary solution to Malaysia's troubles — but how temporary? Eventually the non-Malays as numerous as and more economically powerful than the Malays, must be given an authentic voice.

Personalia

The onerous burden of steering France from the paternal authoritarianism of General de Gaulle to a democracy undominated by his towering personality has fallen on Georges Pompidou; and the man he has chosen to implement the change-over is JACQUES MICHEL PIERRE CHABAN-DOLMAS.

What kind of a man and a Prime Minister would Chaban-Dolmas make? Outside France he is too little known, and it is clear that Gaullism, during its come-back of the last decade, had only peripheral jobs for him. But he, like President Pompidou, is an ardent Gaullist.

Born on March 7, 1915, Chaban-Dolmas was educated at the Lycee Lakanal, Sceaux, and the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, Paris. He left college at a time of dire peril to his country, and like many a young Frenchman at the time, joined the armed forces. With the quick destruction of the French army by the Nazis the few young, spirited officers rose meteorically and Chaban-Dolmas, then 25 years old, was a Brigadier by 1940. He was put in charge of co-ordination of military planning on the conclusion of the infamous Petain armistice by the Gaullist Resistance. By 1944, he was Inspector-General of the Army.

On the liberation of France he was appointed Secretary-General of the Information Ministry but soon entered politics and in 1946 was elected Radical deputy for Gironde. Next year he was elected Mayor of Bordeaux. With the revival of Gaullism he became leader of the Gaullist group from 1953 to 1956. In 1956-57 he was Inspector of Finances and in 1957-58, in the Gaillard Cabinet, Defence Minister.

His appointment as Prime Minister now, on the fall of General de Gaulle, is thus Chaban-Dolmas's first major job after a long series of inconsequential posts in the de Gaulle administration.

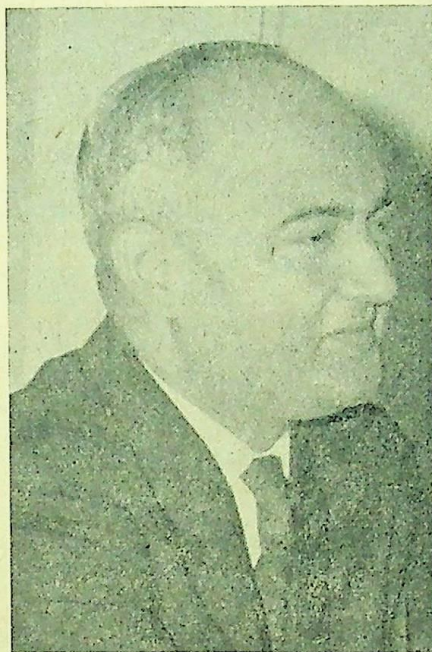
V. A. ALTEKAR, Professor of Metallurgical Engineering, University of Bombay, who has been offered the directorship of the National Metallurgical Laboratory, is young compared to his predecessors in the chair.

Dr. Altekar was conferred the Sixth National Metallurgical Day award in 1968 in recognition of his contri-

butions in the field of metallurgical education and industrial research. He has carried out investigations in chlorine-metallurgical processes and fluidised bed techniques for metallurgical problems in India. His outstanding contribution has been the 100 per cent indigenous designing and commissioning of an electro-thermal zinc dust smelter on a semi-commercial scale.

It was a day of triumph in July 1968 when the world's first electro-thermal zinc-dust smelter was successfully launched at the J. K. Chemicals in Thana, Bombay.

The plant has now a rated capacity of 3,000 tonnes per annum of through-put in the furnace-feed prepara-



Metallurgist Altekar

tion section (pelletising and calcining of zinc hydroxide) and about 600 tonnes per annum in the reduction section which has an experimental pilot plant electric furnace of 500 KVA rating. The entire design, fabrication and commissioning of the plant was done by Prof. Altekar within a record time of 18 months.

The quality of the zinc dust produced by Dr. Altekar is as good as some of the imported varieties. The plant at Thana is producing, for the first time in India, zinc dust for the chemical industry.

Dr. Altekar obtained his B.Sc. degree in Metallurgical Engineering from the Banaras Hindu University

(1946) and was awarded a scholarship for post-graduate work in the subject in U.S.A. He obtained his Master's and Doctor's degrees from the Colorado School of Mines. Formerly with the U.S. Bureau of Mines and Yucca Copper Mining and Milling Co. in Arizona before joining the Bombay University's Metallurgy Faculty, he is a consultant to a number of industrial firms and is to complete a few more consultancy assignments he has on hand before taking up his new assignment.

For nearly forty years Congress had dominated the affairs of the Calcutta Corporation with a Party-nominated Mayor at its helm. This year — keeping in tune with the U.F.'s resounding victory in the mid-term elections — this metropolis has for the first time elected a Red Mayor, PRASANTA SUR.

This 45-year-old CPI (M) leader who hails from Noakhali (now in East Pakistan), has a long association with the Corporation. When barely 30, he was elected in 1954 to the Corporation as a councillor from Tollygunge. Since then he has retained his seat from this area. He has the rare distinction of being elected to the Corporation even while he was confined in the Presidency Jail under DIR in 1965.

Sur took to Communism from his very boyhood. He was connected with the government employees' movement during 1945-48. He was arrested while demonstrating before the Chief Minister's office in 1949 and was detained in jail till 1951. After his release, he devoted himself to various social activities, especially of those at the squatters' colony at Tollygunge.

Sur was in the forefront during the 1954 anti-Bihar-Bengal merger movement and courted arrest. In 1957 and again in 1959 he was involved in the State's food movements. Last year, he was the leader of the Opposition group in the Corporation.

What does Sur think of Calcutta which the critics have severely dubbed "the stinking city", "the city of slogans", "the dead city" and so on? He told pressmen, after his election, that the "Congress had put the Corporation in a mess" and assured that he will make efforts to put the wheels of civic affairs in order.

Food and Agriculture

POTATO

Towards a Staple Diet

The cultivation of potato, which was introduced in India in the 17th century, has only covered less than three per cent of the cultivated area during the last three centuries. This may appear surprising in view of the various merits claimed for potato as a staple food, and the important place it occupies in the food economy of western countries.

Potato, which combines the virtues of a cereal and a fruit, yields more per hectare in terms of calories than wheat or rice, and in a shorter time. According to agronomists, potato can help to eliminate India's food deficit for all time, besides improving the quality of the diet, if only the barriers to its widespread cultivation could be removed.

Various Diseases. Hitherto, the major handicap faced by the potato growers in the plains was the difficulty in obtaining seed of good quality. Unlike in the case of cereals, the farmer cannot set aside a part of the year's crop as seed for the next season, for the tuber deteriorates rapidly during storage and the yield potentials are reduced. The potato is subject to various virus diseases which cause the seed to degenerate. The loss on this account is as high as 70 per cent in some varieties.

Some of these virus diseases are transmitted by an insect pest (aphid) which infests the crop in the plains just before harvest. As this insect does not thrive at altitudes above 7,000 ft., seed production was till recently confined to the hill areas at higher altitudes. But the programme could not be very extensive as the available area in the hills which is suitable for growing seed potatoes was limited. The crops in the hills are also subject to diseases like brown rot, wilt and rot. Till recent years, India was importing large quantities of potato seed to supplement the supplies from the hills. But the total quantities of seed available were never very large, and the price was also a limiting factor to the expansion of potato cultivation to all the available land where it could be raised with profit.

The lack of suitable high-yielding varieties was also another handicap. The yields have to compare favour-

ably with taste of high-yielding cereals if the potato is to take its place as a major food crop.

Fantastic Yields. These difficulties, however, have been overcome, as a result of research carried out at the Potato Research Institute, Simla. Some of the new varieties developed, it is claimed, have fantastic yields of up to 500 quintals per hectare. So far, the Institute has evolved eight new varieties, namely, Kufri Sindhuri, Kufri Chandramukhi, Kufri Sheeta, Kufri Chamatkar, Kufri Alan, Kufri Jeevan and Kufri Naveen — which are all high-yielding and suited to different regions of the country.

More important, the Institute has also developed appropriate techniques for production of quality seed in the plains. But the "seed plot technique," as it is called, is a highly specialised job which has to be supervised by well-trained and experienced technical staff. The National Seeds Corporation has, therefore, taken on hand a crash programme for the multiplication of quality seed potato with the aim of covering ten per cent of the cultivated area with improved varieties in the next five years. The production of foundation seed in 1968, when the NSC made initial efforts in organising seed production, was 8,000 quintals. During the current year the NSC hopes to produce foundation seed to the extent of 20,000 quintals.

The seed programme is being organised with the help of selected seed producers. Last year production was organised through 14 seed producers, four from Uttar Pradesh, seven from Haryana, two from Punjab and one from Chandigarh. NSC has planned to produce the seed on about 360 acres during the current year at various places, including Lahaul in Himachal Pradesh, Kufri near Simla, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and NSC's own Foundation Seed Unit at Hempur. The former Director of the Potato Research Institute, Dr. Pushkarnath, is advising the NSC in its seed programme.

NUTS

Cashing on Cashews

Cashew-nuts, which are mostly grown in the South, earned India Rs. 63.2 crores in 1968-69 as against

Rs. 44.4 crores in 1967-68. From the export of cashew kernels alone, India gained Rs. 61.9 crores in 1968-69.

The total quantity of raw nuts imported in 1967-68 was 1,68,000 tonnes as against 1,41,000 tonnes in 1966-67. The imports in 1965-66 were 1,61,000 tonnes. This means that we have to depend upon foreign markets for the requirements of two-thirds of raw materials needed by the industry.

Indigenous Sources. The main suppliers of raw nuts to the Indian cashew industry are the East African countries, especially Tanzania, Kenya, and Portuguese East Africa.

The availability of raw nuts from foreign and indigenous markets during the Fourth Plan period will not be more than 1,75,000 tonnes. Our total requirements — for export, 2,50,000 tonnes and home consumption, 20,000 tonnes — will be about 2,70,000 tonnes. With the prospect of not more than 1,75,000 tonnes from the East African countries and the domestic market, there would be an estimated gap of 95,000 tonnes in the supply of raw nuts during the Fourth Plan period. Therefore, it is high time to ponder over accelerating the production of sufficient quantities of raw nuts in India, as the foreign suppliers are sure to decrease their supply due to the mechanisation that has recently crept into Africa and Europe.

An Italian firm has recently invented an automatic machine for extraction of kernels from the nuts and this is going to be a serious threat to the cashew industry in India. Already three such mechanised processing units have been set up in Portuguese East Africa. The Italian firm has received orders for supply of two sets of machinery for mechanical processing for two factories in Tanzania, and this is bound to make its impact upon the 270 and odd manual shelling factories of South India. Besides, the experts at Britain's Tropical Production Institute have also evolved a "spin-drier" for de-corticating cashew nuts. The cracking of the nut, which is the toughest job in the extraction of the kernel, will be performed in future by the modified spin-drier and manual shelling will be scrapped. Mechanisation of the cashew industry therefore will be a serious problem to Kerala's working women who supply

the labour force to the factories in and around Quilon.

Exotic Migrant. The cashew tree is an exotic migrant to India. It originated in Brazil and was introduced to our country by the Portuguese about 400 years ago. Till pre-Independence period, cashew was considered to be a waste land crop in India. The Five-Year Plans witnessed various extensive and intensive measures. An area of two lakh acres was brought under cashew plantation during the Second Five-Year Plan period. About 13 lakh acres were added during the Third Plan and an additional six lakh acres is being contemplated to be brought under it in the Fourth Plan period. Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh are its main growers.

Kerala is the most important State engaged in its cultivation and production. The production of raw nuts in Kerala amounts to a little over one lakh tonne and the acreage under cultivation is over 2.35 lakhs. It is proposed to bring another 25,000 acres under cashew plantation and increase production of nuts by 48,000 tonnes during the Fourth Plan period.

The Government of Tamil Nadu has brought 26,381 hectares under cashew and an additional 1,000 hectares has been taken up for planting in 1968-69. The income from these plantations in Tamil Nadu amounted to Rs. 9,10,728 in 1967-68.

Maharashtra has entered into cashew cultivation in a big way. The State expects to bring 2.5 lakh acres under cashew cultivation during the Fourth Plan period. Mysore intends to add another one lakh acres during the Fourth Plan period and Andhra Pradesh may also extend the cultivation of cashew. However, self-sufficiency in raw nuts will be a far cry for many years to come. Besides, the average yield of nuts per acre in India is far below the figures of African countries.

Commercially Valuable. Nature has created the cashew-nut exclusively for human consumption. The nut consists of shell and kernel. Commercially, both the kernel and shell are most valuable. The kernel is a complete food in itself.

The raw cashew-nut which is in the shape and colour of a small kidney has a double-walled shell of cellular construction having a honeycomb structure containing cashew-nut shell liquid (CNSL), an important source of natural phenols which are used in a large variety of

ducts ranging from resins to insulating varnishes.

There are more than 450 patents covering the processing and application of cashew-nut shell liquid in several branches of industry. At present, the most important single commercial use of cashew-nut shell liquid is in the manufacture of brake linings, where it is used as a bonding resin to give the lining special anti-fade properties at high operating temperatures.

Cashew Apple. Another important product of the cashew tree is its apple. The cashew apple, which is hard and acid for the first two weeks, becomes soft and sweet in the third and fourth weeks of its growth. The ripe cashew apple's juice is used for preparation of syrup, squash, jam, candy and wine. The estimated production of the apple in India is over three lakh tonnes.

PRODUCTION

Food From Factories

Highly-nutritious and palatable food products made artificially from a variety of cheap and easily available sources such as crude oil, leaves and algae could enrich Africa's and Asia's protein-deficient diet. But they tend to be rejected due to pride and prejudice.

"Most people ignore the meaning of the word 'protein,' which has no commercial appeal," says a specialist. "People shun high-protein products for social reasons, regarding them as the 'food of the poor.'" Yet they could well be the food of the future.

"Faffa." In Ethiopia, some of these obstacles have been overcome by local nutritionists who called their products Faffa — which means "grow big and strong," says a survey of the world food situation published by a United Nations agency.

Faffa has become a success. "But in many other countries where illiteracy ranges up to 85 per cent, and people cannot even read the name of the product, promotion campaigns have to be carried out through films, radio and television," says the survey. "Nevertheless, specialists are firmly convinced that protein malnutrition can be overcome in much of the developing world if the available resources of oil-seed protein are utilised more efficiently."

Alexander Nesmeyanov, former President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and member of its Presidium, and Vessily Belikov, an eminent Rus-

sian specialist in theoretical organic chemistry, forecast that all man's food requirements will one day be satisfied by factories rather than farms.

Enormous Variety. Scientists have found that bacteria — particularly yeast organisms — fed on petroleum can produce a protein flour which, in turn, can be turned into an enormous variety of tasty foods.

"So far," the two eminent Russian scientists write, "chemistry has made no attempt to compete with agriculture. Instead, it plays an auxiliary role, seeking to provide agriculturists with chemical fertilisers, pesticides, growth agents and products designed to preserve natural foodstuffs and improve their taste, appearance and digestibility."

"But, basically, food production today is in no way different from what it was in the primitive communities of hunters and farmers."

The Russians believe that agriculture will eventually give way to a new industry based on chemical principles and producing tinned food packets which need only to be heated before a meal. And the food industry of the future would provide enough for everyone, combining in its products palatability, variety and the highest nutritive values.

Synthetic Food. "No more bad years, poor harvests, unproductive land," the scientists say. "No more calamitous losses due to climate, natural catastrophes, parasites, plant disease, all of which today still take their toll of a considerable part of every harvest. Let us imagine the day when a country's economy is based on the manufacture of synthetic food instead of on traditional methods of food production. A few huge factories, sited in different parts of the country where coal and petroleum are to be found, prepare all the food required by the population."

"There is no longer any need for the vast industry which formerly provided agriculture with its equipment — tractors, and machine tools. Nor for the metal used for making them, nor for the fuel used to power them. Nor for chemical fertilisers, pesticides and so on."

Thus a large proportion of the population previously engaged in these industries and in agriculture itself could be freed for more productive work in other spheres. For the production of the synthetic food of the future, the scientists insist, will require only a minute part of all that manpower.

Education

UNIVERSITIES

Punjab Facing Disintegration

One of the country's oldest and largest affiliated universities, the Punjab University, Chandigarh, is now heading towards disintegration because of financial crises.

The university, which was founded in Lahore, shifted to Chandigarh after Partition. Till the mid-fifties all colleges and schools in the erstwhile Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh were affiliated to this university from which Jammu and Kashmir was the first to break away in 1952 when it had its own university.

Serious Threat. Now Punjab University is facing a serious threat from Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. The Punjab Government has decided to affiliate all colleges and schools in the State with the University of Patiala and with another university, to be set up in Amritsar by November next.

The Government of Haryana is considering to affiliate all schools and colleges in the State with the Kurukshetra University. Under the Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966, Punjab University had jurisdiction over all colleges in Punjab and Haryana. Being based in Chandigarh, which is a Union Territory, Punjab University has assumed the character of a Central University after the reorganisation of Punjab.

Last year the Punjab Government, headed by late Lachman Singh Gill, had decided to take away all the colleges in Punjab from the control of Punjab University and pass them over to the Patiala University. But the present Punjab Government, headed by Gurnam Singh, decided to go slow.

Recommendations. The Govern-

ment notified on May 13 that 19 colleges in the four districts of the State would be transferred to the Patiala University. The Punjab Chief Minister maintains that new universities should be set up according to the recommendations, "a good university organisation would be the one in which a university has a strong core of teaching departments combined with about 30 affiliated colleges situated in close proximity". The Punjab Government under this recommendation has decided to transfer 19 more colleges to the Patiala University, which at present has 11 affiliated colleges. The Punjab University has at present 200 affiliated colleges and 20 more have applied for affiliation.

The Syndicate of the Punjab University feels bitter about the decision of the Punjab Government and it has asked the Central Government that if the character of the university has to be changed into a unitary residential one, this should be done in a planned manner so that the academic life and standards in Punjab and Haryana are not affected. The Syndicate feels that the decision of the Punjab Government was *ultra vires* to the Punjab Reorganisation Act, under which the Punjab University became an "inter-State body corporate" having jurisdiction over both Punjab and Haryana.

This situation would change only if the Central Government issued directions from time to time about the functioning of the "body corporate". The Syndicate points out that the "body corporate", subject to the jurisdiction of the Central control, cannot be changed by the Punjab Government. At the request of the Punjab University, the Union Law Ministry is examining the legal issues involved in the decision of the Punjab Government. The University is likely to go to a court of law "to seek justice".

Ministry Warned. According to the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, Saraj Bhan, the university was not opposed to the change but it was objecting to the manner in which it was being done. He has warned the Central Education Ministry that this piece-meal tampering with the university education could have far-reaching repercussions on the academic life of the affiliated colleges.



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DROUGHT

Human Misery Exploited

Banda district in U. P. is for the last six years continuously under the spell of a severe drought having already claimed a toll of many lives and starving others.

The soil of this area, incapable of retaining moisture, depends mostly on rains and when they fail, the drought stalks in. The rains these years have been far from adequate. The result : a drought havoc followed by utter human want and misery and starvation and death.

Crops Destroyed. In hundreds of villages of the district crops have been completely destroyed. Foodgrains — hardly available — are selling at skyrocketing prices which the poor landless labourers and small peasants can hardly afford. Drinking water is scarce. Two-thirds of the rural population is living on one meal a day.

In Mau and Baberu sub-divisions the Government has opened test works, where in scorching heat, nearly 8,000 children are working to get one or two meals a day. People are pouring in from the whole district, and the authorities find it difficult to provide them with food and work.

The landless peasants have been rendered jobless. Hundreds of them have deserted their native places and left for cities in search of livelihood.

Relief Work. Awakened belatedly to this grim reality, the Government has suspended the collection of re-

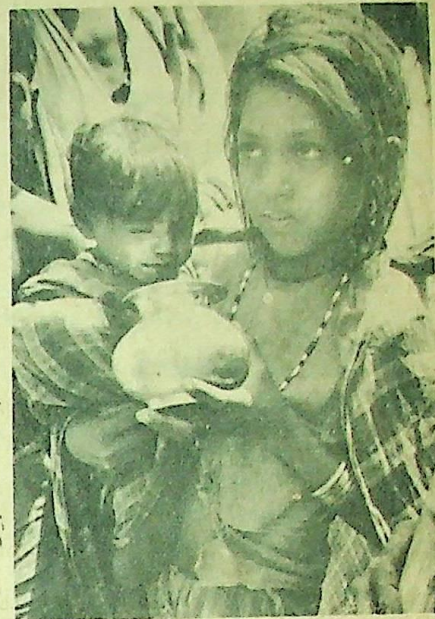
venue and other dues worth Rs. 39,40,018. A number of schemes have been introduced to provide free foodgrains, milk powder, drinking water, medical aid and various relief works. Soil conservation works have been started for small farmers and landless labourers. Altogether 130 fair price shops have been opened to serve 458 villages of the district.

To overcome water scarcity, trucks, railway tankers and bullock-carts have been pressed into service. Pumping sets have also been installed and tube-wells bored. CARE, the American relief organisation, has started an emergency food scheme to benefit 51,349 school-going children and 37,251 mothers.

But these efforts have not mitigated the misery of the people. The Government measures are not co-ordinated and adequate. They do not reach even half the number of people affected by drought.

Bungling Officials. The petty Government officials are bungling over the supply of foodgrains and relief work. Non-existent persons are "drawing" relief money and foodgrains through registers. The money is pocketed by unidentified sources and foodgrains sold to the merchants who are reaping a rich harvest and thriving — on human misery. Donors have complained that the relief and money sent by them never reach the needy and is lost in the maze of "official corruption".

The Government pays Rs. 2.45 per day to a family of three members for



Poverty stalks Banda

test work. The amount is hardly sufficient to provide them even with a single meal. The test work remains suspended on Sundays.

Haryana Facing Famine

More than 8,00,000 people belonging to about 1,000 villages of Haryana are bravely facing a severe drought.

The havoc wrought by the dismal failure of rains has to be seen to be believed. The only patches of greenery one can see for miles on this vast scorched land are a few irrigated farms, the weeds and drought-resistant *Jhand* trees used as camel-feed.

Parched Landscape. For hundreds of miles in the interior of Hissar, Mohindergarh and Rhotak districts, one sees a vast expanse of parched landscape dotted with thorny shrubs. Hardly any sign of ploughing can be seen on this sandy area hit hard by two successive droughts. Nor is drinking water easily available in this area. The depleted and scattered reservoirs of subsoil water are filled only when there is rain. There have been cases of cattle dying after drinking brackish water.

For decades, the village ponds have been the only source of drinking water for both men and cattle. In most villages people collect either rain water or canal water where it is available. Only wells around ponds give sweet water.

The worst-affected areas are those of Bhiwani sub-division adjoining



Fruitless search for corn grains

Rajasthan. Here 200 out of 208 villages have been severely hit by the drought damaging almost the entire crop and affecting a population of about 2,00,000. There is an acute shortage of fodder and some herds of cattle are reported to have perished. A section of the population of these areas has migrated to other parts in search of employment. The landless have been the worst hit.

To mitigate the misery, relief works were started by the Government in December last to absorb the unemployed. A sum of Rs. 7,70,000 was allotted for the purpose. About 104 works have been started providing employment for about 3,000 people. It is expected that with the start of more works about 10,000 people may get employment during the summer.

Drinking Water. In view of the acute shortage of drinking water in the Bhiwani sub-division, the State Government has launched four drinking water supply schemes to benefit about 1,50,000 people. Three of these have since been completed, while the fourth costing about Rs. 9,00,000 is nearing completion. Conditions in 22 villages of neighbouring Hansi sub-division are almost similar to those of Bhiwani.

The damage in Mohindergarh district is also considerable. Of nearly 5,93,000 acres under the Rabi 1969, about 4,75,000, i.e., 87 per cent were affected in 1968-69. With Rs. 8,00,000 sanctioned, relief works were started in the district employing about 2,500 people for three months.

Owing to failure of rains in Rhotak district, parts of the areas adjoining Hissar, Mohindergarh and Gurgaon districts were badly hit. Drought conditions have been prevailing at these places since 1965. They became acute last year when a compact block of about 171 villages in the Nahar sub-division adjoining Mohindergarh district was hit by the failure of rains. This area lies at the tail-end of the western Jamuna canal system, and even in the best of the years, it gets minimal supplies of canal water. In Kharif 1968, failure of crops affected over 75,000 acres of cultivated area resulting in a loss of about Rs. 11.5 million in Rabi 1969. The cultivated area was reduced to 25 per cent resulting in a loss of over Rs. 1.25 million.

Devastating Famine. The Haryana Government has taken steps to meet the challenge posed by the drought. Official planning is, however, based on presumptions that there would be rains in the next three months.

But if this hope is belied, the authorities apprehend a devastating famine.

Recovery of land revenue and *tac-cavi* in the affected areas has been suspended, but the Government is opposed to giving doles to the stricken people. Instead, it has undertaken drought relief works like widening of village ponds, digging of wells, improvement of water channels and building of roads to provide gainful employment to the people living in the affected districts.

Meanwhile, the Haryana Government has urged the Planning Commission to give the State at least Rs. 7,20,000 as special purpose grants during the Fourth Plan so that the triple menace of flood, drought and water-logging can be fought.

MEMORIALS

Gandhiji At India Gate

A controversy has developed over the location of Mahatma Gandhi's statue at India Gate. Mrs. Gandhi recently informed Parliament that a statue, specially constructed for the purpose, would be installed on the pedestal vacated by that of King George V, which now finds a resting place in Coronation Park, Old Delhi.

The steering committee of Government architects and engineers in charge of the project has now come up with a new scheme involving an ambitious piece of landscaping, which will change entirely the appearance of the India Gate area, and the siting of the Mahatma's statue here in a different position.

Central Position. It has been suggested that the entire 30-acre between India Gate and the National Stadium and bounded by Sher Shah Road on the west and the road leading to the Exhibition Ground on Mathura Road should be turned into a park with the statue occupying a central position in it.

From the north, it will be visible through the arch of India Gate and the empty canopy of the King George statue without any obstruction. The statue will be 40 feet high, so that it will occupy a commanding position and will be visible from all points in the area.

It has been suggested that the statue should not be in isolation but should form part of a group symbolising Gandhi's philosophy, the rural bias of his activity and his struggle for the dignity and freedom of man.

Picnic Spots. The surrounding park will contain trees, flowering plants and greens and picnic spots so

that it may become a major place attraction in the city for visitors and permanent dwellers in search of relaxation.

Two fountains are also planned to be erected, together with a main pool 300 feet by 480 feet, and small subsidiary ones. To afford protection to visitors from sun and rain, circular pergolas will be built on either side of the statue. The park will be landscaped.

Pedestrians, entering the park from other parts of the India Gate area, will be able to avoid the heavy rush of motor traffic on the arterial road through the construction of new subways.

Nation-wide Competition. A nation-wide competition for design for the park and the group of sculpture has been proposed to be held. The first competition, for the landscape, will be open to architects, town planners, artists and sculptors. The second will be open to a few selected sculptors, who will submit proposals in harmony with the design accepted for the park. The group statuary will have to be designed in such a manner that even the rear view, from the National Stadium, will be significant to the onlooker.

The entire project has to be completed before the Gandhi Centenary Year ends. The new scheme believed to have been submitted to the Prime Minister for her approval before a decision on it is taken.

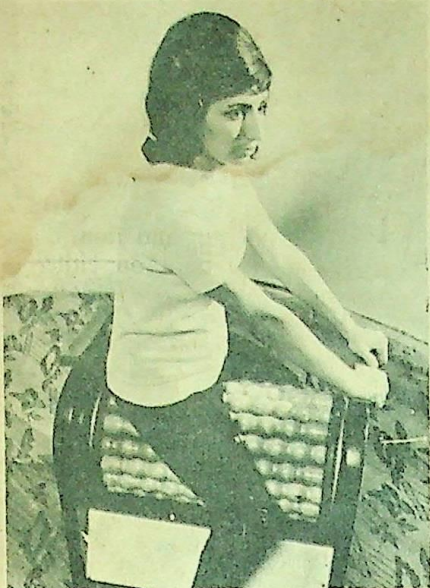
BEAUTY CULTURE

Figurette Slims Figures

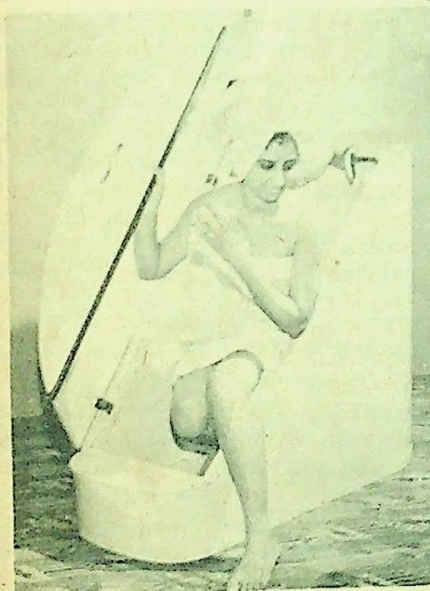
"It is never too late to be lovely" is the motto of Rohit and Tanu Jani, an enterprising Bombay couple who run "Figurette," an institution that preaches and teaches figure perfection.

The Figurette technique of slimming and health culture is loved by clients, men and women — because it is so easy. It involves no dieting, no strenuous gymnastics. Ingeniously designed machines do the work while you relax.

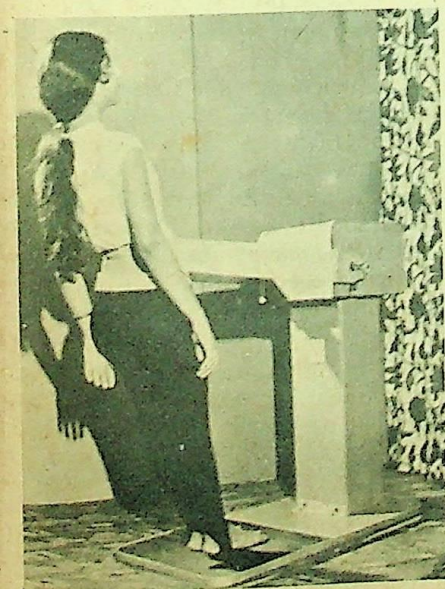
Painless & Efficient. The idea for the institution was born five years ago when Mrs. Jani visited a figure control parlour in the U.S. to shed a few pounds soon after she had delivered a baby. So impressed was she by its painless and efficient technique that she took up a course at the Lakewood Beauty School, Los Angeles. Figurette, started last year in Bombay, and expanded rapidly, now



Cycling on a roller machine



Pounds less from Sauna bath



Vibrating belt cuts inches

has three units in the city and branches in Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad. It will shortly enter Madras, Bangalore, Poona and Indore.

A client who approaches Figurette is first given a figure analysis and a calorie guide. A minimum of 13 sittings of half-an-hour each is then held. The client normally loses 2.5 to 3 lbs. within a week as also two inches around the hip or waist.

The shiny, sophisticated equipment in Figurette includes a "roller machine" which one rides like a bicycle. One can also press a button in the machine and simulate horse-riding (the seat goes up and down) or swimming (the handle makes wide, sweeping arcs.) The machine provides excellent muscular exercise and tones up flabby tissues round the waist and other parts of the body.

Deep-tissue Massage. There are also vibratory belts for deep-tissue massage. They are particularly effective for spot-reducing round the waist, hips and thighs. Other gadgets include an electronic vibrating couch which massages the back, shoulders and hips all at once while you lie on it, and an electronic facial machine — which you move up and down like an electric shaver — it tones sagging muscles and removes wrinkles.

Figurette's steam and sauna baths leave you relaxed and invigorated. You perspire away your impurities and soothe the aching muscles. A cold shower following the baths gives you a feeling of delicious freshness. There is also a "facial sauna", an instrument that produces a "beauty mist" of warm vapour which removes dirt, relaxes tired eyes and clears the complexion.

These wonder machines are all designed and manufactured at Figurette itself, under the supervision of Jani who is a U.S.-qualified engineer. A whole range of quality products for slimming, health and beauty equipment is manufactured by the Figurette Equipment Co. Pvt. Ltd.

TRANSPORT

Calcuttawallahs Will Walk

On January 2, 1969, a precedent was set in Calcutta. The rise in tram fares, which came into effect that day, was not met by the expected eruption of violence. Instead, peaceful processions were taken out by some student unions and by the parties comprising the previous United Front Government. Such an atmos-

phere was possible because of a remarkable experiment put into operation by the Transport Department — a two-thirds concession was given to the students. Therefore, those political elements that wanted to capitalise on the situation, through their student organisations, were caught on the wrong foot.

Although a large block of passengers were expected to turn to the low-fared bus services, the tram fare rise was to come as a tonic to the depleted finances of the Calcutta Tramways Co. (CTC). The Administrative Officer of the Government-run Tramways said that it would yield an additional revenue of Rs. 1.5 crores per year.

The Calcutta State Transport Corporation (CSTC) authorities were quick to follow the example set by the Tramways. A proposal was under way to increase the bus fares by 5 paise at all stages, allowing the students to travel at the original rates. This was to reduce CSTC's annual deficit of Rs. 2 crores to Rs. 50 lakhs, which the officials were confident could be offset by increasing the fleet.

General Goodwill. The United Front Government, when it came to power, in an outburst of general goodwill and to show concrete signs of it being a "people's government," threw caution to the winds. The proposed raise of bus fares was immediately shelved and the tram fares were partly reduced.

Now just after the completion of its fateful 100 days in office, the U.F. Government seems to have landed itself into a mess. The Finance Department has served an ultimatum on the CTC and CSTC. It has asked them to take steps to make themselves viable or the "ways and means allowance" advance for the running of the two services will not be possible after June. The situation is decidedly going to get more complicated in the near future. The CSTC and CTC, facing a monthly deficit of Rs. 13 lakhs and 10 lakhs respectively, will have their expenses increased when the expected new dearness allowance scheme goes into operation.

Although nobody expects the Transport Department to dramatically pull out a solution from thin air, by the end of July, only a few economic measures seem to lie at its disposal. Except for a fresh revision of tariffs to the two services, the reorganisation of the uneconomic fare structure seems imminent.

Science and Technology

ELECTRONICS

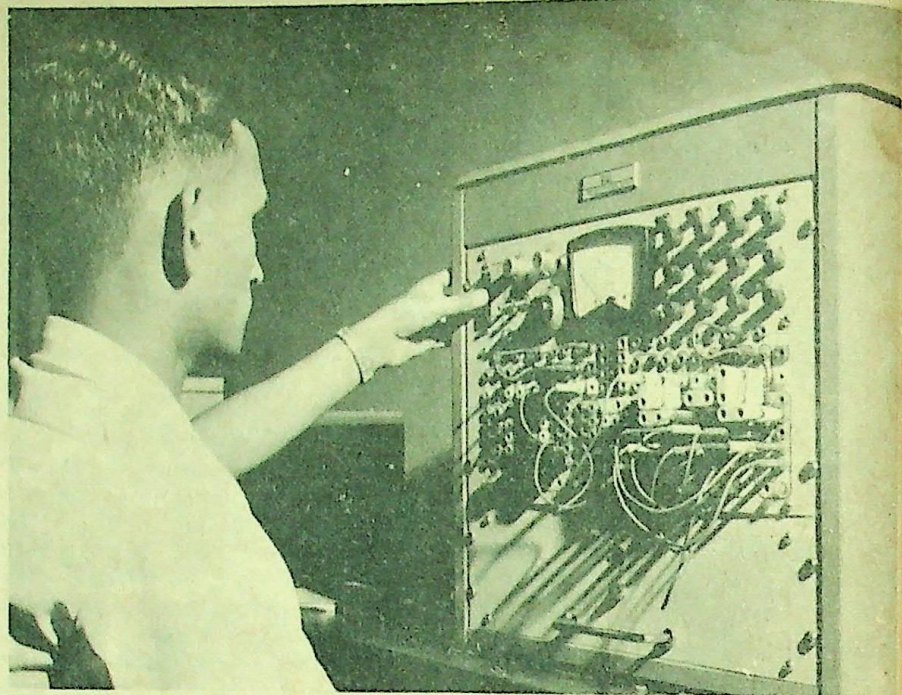
Railways To Go Modern

The much-belated modernisation of Indian Railways has commenced at last. The commissioning of a multi-channel, 2,000-kilometre network in the Southern Railways marks a turning point in the 116-year-old history of the Indian Railways.

More than Rs. 21 crores have been earmarked for the purchase of sophisticated equipment, including computers. Indeed, the accent of modernisation is on the most modern instruments being put to use.

Best of Its Kind. The microwave network commissioned in the Southern Railways is comparable in its complexity and size with the best of its kind in the world. By the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, nearly 12,000 kilometres of the railway lines will be covered by the microwave network, thus meeting the needs of almost all the main lines in the country.

The microwave system has advantages over both the conventional signalling and other communications system and the wireless method. It does away with wires and need not stand in competition with many other wireless messages cluttering the ether media. The microwave is like a light beam, the width of which decides the number of channels in it. A single



An Analogue Computer trainer at the Railway School, Hyderabad

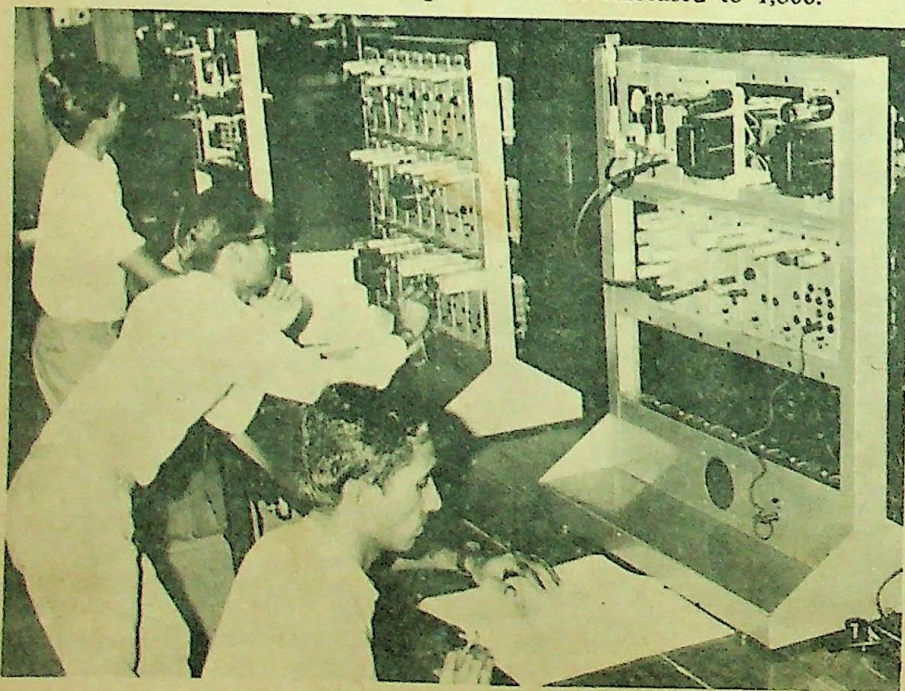
beam, as the one in the Southern Railways now, consists of 120 voice-channels. These channels can be used for telephone links, teleprinter links, radio and any such communication required. The width of the beam can be expanded if there is an increase in the number of channels required. For instance, the channels of the microwave system in Southern Railways could be increased to 1,800.

The microwaves are beamed from a transmitter and relayed across repeater points which are held aloft on towers to make up for the earth curvature. Normally, the distance between two points is 25 miles.

Fast and Safe. It is obvious that the system is not only efficient and fast, but also safe from both man and nature. There are no wires to be cut by agitators. No copper strips to entice the robbers. Rain, cyclone and floods will not disrupt communication. There will be no interference from atmospherics or sun spot activity, as in the short waves of the wireless.

Another feature of modernisation, as said earlier, are the computers. With the changing pattern and composition of traffic, the progressive dieselisation and electrification of railways and the increasing competition from other modes of transportation, the scope and content of railway statistics for effective managerial control have had to be enlarged. The microwave systems would pour in data from various levels of management, demanding quick decisions supported by fast processing of information. The development of communication has to go hand in hand with the proper use of such data collection.

Integrated Procedure. A start in computerisation was made in the



Trainees at the microwave trainer equipment

Indian Railways by the middle of 1964, when an integrated procedure for the mechanisation of accounting of traffic revenues and compilation of commercial statistics with the use of Unit Record Data Processing machines was introduced. The results were encouraging and the Railways went in for computers. There are 11 computers now. Three more will be commissioned shortly. Three main centres of these computers are: The Integral Coach Factory, Madras, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, Chittaranjan, and the Diesel Locomotive Works, Varanasi.

Among the data processed by the computers now are: goods revenue accounts, commodity statistics, payroll and provident fund accounts, costing, production and inventory control and incentive bonus bills and in course of time, production, planning, machine loading etc. Computers have saved the labour of the station staff in preparing the enormous inward and outward goods abstracts. A much wider range of commodity statistics — above 500 commodities — is now available. Similarly, the stupendous labour involved in manually preparing records detailing the transaction data of passenger traffic carried on more than one zonal Railway system has been eliminated.

Modernisation has to be coupled with safety. Highly sophisticated modern signalling equipment is being installed gradually. The latest among these are a far cry from the almost primitive techniques adopted by the first train in India which ran from Bombay to Thana, on April 16, 1853, over 21 miles. The signalling equipment still intensively used in India is as old as 1900, when one Major Hepper introduced the key interlocking method.

Centralised Traffic Control. During the Second and Third Five-Year Plans, the Railways initiated a large number of schemes pertaining to route relay interlockings, automatic signalling, very high frequency radio installation etc. The latest is the centralised traffic control on one section each of the North Eastern Frontier Railway. This enables the points and signals on the entire section of over 100 miles to be operated from one central station. It eliminates the agonising delay and fearsome accidents forthcoming from the involvement of every station master on the route in the present system of traffic control. The man at the central station can now see the exact position of the train without the assistance of

station masters *en route*.

The centralised traffic control has resulted in an increase of 40 per cent line capacity. This is of vital importance as 84 per cent of the route kilometres on the Indian Railways are of single line sections. Average speed of goods trains has increased by 50 per cent, resulting in an annual recurring saving in expenditure of Rs. 2.8 lakhs in the cost of the staff.

Signalling has ceased to be just a safety device. It is now a tool of efficiency and economy in handling high density traffic of the Indian Railways.

Many Projects. The Railways are spending Rs. 3 crores on microwave network, Rs. six crores on route relay interlocking Rs. four crores on centralised traffic control, Rs. one crore on coded track circuits and tokenless instruments, Rs. six crores on other special equipment for railway electrification and Rs. one crore on electronic retarders.

Another important and vast asset, which the Railways are acquiring, is the overhead line wires carrying telephone and telegraph circuits along the railway tracks. These are under the control of the Post and Telegraphs at present. For the new tracks laid, the Railways are already erecting their own line wires, and as for the existing tracks, these are being progressively taken over on a phased programme. If it is remembered that the total railway route length is 59,000 kilometres, and each track will have alignments varying from one to four pairs, the over-all length of line wires to be maintained by the Railways can well be imagined.

The Railways are training their personnel in a school of their own to handle and operate the highly sophisticated equipment ranging from electric signalling to computers. The Ministry of Railways had decided to establish its own centre for training in 1957, when a school was opened in Hyderabad.

Keeping Up-to-date. Starting with only 70 students and two courses, the school has now expanded to nearly 425 students and the number of courses is 20. The school is now at the very centre of the modernisation in Indian Railways. Nearly 3,100 technical personnel have been trained so far, out of which 400 are officers. All officers and inspectors in the Signal and Telecommunication department are given a refresher course every five years to keep them up-to-date.

Recently, two engineers from the

Iranian State Railways and a party of seven senior officers from the African Railways visited the school. The Nigerian Railway Corporation is sending trainees regularly and an officer trainee from Malaysian Railways will be joining the school in August.

The present campus extends over 73 acres, and has been planned at a cost of Rs. 41 lakhs. It is perhaps a unique institution in the world, according to the Vice-Principal, Prabakar, in the sense it provides training in a science embracing mechanical, electrical and electronic engineering.

GADGETS

Sleep & Memorise Machines

Two electronic devices which have been developed in Britain could bring undreamed of benefits to thousands of people. People who could benefit would be those who cannot sleep and those who want to study but have not got sufficient time during the day.

The first device is designed to give its user a good night's sleep without resorting to drugs. It is called the Bedmate and is invented by Harry Marron.

Sleep Inducing Device. The Bedmate looks like a miniature television set, and is fixed where the user can see it while lying down in bed. A small, pulsating dot of light comes on and off on the screen and the interval between flashes is scientifically gauged so that it captivates the mind.

The tests carried out with the help of this machine has been very successful and Marron is confident that it will get the most wide awake person off to sleep within a few minutes. He actually started experimenting to find a sleep-inducing device some years ago.

Marron says, "Millions of people depend on drugs to sleep. All that dope cannot be good for them. I hit on this idea of electronic lights which would act as a sort of hypnotic pendulum. It has the advantage of being non-addictive, and you wake up feeling fresh." Further he is sure it is a more reliable cure for insomnia than taking sleeping pills or counting sheep.

One of the first people to test the Bedmate was Marron's wife. He explained: "She gazed at these little points of light for a couple of hours. I asked her if she was feeling any sleepier and she did not answer. She was asleep." His wife no longer re-

quires to use sleeping tablets.

It is expected that the Bedmate will cost less than £8.

Recharging Memory. The other electronic device plays tape-recording and enables one to use the time occupied by sleeping at night in a productive way by charging one's memory.

Its developer is John Ratcliffe and he produced "sleep suggestion" recordings, an idea pioneered by a French psychologist, Emile Coue many years ago. Ratcliffe decided to pursue this idea to try to cure himself of forgetfulness. "I was always losing scissors," he said. "I would lose three pairs a day and it was ruining my life. So I made a

tape-recording saying 'Hang the scissors on the wall when you've finished using them.'"

He placed a loudspeaker beneath his pillow and played the tape-recording all night. The volume was modulated so that it did not keep him awake but was sufficiently loud for it to penetrate his subconscious mind. His verdict: "Since then I haven't lost a pair of scissors. Every time I'm about to put them down somewhere I hear this voice saying 'Hang the scissors on the wall.'"

Totally Receptive. The secret of Ratcliffe's success, he says, is that one's subconscious mind is totally receptive even after a person has gone to sleep.

Uses to which his tape recording could be put quickly occurred to Ratcliffe. They included actors learning their lines, students or other people wanting to study, teaching people the art of conversation, or how to develop a stronger personality. One of his tape-recordings even gives advice on dealing with shop assistants.

"Practise the gaze. Notice the better attention you will get from shop assistants. When you get to the counter, pause until the assistant looks at you. Then use the gaze and ask for what you want. You will be surprised what this technique will do for you."

It sounds fascinating.

Special Article

Problems and prospects of atomic power

By Our Contributing Editor

The nation's first flush of enthusiasm about the development of atomic power has made way for second thoughts and critical introspection welcome in their own way for the future.

India is only a novice compared to the advanced nations of the 'Nuclear Club' in this highly sophisticated field. It is natural that there should be some scepticism about the capacity of our nuclear scientists to achieve quick progress in nuclear energy. It will be recalled that, in 1965, at the height of Indo-Pakistan tension, when our nuclear scientists dropped a hint that they had the know-how to make the A-bomb, it triggered a keen debate demanding, in effect, that we make the bomb to our advantage.

Red-tapist Delays. There is also a feeling that in the absence of Dr. Homi Bhabha — the architect of our nuclear ambitions and programmes — his dynamic drive is seriously lacking now. Dr. Bhabha's team was fortunate to have the blessings of no less a presiding deity than Prime Minister Nehru whose passion for developing scientific technology for the progress of India was well known. Dr. Bhabha, too, had to contend with red-tapist delays but the overall policy never gave the impression of being so wavering ("stop-go-stop") as was brought out by Dr. Sarabhai recently.

Our nuclear programme has reced-

ed far behind schedule. Atomic power from Tarapur was supposed to go on stream last October and the indications early this year — after its two reactors became critical on February 1 and 27 — were that the time lag was not widening but being bridged. As matters stand now, full commercial production from Tarapur is to commence any time now. The Rana Pratap Sagar (Rajasthan) station, whose first unit was scheduled to be completed by this year-end, will not be ready before 1971. The first unit at Kalpakkam (Madras) is to follow three years later. On the whole, the progress is rather "atomic", compared to the original schedules, and the Department of Atomic Energy, in its annual report this year could proclaim no more than that "nuclear energy will be making its debut in Asia with the commissioning of the Tarapur Atomic Power Station."

Besides, the capital cost of the Tarapur station and the cost of its power have increased considerably over their original estimates. The cost of the station came to Rs. 65.20 crores, an increase of Rs. 16.7 crores (more than 25%) over the estimate made in 1962. This is, however, ascribed by Dr. Sarabhai to increase in customs duty in 1966 and devaluation, which accounted for Rs. 6.5 crores and Rs. 10.2 crores respectively. Correspondingly, the cost of power increased from the original estimate of 3.22 to 4.78 paise per kilo-

watt hour (kwh), due also to increases in the costs of fuel, organisation and maintenance, insurance and contingencies.

Official Doubts. The Planning Commission, in its Fourth Plan approach, in spite of its willingness to allocate the funds, has clearly implied doubts about the wisdom of our techniques for generating atomic power from costly fuels other than those that can be processed from thorium of which we have vast resources — second largest in the world — or from our natural uranium resources. Even our knowledgeable Union Minister for Irrigation and Power, Dr. K. L. Rao, seems to have doubts about the feasibility of nuclear energy as the country's major source of power in the coming years. In fact, being convinced about our future power requirements, he is much concerned about the cut of four million kw made in the Fourth Plan target for installed power (from 26 to 22 million kw). His Ministry has recently appointed an expert committee (including two foreign experts) to "review schemes for expansion of generation from different sources under prevailing conditions and the expected future trends, to indicate the factor which must prevail in the choice of schemes for expansion of generation and supply in each region of the country in the future". This committee is thus expected to scrutinise critically the economics of nuclear

ants which are feared to cost much higher.

The Planning Commission has, in effect, consented to provide only for the nuclear projects already on hand, and not for any further advance commitments. Thus, the second stage of the Kalpakkam project (near Madurai) has been put off. The picture of atomic power generation envisaged in the Fourth Plan is: 380 million watts (mw) from Tarapur, from this year onwards; 200 mw from the first unit of the Rana Pratap Sagar station from 1970-71 onwards and 200 mw from the second unit two years later; 200 mw from the first unit of the Kalpakkam station towards the end of the Plan.

It is quite clear that the Commission has scaled down the programme of the Department of Atomic Energy not because of the usual lack of funds, but out of the conviction that a thorough prior scrutiny on the technical pros and cons and their comparative benefits in relation to their huge costs is imperative. The outlay on the D. A. E. has been increased in the Plan to the record sum of Rs. 327 crores, the biggest slice of which is Rs. 146 and odd crores for research and development (as against only Rs. 63.50 crores in the Third Plan). The research programmes envisaged in the Plan include: greater use of indigenous material and expertise; Reactor Research Centre (for a prototype fast-breeder reactor) at Kalpakkam for intensified research on thorium utilisation, among other things; a Variable Energy Cyclotron at Calcutta.

Much of the economics in nuclear power generation depends on the fuel employed or required for the particular reactor. At Tarapur, whose reactor (utilising enriched uranium) was modelled by General Electric (U. S. A.), the fuel cost is 1.63 paise per kwh, whereas for the Canadian-type reactor planned for Rana Pratap Sagar (utilising natural uranium moderated by heavy water), it is estimated to come to only 0.34 p. But the overall cost of the latter is estimated at Rs. 3,150 per kw against only Rs. 1,850 of the Tarapur station). In this respect, the Fast-Breeder Reactor — a prototype of which is to be set up at Kalpakkam with French assistance — is of great interest. It may hold the key to the problem of high costs and provide a long-term solution, as it will eventually make greater use of our thorium

and natural uranium resources, instead of having to depend on enriched uranium. (Even our natural uranium resources are said to be sufficient to fuel five stations.)

The fuel reactors require fissile material — i. e., in which nuclear fission can take place, to release energy which is converted into power. In naturally-occurring uranium, only a very minute part (its isotopes U-235 and U-238) is fissile. The great advantage of thorium is that it can produce U-233 and U-238, and the latter again can yield plutonium — all of which are fissile materials. (India has a plant for chemical separation of plutonium out of used reactor fuel).

Fast-reactors. The fast-breeder reactor exploits the advantage of such conversions and by-products and thus "breeds" more fuel than it consumes for generating power. It is also fast, needing no special arrangement to perform nuclear fission, unlike other reactors. Foreign nuclear experts consider this reactor as the hope for the future world to generate the more and more atomic power required in the face of increasing shortage of uranium resources. Our AEC, taking cognisance of these, has planned, besides the Reactor Research Centre at Kalpakkam, two auxiliary research projects: a pulsed fast-reactor project at Kalpakkam and a zero energy fast-reactor project at Trombay.

The AEC Chairman, Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, recently came forward with a spirited defence of the economics and long-term benefits of atomic power to dispel the doubts of its critics. Even in cost, according to him, atomic power would be more economic in the long run — the total power-cost per kwh at Tarapur and Rana Pratap Sagar would be 4.72 paise each, while correspondingly it would be 6.64 paise for power from a new thermal station using coal. As in many other production processes, atomic power turns out cheaper for bulk quantities; the per-unit cost falls steeply only when the station produces 500 mw or more. Dr. Sarabhai feels that if our investment in the last 20 years is to pay dividend, there should be no holding back at this crucial stage, and the Government should plan with confidence, matched by quick decision-making to double our rate of atomic power generation to 2,000 mw per year, between 1972 and 1980. "Already we

are late, but we can bridge the gap if we work fast now," he declares. "What is needed is the 'go-ahead' signal." We have the advantage of having already made good progress in nuclear research over the last 20 years and India ranks among the world's first seven countries highly developed in nuclear power technology.

Amazing Potential. There can be no doubt about the need to provide for our higher power needs of the future, if the future generations are not to struggle against the backlog in scarcity of power. Power will always be a key factor of national development in many fields. Surely, our sources of hydro, thermal and diesel power are not inexhaustible, and the advantages of atomic power stations in areas remote from coal stations are well-known (40 tons of enriched uranium can keep generating for 30 months as much power as would a thermal plant fuelled by three trainloads of coal every day!) The amazing applications of nuclear science made by the advanced countries — such as for powering submarines and rockets, desalting sea-water for everyday use, in medical treatments, agricultural operations, etc — are established realities today. In the field of nuclear power, again, it is of interest to note that 18 countries, with 81 reactors, are generating 11,395 mw power, while 101 new reactors are under construction and will generate an additional 55,000 mw. (The trend is towards fast-breeder reactors.) Japan itself has 13 reactors operating and five more are under construction.

On the whole, there is room for optimism about the future of nuclear power in India. Our nuclear scientists have only to convince, through actual performance, the economy and benefits of nuclear power. The technique of fast-breeder reactor holds out much hope for this. Besides, harnessing the power to large-scale agricultural and industrial uses may make it a real blessing, including in its profitability. Our nuclear scientists at Trombay have also made good progress on isotopes for medical uses and on applications to agriculture. Nuclear energy is, indeed, growing to momentous proportions in India and there is much justification in a suggestion, made some time ago, that the Prime Minister should entrust this part of her portfolio to someone else who can devote more time and serious attention to it.

Business and Industry

EXPORTS

STC to Lead Breakthrough

STC Chairman Prakash Tandon, who recently returned from a tour of East and West Europe is confident that the State Trading Corporation will be able to surpass its export target for the current year.

The Performance Budget, an innovation introduced by Tandon in order to ensure accountability, has projected an export target of Rs. 60 crores for 1969-70. Against this target, the STC already has on hand orders worth Rs. 49 crores, and nine months to earn.

Steady Up-trend. Exports handled by the STC show a steady up-trend, from Rs. 23 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 45 crores in 1968-69 and the firm estimate of Rs. 60 crores plus for the current year. Looking farther ahead, Tandon feels that the STC should be able to top the Rs. 100-crore mark before 1971.

His recent tour has given him some new insight regarding export strategy, covering both new markets and new commodities. It is high time, says Tandon, that the STC turned its attention to West European markets. Out of the STC's total export of Rs. 40 crores, up to February 1969, consignments to destinations in West Europe account for only Rs. 1.4 crores. Tandon feels that this can, and must, be changed.

He says that there are attractive possibilities of exporting fresh flowers and fruits to West European countries during their off-season. There is also scope for developing the markets for processed foods and condiments, textiles, ready-made garments and household articles. The market for fresh flowers and fruits — the price of a rose in the off-season in Europe rises as high as Rs. 14 — can be exploited if it is found economic to arrange air-lifting.

Problem of the Suez. Tandon thinks that we may have to live with the problem of the Suez for some time, and we must find a way of circumventing its effect on our foreign trade. Where we can, we should air-freight. The STC has already started negotiations with Air India for the formation of a separate charter company in partnership with them, the Shipping Corporation of India and the Indian Airlines Corporation.

Air-freighting, says Tandon, is the only way to develop a fresh foods trade, but it can, besides, be used for light products like wigs and shoe uppers. For the heavier traffic we need to carry stocks in Europe of the ready-to-sell lines such as light engineering and whatever else is profitable to carry at the sales end.

Fresh foods, says Tandon, is an area that has been so far ignored. The growing affluence in Europe has created great interest in exotic foods. But, although Indian restaurants are becoming ubiquitous, a serious attempt has yet to be made to market Indian foods. The need, says Tandon, is particularly marked in the U. K., where in London alone there are over 500 Indian restaurants. Much food of Indian origin, and increasingly, its substitutes from other countries are sold in the West, but the problem of exporters are many — inconsistent quality, adulteration, non-conformity to pure foods and health regulations, apart from delayed delivery and poor packaging. The STC, says Tandon, should be able to give assurance of quality, timely delivery etc. With a little imagination we can introduce, he says, a whole range of Indian foods. A simple thing like a standardised curry powder of different grades of pungency alone has a large market. Similarly with household goods and gadgetry.

Labour-intensive Production. Product areas open to Indian manufactures are many. Mechanisation and automation, Tandon explains, create both affluence and shortage of manpower. There is a switch in manpower from productive to service areas. The motor car, for instance, creates far more service employment, directly or indirectly, than automation. This process, says Tandon, has great significance for a country like India, because the inexorable demand for "service" in the affluent countries compels them to vacate the labour-intensive production areas and move into areas of more automated production in order to deal with the more profitable satisfaction of demand for services. And as they vacate labour-intensive areas, they have to look to countries less developed than theirs, but yet with a high level of infra-structural development, to be able to supply manufactures that re-

quire sufficient precision and mechanisation. This is of particular relevance to export of engineering goods.

The scope, says Tandon, is obvious, but the area that will require much skill to enter is railway equipment, and capital goods, because our image in this field has yet to emerge. Even in light engineering the early impressions need much improvement.

But India's success in supplying wagons to Poland, Korea and Hungary is becoming known in West Europe and should enable India to gain entry. India, says Tandon, can offer to supply whole railway components, or collaborate with Western countries in their tenders abroad. The main thing is to gain an entry. Another promising field is the automobile industry with its enormous demand for moving and fixed components or trimmings, especially of the labour-intensive type.

Beyond Scope. About chemicals which he includes in the list of prospective areas, Tandon feels that it is beyond our scope for the time being, except, perhaps, at the edges. The development of this field will have to wait for further study of markets.

As regards distribution, Tandon says, it will be useful to link up with existing channels like the department storages in European countries. There is also scope for developing contacts with trading houses in these countries that are willing to undertake "parallel trade," which in effect means marrying a sale with a purchase. This will be of special use for trading with the ex-colonies of countries like Belgium and France and the Crown Agents in the U. K. and with South America where the STC does not have organisation or links of its own.

Engineering goods and railway equipment account for the bulk of the STC's export business. Out of the Rs. 49 crores worth of orders on hand, engineering goods account for Rs. 18 crores and railway equipment for Rs. 9.5 crores. India, says Tandon, will become a very important supplier of railway equipment. The Corporation has already orders on hand for a total of Rs. 9.5 crores from Burma, Poland, Ceylon, Syria, Thailand, Iran, Sudan, Hungary and Nigeria. The Corporation is also tender-

for Rs. 16.5 crores worth of railway equipment round the world in a large number of countries.

As regards the wagon deal with Russia, the technical problems have been solved, but negotiations are still continuing about prices. The talks began last December and will continue for some more time. Tandon does not think that the time taken in negotiation is too long for contracts of this type. The negotiations over the Polish order for wagons began in February 1968, while the contract was signed only in February 1969.

METALS

Another Public Sector Casualty

After iron and copper, a country like India needs metals like zinc and aluminium for its all-round development. Zinc, for instance, is needed in galvanising iron sheets which we use for roofs, for torch battery cans, for certain castings in motor parts, as an alloy for brass utensils and there are several more uses in industries.

India needs nearly 90,000 tonnes of zinc metal every year. We are producing about 38,000 tonnes in the country and rest is being imported at a heavy cost. About 20,000 tonnes of zinc is produced by a private firm in Kerala, in collaboration with a Canadian firm. Another 18,000 are being produced by a public undertaking in Udaipur. The latter uses zinc ore from the Zawar deposits in Rajasthan, which are the biggest deposits of zinc ore in India.

Physical Restrictions. Even though there are substantial deposits of zinc in India, certain physical restrictions stand in the way of exploiting them fully. Hence the decision of the Government of India to import zinc concentrates from abroad and smelt it in India. Even then nearly 35 per cent of the cost of the metal in foreign exchange would have been saved. The Kerala firm is importing zinc concentrates from Canada. The concentrate is a treated ore, or beneficiated ore, with 50 per cent metal content in it.

The Central Government had decided to set up a smelting plant as early as 1964. It has been now revived and a Polish team is now in the country to finalise a detailed project report (DPR).

The Polish Government had offered both technical and financial assistance in setting up a zinc smelting plant under the Second Polish Credit agreement in 1964. A team deputised by a firm in that country,

Centrozap, submitted a feasibility report that year and suggested Visakhapatnam as the best site among other alternatives.

Best Facilities. Visakhapatnam offered the best facilities in port handling, industrial water, power, transport and other requirements. The Polish firm was ordered by the Government of India's Mines and Metals Department to submit a detailed project report, which alone would cost Rs. 16 lakhs. After about 60 per cent of the work had been done by the middle of 1966, the Planning Commission shelved the project and the Poles were asked to suspend work.

The final draft of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, however, made a provision for the smelting plant and the wheels were set rolling again. The Government of India even set up a public undertaking, Hindustan Zinc Limited, under the chairmanship of a former member of Parliament, Raghuvir Singh. That was in 1966. Raghuvir Singh was recently in Hyderabad, accompanied by a four-member Polish team, on his way to Visakhapatnam to confirm earlier conclusions and also to finalise the detailed project report. The DPR will now cost Rs. 25 lakhs and will take eight months to be completed.

The proposed smelting plant at Visakhapatnam will produce 30,000 tonnes of zinc. By then, both the public undertaking at Udaipur and the private firm in Kerala would have doubled their production. We will be nearer to meeting our demand which would have gone up to 1,42,000 tonnes by 1973-74.

Investment Decision. After the submission of the DPR, the Government of India will have to take an investment decision on the project, the total outlay on which would be Rs. 10 crores by present estimates. And the Central Government will also have to strike a long-term agreement with some country for importing zinc concentrates. The offers have not been lacking. Bolivia, Canada and Australia are among the countries offering to export zinc concentrates.

AID

India is 'Soft,' Japs Say

There are many things in common between India and Japan. But there are points of difference, too. Therefore, a clearer understanding of each other is a prerequisite to make co-operation between the two countries

meaningful. During her recent mission to Tokyo, Mrs. Gandhi and Sato had an opportunity for a frank exchange of views. These talks, it is hoped, will lay the ground for closer co-operation between the two countries in diverse fields.

It was time both the countries reviewed their earlier attitudes and strove for a better relationship.

Faulty Strategy. Japanese Government and business sources made it plain to this correspondent during a visit to Tokyo some time ago that they disapprove of India's approach to economic planning. "The Indian economic development strategy is not only faulty but is self-defeating," a top Japanese official argued, adding, "How can you build your economy if you are bogged down in an ideological jungle". He not only did not see any prospect of Japanese aid to India increasing, but visualised its down-grading.

The Japanese traditionally argue that they have to step up their aid to Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. At the same time their aid, they say, is tied up with private investments. Japanese treasury sources make the point that the country which offers greater incentives to foreign investors deserves more aid.

But India, they suggest, offers only disincentives to foreign private capital. India's insistence on public sector factories — there are 100 government-run firms — annoys the Japanese a great deal. They see the hidden Russian hand behind Indian five-year plans. "India can hardly afford to be doctrinaire in her industrial development," commented a top Japanese businessman. Also, there are sharp internal differences in the Japanese Government itself on its attitude to aid.

The Japanese are also unhappy about India's attitude to hiring Japanese experts. New Delhi has made it known to most aid-giving countries that it does not want to be flooded with foreign experts, since India has trained a large number of experts herself. But the Japanese seriously doubt the quality and standard of such experts. And they attribute low production in Indian factories to lack of good business management and the reluctance of firms to modernise their operations.

Besides, Tokyo is firmly opposed to lowering of interest rates on loans. "Soft loans", commented one official, "tend to make nations soft."

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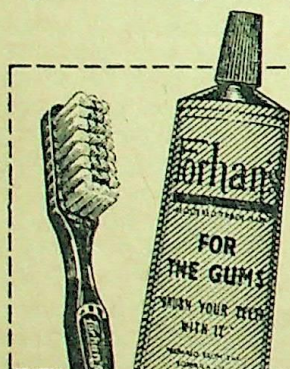
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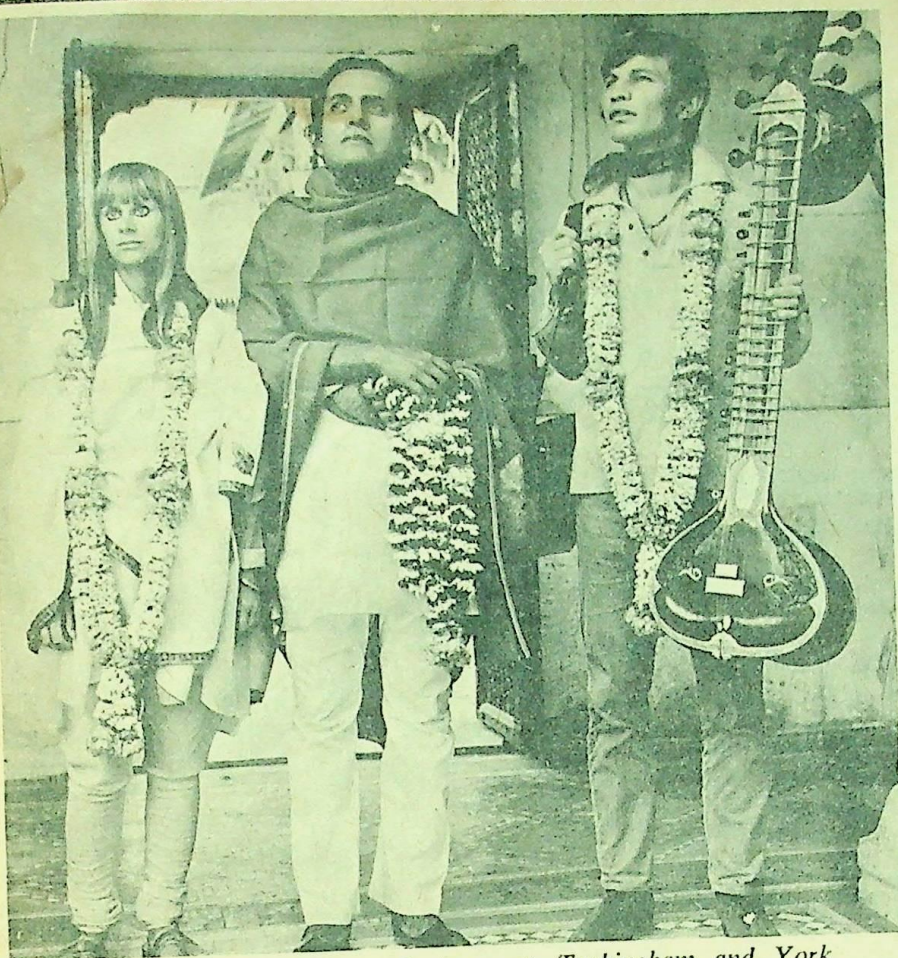
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Guru Utpal Dutt and the couple in quest, Tushingham and York

FOREIGN FILMS

Guru's Pathos and Tragedy

Yet another gem of a film from the makers of *The Householder* and *Shakespearewalla*. True, the *Guru* is not as sweet as *Shakespearewalla* or as tender as the *Householder*. Possibly, because the theme of the present film is quite different from the previous ones. But it is interesting throughout. James Ivory, Ismail Merchant and Praver Jabawallah have done their best to make it a fine little movie.

The story is about two lost souls from the West, Michael York and Rita Tushingham, who flee to the East in search of mental peace and spiritual fulfilment. They come across a fine musician, Utpal Dutt, and make him their guru.

Voyage of Discovery. With him they go on a voyage of discovery and experience to places like Bombay, Bikaner and Banaras. The guru is in constant conflict with his male disciple, Michael York, himself a

famous sitar player and singer. The guru doesn't want York to be corrupted by women, wine and fame. But York cannot obey him. In the process he comes closer to Rita. They finally find themselves in love with each other. After having had enough of the guru, India, spiritualism and all that, they decide to go back home, take up jobs and get married. They take off. The guru is left alone to wander aimlessly on the seashore, afraid of the gushing waves but patient enough to wait till the sun sinks.

Into this simple and beautiful theme are woven incidents that show the Indian way of life, pathetic, amusing, disgusting and philosophical. Utpal Dutt as the guru is good. Madhur Jaffrey as his old wife is convincing. "Is she beautiful, very beautiful?" she asks York. The "she" is Aparna Sen, the guru's second wife, who lives in Banaras (and to whom the guru pays occasional visits from his Bombay home). York, embarrassed a bit, nods his head to suggest yes. Yes, Aparna is very beau-

tiful. (Ah-pyar-na, Aparna is achingly beautiful). Jaffrey is troubled. "When I was young, do you think I was any less?" she breaks down. It's touching.

Then, "Is she (Aparna) expecting?" But York doesn't know. Aparna can't have any babies because Jaffrey has worn a black thread around her neck. The witch who gave it to her told her so. But Aparna will have a baby, a son. That is what she tells Rita: "I must give the Khan Sahib (the guru) a son." But how does she know it is going to be a son, Rita asks her. Well, she knows: the astrologer told her. "His methods are scientific, you know," Aparna assures Rita. Rita is puzzled. She cannot comprehend the mysticism of the East...

Nervous Breakdown. And when the guru finds that his old wife is wearing a black thread so that Aparna cannot have a baby, he is enraged. He drags a screaming Jaffrey along the corridors of his palatial mansion one midnight, snatches the thread off her neck. A terrified Rita watches the drama and almost has a nervous breakdown. But York escorts her to the bed, calms her down....

Aparna appears for a very few brief moments, and one cannot forget them — the very few brief moments. Her Bengali charm is irresistible. There is also something pathetic about her beauty. She is a caged bird. She cannot wear a low-necked blouse and a gorgeous sari and go to beauty contests. The guru cannot stand it: "You can't go there." And certainly not like that, showing off such beautiful, bare shoulders. She weeps quietly in her bed. She is like an abandoned soul.

Leela Naidu, the delicate *householder*, is there too. Just a few glimpses of her as an unhappy soul. She wants to give away her fine ring to York, if he likes it. But he walks away from her: he does not want it. She gets drunk and complains to York who seems to pity her: "Nobody understands me." He gives her a pathetic smile, and takes her into his embrace. She weeps and is happy. Perhaps, that is what is enough for her. Such subtle scenes showing the pathos and tragedy of life and loneliness do make an indelible impression on you. And this film abounds in such scenes.

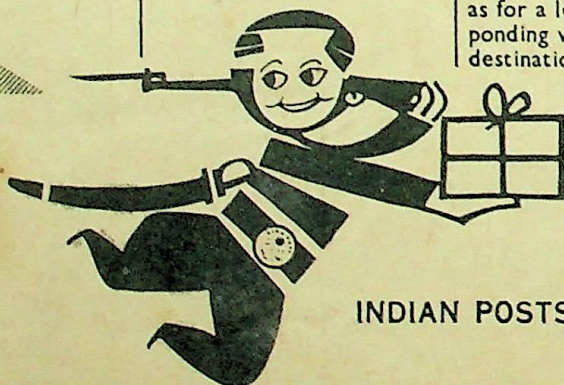
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INDIAN POSTS & TELEGRAPHS

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STUDIOS

Exploiting Kashmir Permanently

Producer-director R. K. Nayyar, proprietor of the Sadhna Nayyar films, Bombay, has offered to set up a studio in Kashmir. In a letter to the Chief Minister, G. M. Sadiq, Nayyar has said that the project would involve an initial cost of Rs. 10 lakhs including the cost of equipment which would have to be imported. While Nayyar has offered to raise a sizable portion of the required finances himself, he has asked for a long-term loan from the Kashmir Government. Nayyar has maintained that the proposed studio would not only guarantee floors to producers at 50 to 75 per cent of the prevalent rates, it would also bring in "considerable foreign exchange" from foreign producers who would find it economical to shoot in Kashmir as against Switzerland, Spain or Morocco.

Elaborating the details of the project, Nayyar's associate in Kashmir, Sadiq Ali, told *Enlite* that about 80 per cent of the colour films produced in India have Kashmir locales and, by itself, it speaks volumes in favour of the idea of setting up a film studio in Kashmir. The 28-year-old double graduate from Aligarh — he has a master's degree in Political Science and a degree in Foreign Affairs — Sadiq Ali, who hails from a big business house of the State, explains the choice of Kashmir for locales by producers because of the availability of cheap labour and exceptional facilities like shikaras the like of which is available nowhere else in the country. Secondly, the State Government does not charge any fees for shooting in Kashmir as they do in Darjeeling, for instance.

Fantastic Sums. Same is true, says Sadiq Ali, of shooting films in African countries. Having just returned from an 8-month tour of 11 countries including the whole of East and West Africa and parts of Middle East, Sadiq Ali said that a producer who wants to shoot in a game park in Africa has to pay a fee of £ 50 a day in addition to charges on account of individual entry. In Switzerland, the producer is faced with crowds and the shooting is rendered costly because of interference. African countries do provide abundant natural scenery but a month's shooting costs a producer not less than 1,00,000 shillings. Producers take to Spain or Morocco, says Sa-

diq Ali, because of lower rates there. But Morocco has no film industry of her own; it only has film studios which are hired out. "Why cannot we do the same in Kashmir", he asks. Sadiq Ali is sure that a studio in Kashmir would even attract producers from Hollywood where, he says, producers have to pay "fantastic sums" to rent a studio. A studio in Kashmir could be available to a Hollywood producer at hardly 20 per cent of the amount he pays there, Sadiq Ali asserts.

He feels that the State Government would itself stand to gain by encouraging the project of setting up a film studio. "They have spent Rs. seven lakhs on getting a film produced on the life of Mahjoor (a famous Kashmir poet). Why not, instead, have a studio in the State itself where we can produce our own pictures besides facilitating the work of outside producers?", he says. All that they want from the State Government is a loan of Rs. five lakhs required to meet the cost of importing the equipment. "Wouldn't that be better than spending Rs. seven lakhs on a single picture?" Sadiq Ali is even prepared for the studio project being implemented as a co-operative venture with the Government.

Important Industry. Sadiq Ali is sure that a film studio in Kashmir would become an important industry of the State. "If you have four fully equipped units, it will create permanent employment for at least 1,000 people. It will inspire location and exploitation of the abundant indigenous talent. It will enable local people to explore and exploit the countless places of beauty which do not necessarily occur on our tourist map. It will enable us to tackle lots of locally available subjects. It will unfold our own history before ourselves. Even the State Government can raise its revenues by levying a nominal charge of Rs. 100 a day on producers who want to shoot in, say, Moghul gardens", he says.

Sadiq Ali, however, wants to make it clear that a studio in Kashmir should have facilities both for indoor and outdoor shooting. Only that would enable a 75 per cent reduction in production costs. Sadiq Ali recalled that the King Brothers people were here to shoot a feature in their Maya series and said, "They did only outdoor shooting here. If we had facilities for indoor shooting, they would have shot the entire picture here".

DOCUMENTARIES

Gandhi Story on B.B.C.

Later this year millions of people in many countries will see a new film about Mahatma Gandhi prepared by Jonathan Stedall who says he sees him as "very much a man of our time, a very practical man" with much to tell the world today.

The story of Indian Independence, Stedall adds, will play only a comparatively minor part in his *Gandhi Story*, for he believes the Mahatma's relevance is as great today as it was then. "What Gandhi fought for is still being fought for."

Extensive Filming. Stedall is an award-winning BBC Television producer, who was chosen when the Corporation decided to create a special film to commemorate the Gandhi Birth Centenary Year. He has recently returned from extensive filming in India ("twice round the whole country") and is now preparing some more footage in Great Britain, before cutting to produce the final version in October.

The completed version will run for 55 minutes and, in addition to its BBC showing, is already selected for network presentations in the USA, Canada and Australia.

Stedall insists that though he will be incorporating much archive material and will be screening interviews with friends and associates of the Mahatma both in India and Europe, "my film is not just history. I see Gandhi as a very practical man, very down to earth. Very much of our time now. I think it misleading to see him as a politician or saint. I see him as an integrated man."

He thinks that the Mahatma, for example, saw long before anyone else that there would have to be a "sensitive" approach to the introduction of modern technology to such countries as India.

"A Great Economist." Stedall regards Gandhi as, among other things, "a great economist." He believes the Mahatma saw the necessity for change as well, if not better than most men of his time, but he set the challenge to the world today in going against the conception that "ends justify means."

Stedall says he returned from India with the overriding sense of the "dignity" of Indians. He was impressed by how little "inside" effect the

Mass Media

TELEVISION

National Hook-up in 5 Years

Within five years from now, many homes in India will have television sets. Sitting in one's drawing room, whether in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Delhi, Bangalore or Ahmedabad, one may not see the Yanks or Commies landing on the moon and all that. But one can certainly see the Republic Day Parade (New Delhi), the Hata Yogi's walk-on-the-water feat (Bombay), Dasara festival (Mysore) or Darpana's Collage on Gandhi (Ahmedabad).

A national TV hook-up is necessary for all this, and a communication satellite too. The National Aeronautical Space Administration (NASA), USA, has offered to give a communication satellite to India on an experimental basis for one year.

"Drafting Stage". A Government spokesman in New Delhi told *Enlite* that the agreement with NASA is presently at the "drafting stage." The experiment is likely to take place in 1971-72. A committee of experts is busy working on the kind of programmes that should go on the telly, while another is looking into the technical side.

The main purpose of the experiment is to assess the possibility of a national TV hook-up for India. Without a satellite, it will be impossible to have a national TV hook-up in a vast country like India even if one sets up terrestrial stations in all the State capitals. A ground TV station can only cover about 40-50 square kms. around itself. Moreover, one TV centre costs Rs. two crores and takes two years' time, besides involving huge maintenance costs.

The UNESCO experts mission which visited India in 1967 to find out if she should go in for TV has suggested a multi-purpose satellite. This could make a "significant contribution" to the achievement of the goals India has set for herself, mainly in the fields of education and information through broadcasting and tele-communications, the mission observed. The Chanda Committee also suggested TV for India to speed up her programmes. As a result the Government has decided to set up TV centres at Srinagar, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Kanpur during the Fourth Plan period. Work

has begun on the centre at Srinagar where the studios will be set up near Radio Kashmir and the TV tower on the picturesque Shankaracharya Hills. It will be ready by mid-1971.

Indigenous Satellite. The pilot satellite project will cost India Rs. 3.5 crores to Rs. 5 crores. NASA will lend India a satellite, take it up into space 23,000 miles above the earth and keep it there. For, that is the point from where a satellite will take 24 hours to go round the earth once. The rotation time of the earth itself being 24 hours, projecting TV programmes back from space will not be difficult and complex for the satellite. NASA will have no say in choosing the programmes. After one year, they will take away their satellite. But India feels that her scientists will develop by then an indigenous satellite.

Thus, with the help of a satellite, it will be possible to bring far-flung places in the country within a single TV system. National programmes in two or three languages can be put out at a time. The barrier of language can also be overcome.

Community Viewing. During the experimental stage, the Department of Atomic Energy, which in collaboration with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is working out details, proposes to distribute 2,000 to 3,000 TV sets all over the country to assess the impact. The emphasis is on community viewing. Four private firms have been licensed to produce 30,000 such sets each year. At present 80 villages around Delhi are making use of the TV here; they have been provided with one set each. There are some 10,000 sets in Delhi with 247 tele-clubs. About 1,30,000 students in 343 schools watch the school programmes put out by the Delhi centre.

Delhi TV centre is going to be expanded soon. A 100-metre tower will be set up to help the Delhi TV programmes reach people living in an area of 60 square kms. around it. Now it covers a 40 sq. kms. area.

Except at Srinagar the work on TV centres has not begun as yet. Unless the work begins immediately, concerned circles feel, ground stations will not be ready by 1971 when the satellite TV experiment is to take place.

problems pressing upon them had, unlike his feelings in the Middle-East where he felt, some "bitterness" and "anger" were being felt. The Indians he had met were keeping their humanity, and though he felt it would be wrong "to idolise India" he had been impressed.

Though he will show the "practical" side of the Mahatma, Stedall says he does not forget the moral and ethical aspect of his life. He thinks the Mahatma knew "everything is suffering" though he himself maintained — "as I could tell from people who knew him" — an immense sense of humour. He feels that, in fact, the Mahatma and the politicians "started to part company before Independence" and that in essence the Mahatma's world influence is a subtle one. "Perhaps the humanists could claim him as the absolute humanist."

It is perhaps typical of Stedall's thoroughness in seeking out for possible interview everyone who could add something to his *Gandhi Story* that among his interviewees is one Paddy Quinn, who was for a time the Mahatma's "jailer" during a period of detention and who slept in a cell next to his illustrious charge. In his turn the Mahatma taught him Gujarati.

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सराशयः प्रायः कुरवन्तु यस्यै जन्मपत्रिका
प्रयशुभसम्बन्धरेऽस्मिन् श्रीनृपतिविक्रमादि
पराज्यात्सवन् १८४१ साकः १० ददुर्गुरे
जारेदो यजेगतेस्तये शरदौ

मेमसेकार्तिके

पुधवासरेषत्ता

पदादि २६।३१ सोभा

मलम्पन्वाङ्गशुद्धाव

पदादि २७।३७ सत्रिमान्द्य

राणिजकरी तुलाकात्

अदिनेदिन

३१।२३।प्र

सम्बलपुरग्रामे तत्समये वृषलग्नोदये श्रीमान्

विप्रान्वये वसको तरेतातौ परमपवित्रगोब्राह्म

णप्रतिपालकधर्ममन्त्रिपरोपकारीदुर्योधनशमो

तस्यात्मजसर्वगुरासंपन्नऽनंतरामगृहे स्वधर्मप

त्रिप्रसन्नो पुत्ररत्नमजीजनन् तत्र श्रीसूर्योदि

यादिष्टपदादि ३१ प्रयहोराशास्त्रानुसारेण ज

यान्ते मपादे तस्य जन्मनामनो ज्ञातमचिरं नीव

पश्चिमरामादि ३१ दिनादि प्रादिनात्या

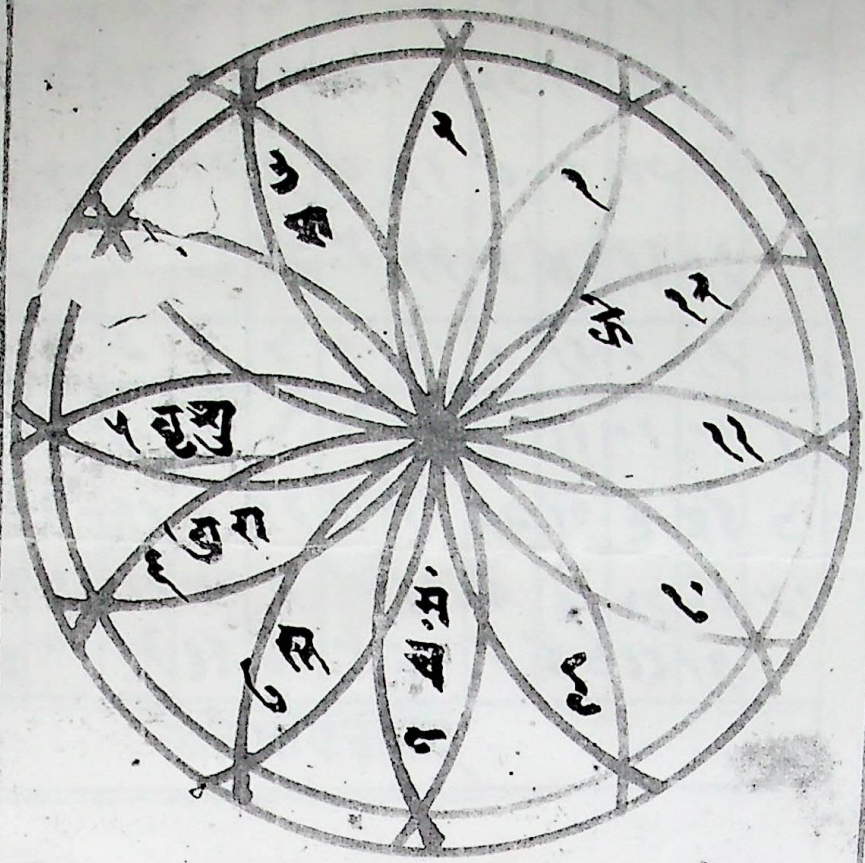
नानाहस्ये एतरेन किंचित्पालं भवक्तानितरात्मसा

दतः स्वगानोपसाधनार्थफलं प्रवेदैव विरहिताय

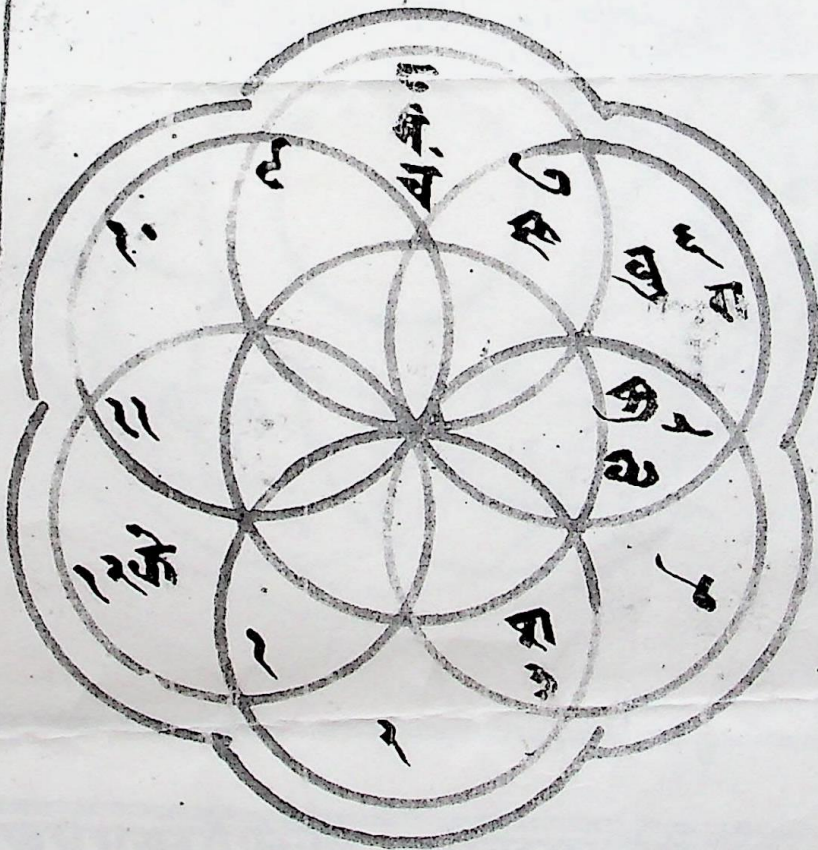
सूर्योदितहः सूर्याः

| स | च | म | बु | वृ | शु | श | स | के | ग |
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| ६ | ७ | ७ | १ | ४ | ४ | २ | ५ | ११ | श. |
| ७ | १० | ४ | २६ | ६ | २४ | ४ | २ | २ | प्र. |
| ८ | २१ | ५६ | ५६ | २६ | ३६ | १ | ५० | ५० | क. |
| ५ | ४ | ५ | २१ | २० | २४ | २३ | १३ | १३ | वि. |
| ५६ | ५ | १६ | ६ | ६७ | ० | ३ | ३ | | |
| ६३१ | ३१ | २६ | ५६ | ४६ | ५७ | ११ | ११ | | ग. |

जन्मलग्नम्



चक्रकुंडलीचक्रम्

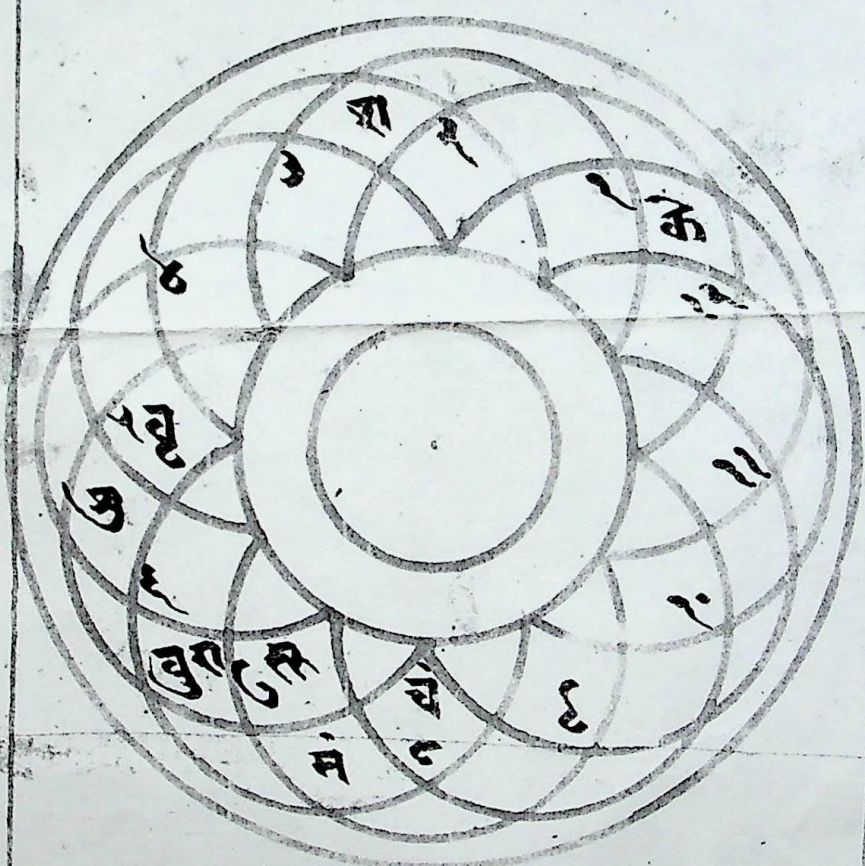


तन्वादिद्वादशभावस्यष्टाः

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| १ | २ | २ | ३ | ३ | ३ | ४ | ४ | ५ | ६ | ६ | ७ |

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| १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | ६ | ७ | ८ | ९ | १० | ११ | १२ |
| १३ | १४ | १५ | १६ | १७ | १८ | १९ | २० | २१ | २२ | २३ | २४ |
| २५ | २६ | २७ | २८ | २९ | ३० | ३१ | ३२ | ३३ | ३४ | ३५ | ३६ |
| ३७ | ३८ | ३९ | ४० | ४१ | ४२ | ४३ | ४४ | ४५ | ४६ | ४७ | ४८ |
| ४९ | ५० | ५१ | ५२ | ५३ | ५४ | ५५ | ५६ | ५७ | ५८ | ५९ | ६० |
| ६१ | ६२ | ६३ | ६४ | ६५ | ६६ | ६७ | ६८ | ६९ | ७० | ७१ | ७२ |
| ७३ | ७४ | ७५ | ७६ | ७७ | ७८ | ७९ | ८० | ८१ | ८२ | ८३ | ८४ |
| ८५ | ८६ | ८७ | ८८ | ८९ | ९० | ९१ | ९२ | ९३ | ९४ | ९५ | ९६ |
| ९७ | ९८ | ९९ | १०० | १०१ | १०२ | १०३ | १०४ | १०५ | १०६ | १०७ | १०८ |
| १०९ | ११० | १११ | ११२ | ११३ | ११४ | ११५ | ११६ | ११७ | ११८ | ११९ | १२० |
| १२१ | १२२ | १२३ | १२४ | १२५ | १२६ | १२७ | १२८ | १२९ | १३० | १३१ | १३२ |
| १३३ | १३४ | १३५ | १३६ | १३७ | १३८ | १३९ | १४० | १४१ | १४२ | १४३ | १४४ |
| १४५ | १४६ | १४७ | १४८ | १४९ | १५० | १५१ | १५२ | १५३ | १५४ | १५५ | १५६ |
| १५७ | १५८ | १५९ | १६० | १६१ | १६२ | १६३ | १६४ | १६५ | १६६ | १६७ | १६८ |
| १६९ | १७० | १७१ | १७२ | १७३ | १७४ | १७५ | १७६ | १७७ | १७८ | १७९ | १८० |
| १८१ | १८२ | १८३ | १८४ | १८५ | १८६ | १८७ | १८८ | १८९ | १९० | १९१ | १९२ |
| १९३ | १९४ | १९५ | १९६ | १९७ | १९८ | १९९ | २०० | २०१ | २०२ | २०३ | २०४ |
| २०५ | २०६ | २०७ | २०८ | २०९ | २१० | २११ | २१२ | २१३ | २१४ | २१५ | २१६ |
| २१७ | २१८ | २१९ | २२० | २२१ | २२२ | २२३ | २२४ | २२५ | २२६ | २२७ | २२८ |
| २२९ | २३० | २३१ | २३२ | २३३ | २३४ | २३५ | २३६ | २३७ | २३८ | २३९ | २४० |
| २४१ | २४२ | २४३ | २४४ | २४५ | २४६ | २४७ | २४८ | २४९ | २५० | २५१ | २५२ |
| २५३ | २५४ | २५५ | २५६ | २५७ | २५८ | २५९ | २६० | २६१ | २६२ | २६३ | २६४ |
| २६५ | २६६ | २६७ | २६८ | २६९ | २७० | २७१ | २७२ | २७३ | २७४ | २७५ | २७६ |
| २७७ | २७८ | २७९ | २८० | २८१ | २८२ | २८३ | २८४ | २८५ | २८६ | २८७ | २८८ |
| २८९ | २९० | २९१ | २९२ | २९३ | २९४ | २९५ | २९६ | २९७ | २९८ | २९९ | ३०० |

अक्षभावचक्रम्



पृथ्वश्चान्तरिक्षफलम् चान्तरिक्षादशगोभानुः
जन्मकालेयदाभवेत् चक्षुःपीडयुजोवालो
धर्महीनोपजायते॥१॥

चान्तरिक्षभौमफलम् चान्तरिक्षादशगोभौमोजन्म
कालेयदाभवेत् नाला...

پارلیمنٹ میں دہلی ایگریمنٹ کی تحریک پاس ہونے کے بعد جب اخباروں میں ان دیگر
دفعات کی فہرست شائع ہوئی جو صدر جمہوریہ ہند براہ راست ریاست جموں و کشمیر پر نافذ کر سکے
ہیں۔ ان دنوں میں ریاستی آئین سازی میں نیشنل کانفرنس پارٹی کا چیف ممبر
تھا۔ میں نے ریاستی وزیر اعظم سے اسمبلی میں دہلی ایگریمنٹ پر بحث ہونے سے قبل
دریافت کیا اس ضمن میں کوئی وہم و گہم جاری کرنے کی ہدایت تو نہیں ہے، انہوں
نے نفی میں جواب دیا اور جب مجلس قانون سازی میں بحث شروع ہوئی حکیم
جیب اللہ نے ان تمام دفعات کا ذکر کیا جنہیں صدر جمہوریہ ہند دہلی
ایگریمنٹ اور دفعہ ۲۷۰ کے باوجود ریاست پر نافذ کرنے کا اختیار محفوظ رکھتے
ہیں، اسی طلاق پر تبصرہ اور اپنی رائے ظاہر کرتے حکیم جیب اللہ نے نقطہ اچھا رتے کہا اس سے
ریاست کی اندرونی آزادی سلب ہو کر رہ جاتی ہے ایوان میں خاصہ ہنگامہ مچا
ہوا۔ سپیکر نے قائد ایوان کی ہدایت پر ایک گھنٹہ کے لئے اجلاس ملتوی کیا جب
ممبران اسمبلی ہال سے باہر نکلے تھے، شیخ محمد عبداللہ حکیم جیب اللہ کے
تاک میں لان کے ایک گوشے میں کھڑے ہوئے جوں ہی وہ سانس سے گزرے تو
قائد ایوان نے اپنی قائدانہ عظمت کا مظاہرہ کرتے ان کی گالی پر ایک زوردار
طمانچہ غالباً قانونی نقطہ سمجھنے کے صلے میں مارا جس کا ارتعاش بڑی دیر
سکے ممبران اسمبلی کے کانوں میں گونجتا رہا۔ ان پر خوف و دہشت طاری ہوئی
اس طرح دہلی ایگریمنٹ جس کو بغیر کسی رکاوٹ اور حرف علت کے ایوان کو
منظور کرنا تھا اس کے ساتھ دفعہ ۲۷۰ پر بحث و محیص کا باب ہمیشہ کے لئے بند ہوا
البتہ اس واقعہ کے بعد جب بھی ریاستی ممبران اسمبلی نے دہلی ایگریمنٹ اور دفعہ ۲۷۰
کی وضاحت میں عوامی سطح پر اپنی نقا کوئی تو اپنے ذہنی دیوالہ پن کو تاہ اندیشی
ناقص اور بوندی دیلوں سے عوامی دشنام و شتم کے ہدف سے بچ نہ سکے
انہوں نے ریاست جموں و کشمیر کو سب کو رٹ کے دائرہ اختیار میں لانے کے عمل کو اس

محاطہ سے ریاست کے مفاد میں قرار دے کر اسکی وکالت شروع کی کیونکہ اس سے چورنگلو
قانون اور پچھتم کے دیگر جموں میں رعایت کی گنجائش باقی نہیں رہے گی۔ مرکزی الیکشن کمیشن
کے دائرہ اختیار میں ریاست کو لانے سے ریاست کی اندرونی خود مختاری اس لئے متاثر نہیں ہوگی کیونکہ
الیکشن کمیشن صرف انتخابی تاریخیں تحریر کرنے کی حد تک محدود ہے گا۔ انتخابات کی عمل آوری کی مکمل ہر صورت
ریاستی حکومت کو کرنی ہے۔ وہ دفعہ ۲۷۰ کو عائد حکم قرار دینا ایک ضلعانہ عندیہ سمجھتے تھے۔ انکی نظریں پارلیمنٹ کا
فیصلہ کوئی اہمیت نہیں رکھتا تھا جس کی شرح بیان کرتے وہ شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی تقریر کے ان واضح الفاظ کو بطور
سپرنا پیش کرنے لگے چونکہ انکی شرح کریم اور تبدیلی کا دار و مدار ریاستی قانون سازی کی سفارشات اور
کا تبدیل ہے جبکہ مجلس آئین سازی ریاستی آئین کی مکمل کر کے خود مختار ہو جائیگی اس طرح نہ رہے گا بائیں نہ
کی بائیں۔ ان دلائل سے یہ اندازہ لگانا مشکل نہیں کہ اندرونی خود مختاری کے مفہوم اور تصور سے فائدہ
نیشنل کانفرنس جنہیں بوجہ جھگڑنا سب ہوگا حقائق کا سامنا کرنے میں سقدربند واقع تھے میں
عقل کے گویے ان پڑھوں کی اس جماعت کو گورکنوں کی طرح اسی بات سے کوئی سروکار نہیں تھا کہ
مردہ جنت میں جائے یا جہنم میں انہیں صرف قبر کھودنے سے واسطہ ہے۔ اس دور کے مہلک قانون زبیر
کا جب تجزیہ کیا جاتا ہے لیکن انکی حالت گورکنوں جیسی ہے انہیں مطلق معلوم نہیں کہ جس
آئین کو ترتیب دے رہے ہیں یا پاس کر رہے ہیں آیا اسے ترتیب دینے یا پاس کرنے کے ہم اہل بھی
ہیں یا نہیں۔ ان کے لئے نمبر اسمبلی بننا ہی عجز تھا۔

جموں اور لداخ کو الگ کرنے کا مطالبہ

دلائل بالاک رات نشہ چار دہائیوں سے ریاستی عوام بخوبی پرکھتے آئے ہیں کشمیریوں کی
زبان بندی کوئی ڈھکی چھپی بات نہیں لیکن یہ سارا ڈراما پر چار پشیدہ غماوشی سے نہیں دیکھا
اس جماعت کے قائد پنڈت پریم ناتھ دوگرہ اور ان کے ساتھیوں نے قابل دہلی میں ہمارا جہری شکر کیا
پرچن لنگھ اور ہندو مہاساھل کے لیڈروں سے صلاح و مشورہ کر کے ۱۰ جون ۱۹۵۲ء کو صدر جمہوریہ
ہند کو ایک سیمونڈم میں مقصد پیش کیا تھا جو کہ کشمیر میں آئین سازی اسمبلی نے شاہی خاندان
کو شانے توڑی جھنڈے کے بدلے خود ساختہ جھنڈے کو ریاست پر لہانے اور آئین ہند کی بنیادی

اتحقات کے جملہ لوازمات و مقوق کو ریاست پر لگوانے کے لئے جو اعلان کیا ہے اس سے پیدا شدہ صورت حال کے بعد پرجا پریشد تقسیم ریاست جنوں کو شریک مطالبہ کرتی ہے۔ اگست ۱۹۵۲ء کے دوسرے ہفتہ میں اوہم پور میں پرجا پریشد کے ایک وزہ کنونشن میں اس آتش فشاں کا پہلا لادا پھوٹ پڑا۔ جس کو کامیاب بنانے کے لئے نیشنل ڈیموکریٹک فرنٹ کے لیڈر ڈاکٹر شیا ماسر شاد و سکر جی ہندو مہا بھاکے ویش پانڈے باورام نرائن بن سنگھ اور کئی دوسری نو قریب سے جماعتوں کے لیڈر نے نفس نفیس تشریف لائے۔ کنونشن میں پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگر نے جہاں جنوں اور لداخ کو کشمیر سے الگ کرنے کا مطالبہ کیا، وہاں یہ وارنگ بھی دی کہ دستور ساز اسمبلی کو عوامی مفادات درہم برہم کرنے کی اجازت نہیں دی جائے گی۔ ہماری تحریک اس وقت تک جاری رہے گی جب تک کہ ہندوستان کا سالم آئین ریاست پر لگوانا ہوگا۔ لیکن لداخ کی علیحدگی کے مطالبہ کے جواب میں لداخ کے مقامی بودھا رہب اور پیشوا کشپ بولانے پریشد یوں کے دعویٰ کی قلعی کھولتے ہوئے دہلی میں ایک بیان میں کہا کہ لداخ ریاست جنوں کو شریک علیحدہ نہیں ہونا چاہتا ہے۔ یہ محض پروپیگنڈا ہے کہ میں کمیونسٹ ہوں ایسا کہنے والے اپنے آپ کو دھوکے دے رہے ہیں۔ وہ یہ بھول رہے ہیں کہ میں ایک بد نظیر ہوں جسے کی کامیابی اور غلامی و عمل دیکھتے ہوئے ۲ اگست کو جنوں کے یونسٹ پارٹی کے لیڈر کارنید دھنوتھری نے پرانی منڈی جنوں میں اپنی جماعت کا جلسہ کیا اور پرجا پریشد کی تقسیم ریاست کے منصوبے کی تائید و حمایت کرتے کہا۔ ہماری پارٹی اس مطالبے کی حمایت کرتی ہے، ہم ڈوگر سے پنجاب و کشمیر سے ایک الگ خود مختار ڈوگرہ دیش جس کی اپنی جمہوری حکومت ہو، صرف جدوجہد سے حاصل کر سکتے ہیں۔ تقریر کے دوران دھنوتھری نے پنڈت نہرو کو اڑکی ایجنٹ کہا حاضرین اس پر خفا ہوئے انہوں نے شور مچایا اور روئی جھنڈا اتار دے گئے۔ جلسہ گاہ میں جھگڑا مچی جلسہ درہم برہم ہو کر ختم ہوا۔ پرجا پریشد کے اس مطالبہ کے خلاف پہلا بیان

جنوں سے ویڈیو (حال اڈیٹر و مالک کشمیر ٹائمز) جنرل سیکرٹری نیشنل کانفرنس سٹوڈنٹس یونین نے دیا جو ریاست اور بیرون ریاست کے تقریباً تمام سرکردہ اخباروں نے نمایاں طور پر شائع کیا۔

دہلی ایگریمنٹ کی تفصیل عوام تک پہنچانے کے لئے نیشنل کانفرنس کے صدر اور پریٹری مولانا محمد مسعودی نے ریاست گیر دورہ کیا۔ پیر و گرام مرتب کیا۔ چنانچہ شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے صوبہ تمبر اور مولانا محمد مسعودی نے صوبہ جنوں کے اہم علاقوں میں جا کر یہ بتانے کی کوشش کی کہ ہندوستان کے ساتھ اہل حق کے ضمن میں پرجا پریشد اور ہمارے پیر و گرام میں صرف اتنا فرق ہے کہ وہ ہندوستان کے آئین کو مکمل صورت میں ریاست پر لگوانے کے خواہاں ہیں جب کہ ہم جنویات کے قائل ہیں۔

اس سیاسی بے بسی اور سرایت کی سے دادی کے لوگوں کی توجہ ہٹانے کے لئے بخشی غلام محمد کا کتبہ ۱۹۵۵ء میں یوم رسول میرٹھ کے کامیاب سہمی کی شہرت و شہری اور شہزادوں کی ان مغفولی میں / زاعلام حسن بیگ عارف نے / ان طالب پڑھتی ناٹھ کول کوثر بشیر رفوت / بکھن لال بھٹی ماسٹر زندہ کول پریس بے لال / دیا ناٹھ نام پر فیض شوریہ / زاکمال الدین شیدا، غلام امی الدین بن پوری، انسر نرالی، محمد یاسین شہر، ناسل ہائیڈری، نور محمد دشت، عبدالرزاق ہارون، منی نروشن صاحبزادہ عبدالرحمان غلام رسول ناکی، عبدالحی برتن شہ زور کشمیری، جگناٹھ وکی محمد یوسف نسیم جہاں / آبی غلام نبی نراق / ادا میں لاکل / ادب نواز دل کو شہر جنوں کی بھول بھلیوں سے بہلاتے ہے۔ بخشی غلام محمد اور غلام محمد صادق کے درمیان جو سیاحتی پبلش جاری تھی اس نے غلام محمد صادق کو دادی میں من کانفرنس کا انعقاد کرنے پر اکسایا۔ ان دنوں سوویت روس کے پاس اہم نہیں تھا اسلئے دنیا بھر کے کمیونسٹ نڈر رکھنے والے روس کو اس دست بختے تھے۔ اس کانفرنس اسی نظریہ اور شہن کی ایک کڑی تھی بخشی غلام محمد اور / راجد سعید محمد کے اس حرکت کو کمیونسٹ نڈر کا نام دے کر اس کی تلافی شروع کی۔ شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے یکم نومبر کو اس کانفرنس کے انعقاد پر تبصرہ اور تنقید کرتے کہا ہم بین الاقوامی گروہ بننے سے الگ تھلک

رہنے کی پالیسی پر کاربند ہیں۔ اگر ہمارے کسی کارکن کو نیشنل کانفرنس کا پروگرام پسند نہیں ہے تو اسے تنظیم میں نہیں رہنا چاہیئے، غلام محمد صادق نے نوشتہ دیوار پر لکھ کر چپا دھ لی اور اپنے لئے اس کا طلب گار بنے۔

کرن سنگھ کو سیاہ جھنڈیوں سے استقبال

صدر ریاست کرن سنگھ سرینگر سے ۲۲ نومبر ۱۹۵۲ء کو بندریہ ہوائی جہاز جہاز گئے۔ ہوائی اڈے پر نائب وزیر اعظم بخش غلام محمد اور کئی سینئر آفیسروں نے اسکا پر جوش استقبال کیا جب وہ اپنی رہائش گاہ کی طرف روانہ ہوئے تو پھر پریشہ کے لیڈروں اور حامیوں نے نہ صرف انکا سیاہ جھنڈیوں سے مظاہرہ کیا بلکہ ایسا دکھائی دینے لگا وہ ان پر حملہ کرنے والے ہیں۔ انہوں نے آرائشی چراغوں کو توڑ کر لوٹنا شروع کیا۔ چپٹی گاڑیوں پر پتھراؤ کے ساتھ ساتھ اپنی تحریک کا اعلان کیا۔ حکومت نے تحریک دبانے کے لئے پینٹ پریم ناٹھ ڈوگرہ اور ان کے چودہ ساتھیوں کو گرفتار کیا۔ ۲۵ دسمبر ۱۹۵۲ء کو پینٹ پریم ناٹھ ڈوگرہ کو اٹھارہ ماہ قید سخت اور ایک ہزار روپے جرمانے کی سزا سنائی گئی۔ عدم ادائیگی جرمانہ مزید دو ماہ قید سخت کا مستوجب قرار دیا گیا۔ اس کے نتیجے میں ہڑتالیں سنگھ اور بلوے عا ہونے حکومت کی حمایت اور پریشہ کی مذمت کرنے والوں کی ایک ٹولی بھی سامنے آئی جس میں سٹھاکر ٹھپن سنگھ چاؤک گوردوارہ سنگھ بھلے کے جنرل سیکریٹری گیلنی جیون سنگھ سردار کبیر سنگھ گوردوارہ پر بندھک کمیٹی کے صدر سردار گوردوارہ پر بندھک اور سردار آبا سنگھ شامل تھے۔ پارلیمنٹ میں جن سنگھ لام راجیہ پریشہ اور مہاراجہ بھائی جمرل نے جوں و شیر کے حالات پر بحث کرنے کی تجویز پیش کی جو رد ہوئی اور پینٹ پریم ناٹھ نے کہا "اگر میں کشمیر میں ہوتا تو پریشہ کی تحریک کے خلاف زیادہ سخت اقدامات کرتا" غرض پریشہ کی تحریک نے اپنے آغاز سے ہی تشدد کا رخ اختیار کیا۔ اس جماعت کے کارکنوں نے مسلح ہو کر پولیس پر بمباری فوری اور دوسرے کئی سرکاری اہلکاروں پر حملے کیے۔ دیرپہ لڑائی

اور ہم پورے سانہ بیوت اکھنور چھب ریاضی رام بن ڈوڈہ کشتواڑ میں اس قسم کے واقعات رونما ہوئے جن پر قابو پانے میں ریاضی حکومت بری طرح ناکام رہی۔ پریشہ یوں کی ان سینہ تانیوں کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ہندوستان بھر کے فرقہ پرستوں نے شورش بپا کر نیا لوں کی ٹلے دینے اور نئے حمایت کی حتی کہ ڈاکٹر شیا مارشا وکرجا نے بار بار پارلیمنٹ میں اس ایجنی ٹیشن کو مجھے وطن ہندوستان کی جادو جہد کا نام دیا۔ بھوپال میں اکھل بھارتیہ ہندو بھائی سبھانے جلسہ عام میں قرار داد پاس کی جس میں بتایا گیا کہ حکومت ہند نے ریاست جوں و شیر کو جو امتیازی حیثیت دے رکھی ہے اسے ختم کر کے اس ریاست پر بھی پارٹ "بی" کی سٹیٹوں کی طرح جمہوریہ ہندوستان کا سالم آئین نافذ کیا جائے

کانگریس کا اٹھا نواں اجلاس

اس تحریک نے شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی پوزیشن اس کٹھی ہوئی تنگ کے مانا کر دی جو بولے حکم پر بھگولے کھاتی ہے اور کشمیری عوام ہندو فرقہ پرستوں کے تیر و تشر جیسے دیر سے یہ اندازہ لگانے سے نہیں چوکنے کشمیری لیڈر کی قوم پرستی کا دائرہ صرف داؤ کی چار دیواری تک محدود اور محیط ہے۔ ان ناموافق حالات کے مد و جز نے وزیر اعظم کشمیر کا ہیما نہ صبر کرنا کیا انہوں نے وزیر اعظم پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو سے گلہ کرتے اسکے تدارک کی خواہش کی پنڈت نہرو نے شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی ناراضگی دور کرنے کی خاطر انہیں اپنے ساتھ حیدرآباد لایا جہاں ۱۶ جنوری ۱۹۵۳ء کو کونسل آف انڈیا کانگریس کا اٹھا نواں سالانہ اجلاس ہوا تھا جس میں کانگریس کی سبکیٹ کمیٹی نے پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کے ایما اور خواہش کا احترام کرتے مندرجہ ذیل قرار داد پاس کرنے اپنی دریاہی کا ثبوت دیتے حاکم کی قریلات ماری۔

"کشمیر کے مسئلے میں فرقہ پرست جماعتوں کی دخل اندازی سے خطرناک نتیجہ نکل سکے ہیں اور ہند کے قومی مفاد کو نقصان پہنچ سکتا ہے۔ کشمیر کے معاملے میں انکی مداخلت اور بات بات پر دخل اندازی قابل مذمت ہے۔ وقت کا اہم تقاضا ہے کہ کشمیری عوام کے باہمی اتفاق و اتحاد کی بنیوں مضبوط اور مستوار کہ جائیں کشمیری قوم"

۱۱/۱۹۵۳

یہی اپنی کی جاتی ہے کہ وہ ملک کی فرقہ پرست جماعتوں کی دیکھا ہوا کو نظر انداز کر کے ان کی کوششوں کو نام نہاد بنانے میں تمام ذرائع بروئے کار لائیں اور اپنی شاندار قوم پرست روایت قائم رکھیں۔
اجلاس میں پنڈت نہرو کی فرمائش پر شیخ محمد عبدالرشید نے تقریر کرتے کہا:
"جو کہ پرچار پریش جو شخص جیگر دارانہ نظام حکومت ختم کرنے کی قی نہیں ہے اب ریاست
جو کہ شیر پر بند یونین کے مسلم آئین کا نفاذ چاہتے اور دیگر کی افرادی آزادی کو اپنے ہمارے ہمارے
کی ناکام کوشش کر رہی ہے۔ اہل دین ماضی کا راستہ ڈاکٹر شیخ ماسپریشا ذکر کی بند
ہم سب کا عدرا میں سی چڑھی اور رام راجیہ پریش کے دوسرے فرقہ پرست لیڈر جو کہ پریشی
ایک نیشن کے بارے میں جو بیانات دے رہے ہیں اس سے اور اہل ریاست کے سامنے ان کی کوئی بھی
اہمیت نہیں ہے کیونکہ یہ بے اصول بے وزن اور بے دلیل بیانات ہیں۔"

اجلاس میں پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے ہندو مہا سبھا رام راجیہ پریشد راشٹر پریم سوئم سنگھ
جن سنگھ اور اہل دل کی سرگرمیوں اور بیان بازی پر تشویش کا اظہار کیا۔ یہ کہنا بے موقع
ہمیں ہو گا کہ ان ہی دنوں اکالی دل کے ماسٹر نارا سنگھ نے اپنے ایک بیان میں پرچار پریشد کی
حمایت کی آڑ میں تبریز سالوں پر یکے کے کہنا تھا اگر وہ ہند کے ساتھ نہیں رہنا چاہتے تو گھیرے چلے
جائیں ورنہ اہل کانگریس لیڈروں میں بھی ایک نیا ہیمنڈا پرچار پریشد کے نظریہ کی حمایت پر کبھی نہ ظاہر اورہ پنڈت
جواہر لال نہرو کی ہاں میں ہاتھ ملاتے تھے لیکن پس پر وہ ان کی شیر نوازی اور شیر پالیسی کے مخالف تھے۔
سب ہی قرار اور ادائی جلد کے بعد پریشد کی تحریک اور زیادہ زور پکڑ گئی۔

اجلاس کے اختتام پر شیخ محمد عبدالرشید نے جو کہ کی شورش کے نشیب و فراز سے
ہندوستان کے لئے عام کو پیدار اور باخبر کرنے کیسے جنوبی ہندوستان کے مختلف علاقوں کا دورہ
کیا۔ ۲۱ جنوری ۱۹۵۲ء کو انہوں نے مداس کے ایک جلسہ میں جس کی صدارت
ماہر کانگریس کے صدر کے کاراج سنگھ کی اور جس میں مداس کے وزیر اعلیٰ
سید لویال پارہیہ موجود تھے تقریر کرتے کہا میں فرقہ پرستوں اور تنگ نظروں کی جھکیوں
پریشد کے راتوں میں میں مسکتا ہوں ہندوستان کے طول و عرض میں رہنے والوں سے استدعا

دن ہوں کہ وہ شہر کے اہل کو خود غرضانہ اور جذباتی طریقے سے نہیں بلکہ ایک حق شناس واقفیت پرستانہ انسان کی نگاہ
اور تحسین و تحن ہونے کی حیثیت میں سمجھنے کی کوشش کریں۔ ۲۲ جنوری ۱۹۵۲ء کو دہلی پرائیڈل کانگریس کی سینیٹ
نارن ہاں گارڈن میں ایک عوامی جلسہ کا اہتمام کیا جس میں شیخ محمد عبدالرشید کو بلایا۔

"جو کہ جو کہ اور لداخ کو ہند سے ملانے اور صرف وادی کشمیر میں جہاں ناکوئی فیصلہ ہوا ہے
ہمیں اسے شامی کلن پر زور دے رہے ہیں ہند میں۔ وہ ان کے خوف کے جس کا نتیجہ ہے۔ یہ
مشر جن کے ان کو تو نظریہ تسلیم کرنا ہے کہ یہ ہے۔ وہ کہیں غلط نہیں ہے کہ ہمیں جو اسی کو تباہ اندیشی
کے باعث مسکند شیر کو سنا ہی کونسل سے واپس لینے کا مشورہ دے رہے ہیں۔ ایسا کرنے سے
فاصلہ کے بجائے نقصان ہو گا اور پاکستان کے حق میں یکطرفہ فیصلہ دیا جائے گا۔ اس پر ستراد
یک ہندوستان میں اقامت خیر اندیشی کھینچنے کا جزائی کی میٹھے بھی اگر لداخ اور جوں کو دواوی
تے ان کی جائے تو بھی ہندوستان کے ہاتھ کچھ نہیں آئے گا۔ آپ میں کچھ گایاں میں یکنیں پچا
ن جگڑا ہوں میری بدقسمتی یہ ہے کہ میرا نام شیخ محمد عبدالرشید ہے اور میں مسلمان ہوں جب کہ
میں نے محمد علی جناح کے دو قوی قیدیوں کا بھانڈہ جو اپنے پرچہ پڑ دیا ہے۔"

شیخ محمد عبدالرشید نے اپنی تقریر کے دوران اکالی لیڈر مسٹر تارا سنگھ کی ایک تقریر کا حوالہ دیتے کہا کہ مسٹر تارا سنگھ
کو میں اپنا بزرگ مانتا ہوں لیکن جب بزرگ سیاستدان ہی یہ کہیں باتیں کر کے عوام میں خلقت پیدا کریں تو
اس کے علاج کیا ہو سکتا ہے۔ انہوں نے اپنی ایک تقریر میں کہا ہندوستان کے شیر کو مغربی پاکستان کے عوض گروی
رکھنا اس شخص کا سرے پاس کوئی جواب نہیں ہے کہ ڈاکٹر شیخ ماسپریشا ذکر کی نے ریاست جوں کو شیر
کیلئے آئین پرائیڈ پر نیا دھواں بنانے کی تجویز پیش کی ہے۔ ان باتوں سے جہاں انتشار کی راہ ہوا
ہو رہی ہے وہاں ان سے پاکستان فائدہ اٹھا رہا ہے مجھے کسی شہر کے مسلمان سوال کرتے ہیں میں ان کو جواب دیتی
جوں کو شیر کے منتقین جو فیصلہ کیلئے وہ سارا بوجھ کھاتی ہیں ان کے لیے اس وقت پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو دیکھیں جیسے تھے۔

مختلف نقطہ ہائے نظر

سوز و گداز اور آہ غنبریں کے اس مظلومانہ انداز سخن کے بعد ۲۶ جنوری
۱۹۵۲ء کی تقریب پر تقریر کرتے انہوں نے کہا۔

ظاہر کیا جا رہا ہے تو اس کا اثر ہو سکتا ہے۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ یہ تحریک ختم کی جائے گی۔
ہنساکر شیر کے تعلقات آئین ہند کے دفعہ ۱۳۰ اور معاہدہ جولائی ۱۹۵۲ء کے
تداع بین اور یہ تعلقات گوارا ہیں۔

مولانا مسعودی پارلیمنٹ میں

بحر پارلیمنٹ مولانا محمد سید مسعودی نے صدر جمہوریہ کی تقریر پر شکریہ کی تحریک کے تحت میں حصہ لیتے ہیں
"یہ الزام بالکل غلط ہے کہ جوں کو ہندو اور مسلم علاقوں میں تقسیم کیا جا رہا

ہے جو شمالی یہ ہے کہ جنگ بندی معاہدے ہونے کے بعد کئی تھپیوں کے ٹکڑے ہوئے
کئی جگہوں پر ایک تھپیوں کا درفہ ایک یا دو دیہات ہمارے قبضہ میں ہے۔ لہذا انتظامی
ضرورت کے لئے تھپیوں کی از سر نو تجدید کی ضرورت بن گئی ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ
پیرجا پریسوں کی سرکاریوں سے ۱۹۵۴ء میں ہندو مسلم فسادات رونما ہوئے۔ ان فسادات
کی وجہ سے کئی شہروں اور دیہاتوں سے پانچ لاکھ مسلمان نکال باہر کئے گئے۔ کئی ہزار
مسلمان قتل کئے گئے اور باقی سجد پارکے پاکستان میں پناہ گزین ہوئے۔ اس کے نتیجے میں نئے
ہندوستان نے غریب و غریبوں کے لئے سب کچھ کر دیا تاکہ ڈوگرہ اور پیرجا پریسوں کی تھپیوں کے پکڑے
جو ان دنوں جوں میں راشٹرپریسوم سبک دھکے کے پکڑے گئے۔ لہذا کوئی سر سے الگ
کرنے کا مطالبہ کرنے والے اس بات کو فراموش کرتے ہیں کہ پاکستانی حملہ سے قبل اس
علاقے کے تین تھپیوں کی آبادی تقریباً دو لاکھ اندر داخل تھی۔ ان میں سے سو لاکھ
لوگ آج کلکست میں ہیں جس پر پاکستان کا قبضہ ہے۔ باقی بقیہ ہزار لوگوں میں جو کہ
ہندوستان کے علاقوں میں ہیں، بینا تیس ہزار مسلمان اور پیرجا پریسوں اور دیگر
فروں کے ساتھ مل کر رکھے والے لوگ ہیں یہ لوگ دو علاقوں میں رہتے ہیں جو ایک
ایسے راستہ کے ذریعہ آپس میں ملے ہوئے ہیں جس کو گھوڑے پر طے کرنے میں سو
دن لگ جاتے ہیں۔ ان حالات میں یہ شور و غوغا بلند کرنا کیا ہی رکھتا ہے کہ
بودھوں کے لڑنے کا ایک علیحدہ صوبہ بننا چاہیے۔ لہذا کے سر کردہ مذہبی و سیاسی لیڈر

کشیپ بکولنے اعلان کیا ہے جب تک شیر ہندوستان کا حصہ ہے پریشدی
ایجنڈیشن لڑائیوں کے لئے کوئی مطلب نہیں رکھتا ہے۔ پیرجا پریسوں کے اپنی
تقریروں میں کہا کہ شیخ محمد عبداللہ کا خون پینا چاہتے ہیں۔ محسن غلام محمد کے خلاف
جو خلاف تہذیب نہرا لگا گیا اس ایران میں دہرایا نہیں جا سکتا۔ دہلی کے اخبارات
من گھڑت اور جھوٹی باتیں لکھتے ہیں۔ ایسے اخباروں کا ریاست میں داخلے پر پابندی
کو شہر کا آزادی مضمین اور سب کرنے کا نام نہیں دیا جا سکتا۔

منصوبہ بند ایجنڈیشن

مارچ ۱۹۵۲ء کے ابتدائی ہفتے میں پنجاب اور دہلی میں رام راجیہ پریس
جن سنگھ اور ہندو ہا سبھانے اپنی دی ہوئی دھمکی کے تحت ایجنڈیشن شروع کی
جس کے پاداش میں ان دونوں جگہوں پر دفعہ ۱۴۴ نافذ کیا گیا۔ دہلی میں ڈیرہ درجن کے قریب
گرفخاریاں علمین لائی گئیں۔ اس کی وجہ یہ بتائی گئی کہ یہ وہ شہر لوگ ہیں جو ان فرقہ پرست
جماعتوں کے اشاروں پر شہر کی نظم و نسق تباہ کرنا چاہتے تھے اور جوں میں ہلاک ہونے والوں کے
پھول دہلی لاکھ جوں کے نکلنے کا پروگرام مرتب کر رہے تھے پنجاب کے وزیر اعلیٰ نے اعلان کیا
کہ پنجاب کو جوں کے پریس دیوں کے حق میں کارروائیاں کرنے کا ارادہ نہیں
نہیں دیا جائے گا۔ دہلی میں، امارت کو ڈاکٹر شیا ما پر شاد مکر جی نے مختلف فرقہ پرست
جماعتوں کی مشترکہ ایجنڈیشن شروع کرنے سے پہلے بیان دے کر کہا "ہم دہلی کو
گاندھی جی کا نام لے کر آندوین شروع کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہماری ایجنڈیشن سب سے گروہ کوگی اس سب سے
گرہ کا نمونہ پیش کرتے ان کے حامیوں نے ہند پارلیمنٹ کی دو حائلوں نمبر ستر ستر
جوشی اور سر سادری دیوی نغم کی جیب کا پرہ پچھراؤ کیا جس سے بھدر راجو ششی
زخمی ہوئیں انہیں ہسپتال میں داخلہ لینا پڑا سب سے گروہ کرنا والوں نے گاندھی آشرم پر حملہ کیا۔
دو گاندھوں کو ڈوگاندھیں ہند نہ کر رہی تھیں انہیں لے کر گاندھی کا یہ انمول نمونہ پنجاب کے مختلف شہروں
اور سر کردہ جگہوں پر لے کر لایا گیا۔ یہاں جوں اور جوں

"ان تمام باتوں کے باوجود جب ہم ہندوستان میں شامل ہوئے تو اسکی وجہ بجز اس کے کچھ اور نہیں تھی کہ ہمیں صاف نظر آ رہا تھا ہندوستان کے ساتھ شامل ہو کر ہماری دیرینہ آرزوئیں اور امنگیں پوری ہو سکتی ہیں دوسری طرف سے ہمیں پاکستان میں صرف اپنی تباہی نظر آئی۔ لہذا میرے سامنے ہندوستانی عوام کو دھوکہ دینے کا سوال ہی پیدا نہیں ہوتا۔ جنوں کے لوگ اپنے دلوں کو ٹٹولیں اور دیکھ لیں کہ ہندوستان کو کون دھوکہ دے رہا ہے۔"

۳۱ جنوری ۱۹۵۲ء کو گاندھی جی کی پانچویں برسی پر رام لیل گراؤنڈ میں جو جلسہ منعقد ہوا اس میں تقریر کرتے ہوئے انہوں نے کہا:

"قوموں میں پھر پیشہ یوں نہ جو بڑا بازی شروع کی ہے اس سے بہت اور کشمیر کا باہمی رشتہ کمزور ہونے کا احتمال ہے۔ اس وقت جب ہندوستان کو فی ہندسہ ڈاکٹر رام کے ساتھ مسند کشمیر کے متعلق بات چیت کرنے والے ہیں جنوں کو کشمیر سے الگ کرنے کا مطالبہ کرنا انتہائی خطرناک بات ہے۔"

شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی بڑھتی ہوئی بے چینی و بے قراری کے زیر نظر مرکزی حکومت کے اشلے پر دہلی اور مشرقی پنجاب میں چند مہاسی بھائی رام راجہ پریشدی جن سنگھی اور اکالی کارکن پر جا پریشدی کی حمایت کے جرم میں گرفتار کئے گئے۔ دراصل پر جا پریشدی اپنی کوئی طاقت اور ساکھ نہیں تھی بلکہ ہندوستان کے ہندو فرقہ پرستوں کا تیار کیا منصوبہ تھا جنہوں نے یہ تہمت لگا رکھا تھا کہ شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی حکومت کو ملیا میٹ کرنے کے علاوہ ان کے وقار کو فساد کرنے کے لئے ان کی کھلی پشت پناہی کی جائے۔ ان ہی دنوں ہندو مہاسی بھائی اور کنگ کیشی کے اجلاس میں جس کی صدارت این سی چٹرجی نے کی ایک قرارداد منظور کی جس میں کہا گیا کہ ہندو جنوں پر جا پریشدی تحریک کے معاملہ میں مداخلت کر کے گول نیر کا نفرنس طلب کریں جس میں جنوں پر جا پریشدی کے لیڈر شامل ہوں۔ ریاست کو ہندو یونین میں مدغم کیا جائے اور ہندوستان کا سالم آئین ریاست پر لاگو کیا جائے، جن سنگھی کی درکنگ کیشی کا خصوصی اجلاس

جو ڈاکٹر شیا ما پرشاؤم کی صدارت میں منعقد ہوا جس میں ایک قرارداد کے ذریعے مطالبہ کیا گیا کہ جنوں کی صورت حال پر غور کرنے کے لئے گول نیر کا نفرنس طلب کی جائے بشمیر کا مسئلہ ہندو کشمیر کا اپنا معاملہ ہے۔ اقوام متحدہ یا پاکستان کو اس سے کوئی تعلق نہیں۔ ریاست کی دستور ساز اسمبلی الحاق کے فیصلہ کی فوری طور پر توثیق کرے۔ قرارداد میں وارننگ دی گئی کہ اگر فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کے اختتام تک پریشدی لیڈر رہا نہیں کئے گئے یا ان سے گفت و شنید نہیں ہوئی اور گول نیر کا نفرنس طلب نہیں کی گئی تو دونوں جماعتیں ہندوستان بھر میں ایکشن شروع کریں گی۔ گوروایس۔ ایم۔ گوالا نے ۱۰ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو جسے پوٹیس راشٹر یہ سیوم سنگھ کی پریڈ میں تقریر کرتے کہا:

"ہندوستان کا زمین ایک گدا کے اس چھترے کے مانند ہے جس میں

جگہ جگہ پوندھاری کی گئی ہو اور اس کی دنیا غیر ملکی تہذیب کے اصولوں پر قائم ہے

اگر کچھ غیر ملکی اور لا ملا ہندوستان کے ساتھ ملحق ہوا ہے تو اس ریاست کے لئے

ایک الگ آئین کیوں مرتب کیا جا رہا ہے جس طرح مرکزی حکومت کا ان ریاستوں پر

حکم کنٹرول ہے جہاں راج پڑھوں کی حکومت ہے اسی طرح کشمیر پر بھی مرکز کا کنٹرول

کیوں نہیں ہے۔ اس ریاست میں خود ارادیت کی رٹ لگانا غلط اور بے فائدہ ہے۔"

اس درمیانی وقفہ میں پریشدیوں نے جنوں کے کئی علاقوں میں مہاراجہ ہری سنگھ اور مہاراجہ مہاراجن کے مہلتا کے سابق تقسیم شدہ اٹلے کا استعمال شروع کیا۔ خانیہ سرنگر کے شیش کا نفرنس نوٹس نے عبدالعزیز مہاراجن کی صدارت میں ایک قرارداد کے ذریعہ جنوں میں ناجائز اٹلے ضبط کرنے کا مطالبہ کیا۔

صدر جمہوریہ کا خطاب

۱۱ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو ہند پارلیمنٹ کے دونوں ایوانوں کو خطاب کرتے صدر

جمہوریہ ہند نے جنوں کو شیر کا ذکر کرتے کہا:

"یہ بات افسوس ناک ہے کہ جنوں میں کچھ لوگوں نے ایسی تحریک شروع کی ہے جو محدود و محدود نا عاقبت اندیشانہ ہے۔ اگر اس تحریک کا مقصد جنوں کو کشمیر کو ہند کے زیادہ قریب لانا

چاہئے۔ میں حیراں ہوں کہ اس امر کو کیوں نظر انداز کر دیا جاتا ہے مجھ پر یہ بات مکمل طور واضح ہے کہ جموں کی ایجنسی میں اگر کامیاب ہوگی تو اس کے نتیجے میں اس ریاست کے بلے میں ہمارا کیس تباہ و برباد ہو کہ وہ جائیداد کشمیر کے ساتھ مکمل الحاق کے نام پر (جن میں بین الاقوامی امور بھی شامل ہیں) اپنا اثر ڈال رہے ہیں۔ خارجی پالیسی محض ہماری خواہشوں کی آئینہ دار نہیں ہوتی اور نہ ہمارے غصے کی عکاسی کرتی ہے اسے کئی صورت حال کے حقائق اور قوم کی طاقت کے مطابق طے کرنا پڑتا ہے۔ ہماری نظر میں الحاق مکمل ہے اور آئین ساز اسمبلی کی قرارداد سے (جس کا حتمہ کیا جاسکتا ہے) یہ الحاق اور مکمل نہیں بن جائے گا۔ ریاست میں پناہ گزینوں کو دوبارہ بسنے کی پوری کوشش کی جا رہی ہے۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ اس ایجنسی میں کوئی شک نہیں پائے گا اور سوخ استعمال کریں گے تاکہ اس کے بعد شکایات سے دوچار ہونے کی کوشش کی جائے۔

مکرچی کا دوسرا خط

مکرچی نے اپنے مکتوب مورخہ ۳ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء میں وزیر اعظم ہند کو لکھا کہ آپ نے دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ ہم جموں کے مسئلہ پر جت الٹنی اور قوم پرستی سے دوچار ہو رہے ہیں جو مل ہم پیش کر رہے ہیں وہ فرقہ پرستانہ نہیں ہے اور نہ ہم ہند کی سالمیت کو زیرک پہنچانا چاہتے ہیں آپ نے دہرایا کہ ریاست جموں کشمیر کی قانون ساز اسمبلی جس کا انتخاب حق رائے دہی بالغان کے اصول پر ہوا ہے۔ مکمل الحاق کے متعلق قرارداد پاس کر کے گی۔ کئی معاملوں میں ہند اور کشمیر میں یکسانیت رہنی چاہئے۔ ان معاملوں کا تعلق بنیادی حقوق، سپریم کورٹ کی حد سماعت، گورنمنٹ کے فرائیز اور آئین، صدر جمہوریہ کے اختیارات، قومی منصوبہ بندی اور مالی الحاق کے ساتھ ہیں۔ جموں کے لوگوں کی اقتصادی ترقی، کاروبار کی فراہمی، پناہ گزینوں کی بحالی اور جموں میں سرحدی اضلاع کی تبدیلی کے بارے میں چھان بین کرنے

کے لئے ایک غیر جانبدار کمیشن کی تقرری عمل میں لائی جائے۔ ڈاکٹر شیاو پرشاد نے اپنے خط کے آخر میں سیاسی قیدیوں کی رہائی اور سرکاری کانفرنس طلب کرنے کی مانگ کو دہرایا۔

نہرو کا جواب (۲)

ڈاکٹر مکرچی کے ۳ فروری کے مکتوب کا جواب ۵ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو وزیر اعظم ہند پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے یوں دیا۔

"میرے خیال میں جموں کی پرجا پریشدہ ایجنسی میں نہ صرف فرقہ وارانہ ہے بلکہ اس کی حمایت ہند کے فرقہ پرست اور تنگ دل عناصر کر رہے ہیں۔ اگر ملک نے بحیثیت مجموعی یہی طریقہ اختیار کیا تو اس کے نتیجے میں جموں کشمیر کی ریاست اور ہند کے مفادات کو سخت زیاں پہنچ سکتا ہے۔ اس کے پیش نظر ہمارے سامنے یہی راستہ کھلا ہے کہ ہم اس عاقبت نااندیشانہ ایجنسی میں کی مزاحمت کریں۔ یہی ہماری حکومت کی رائے ہے اور اسی پالیسی پر ہم عمل پیرا ہیں گے جب کہ حکومت جموں کشمیر نے جموں کے لوگوں کی شکایات کی تحقیقات کے لئے کمیشن مقرر کر لیا ہے۔ اگر ایجنسی میں صرف ان ہی شکایات کے ساتھ وابستہ ہوتی تو اس ایجنسی میں کا غیر مقدم کیا جاتا لیکن اس کے عکس کھلے بندوں کہا جا رہا ہے کہ ایجنسی میں جاری رہے گی۔ اس سے قطعی طور پر یہ نتیجہ نکلتا ہے کہ ایجنسی میں لوگوں کی انتہائی حالت بہتر بنانے اور دوسری شکایات سے کوئی سروکار نہیں بلکہ وہ کچھ اور سوچ رہے ہیں۔ جموں کشمیر کا سوال اکثر متبہ پارلیمنٹ کے سامنے آیا ہے اور اس سلسلے میں جو کچھ اب تک کیا گیا ہے پارلیمنٹ نے واضح طور اس کی منظوری دی ہے اس لئے یہ ایجنسی میں آئینی امور کے متعلق پارلیمنٹ میں کے گئے فیصلوں کے خلاف ہے اس طرح یہ ایجنسی میں پارلیمنٹ کے اقتدار اور اس کی بالا دستی کے لئے ایک چیلنج ہے جب کہ یہ بین الاقوامی معاملات میں بھی مداخلت کے مترادف ہے، جن کے نتائج دور رس ہیں۔ میں تعجب کرتا ہوں کہ آپ مجھ سے اور ہماری

چاہیے۔ میں حیراں ہوں کہ اس کو کیوں نظر انداز کر دیا جاتا ہے مجھ پر یہ بات مکمل طور واضح ہے کہ جتوں ایچی ٹیشن اگر کامیاب ہوگی تو اس کے نتیجے میں اس ریاست کے بے میں ہمارا کمیشن تباہ و برباد ہو کہ وہ جائیداد کشمیر کے ساتھ مکمل الحاق کے آئینوں (جن میں بین الاقوامی امور بھی شامل ہیں) اپنا اثر ڈال رہے ہیں۔ خارجی پالیسی محض ہماری خواہشوں کی آئینہ دار نہیں ہوتی اور نہ ہمارے غصے کی عکاسی کرتی ہے اسے کئی صورت حال کے حقائق اور قوم کی طاقت کے مطابق طے کرنا پڑتا ہے ہماری نظر میں الحاق مکمل ہے اور آئین ساز اسمبلی کی قرارداد سے جس کا غیر نقد کیا جاسکتا ہے (یہ الحاق اور مکمل نہیں بن جائے گا۔ ریاست میں پناہ گزینوں کو دوبارہ بسانے کی پوری کوشش کی جا رہی ہے۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ اس ایچی ٹیشن کو روکنے میں آپ اپنا اثر و رسوخ استعمال کریں گے تاکہ اس کے بعد شکایات سے دوچار ہونے کی کوشش کی جائے۔

مکرجی کا دوسرا خط

مکرجی نے اپنے مکتوب مورخہ ۳ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء میں وزیر اعظم ہند کو لکھا کہ آپ نے دعویٰ کیا ہے کہ ہم جتوں کے مسئلہ پر حب الوطنی اور قوم پرستی سے دوچار ہو رہے ہیں جو مل ہم پیش کر رہے ہیں وہ فرقہ پرستانہ نہیں ہے اور نہ ہم ہند کی سالمیت کو ترک ہو چکا جانتے ہیں آپ نے دہرایا کہ ریاست جتوں کشمیر کی قانون ساز اسمبلی جس کا انتخاب حق رائے دہی بالغان کے اصول پر ہوا ہے۔ مکمل الحاق کے متعلق قرارداد پاس کر کے کئی کئی معاملوں میں ہند اور کشمیر میں یکسانیت دینی چاہیے۔ ان معاملوں کا تعلق بنیادی حقوق پسریم کو رٹ کی حد سماعت گورنمنٹ کے فرایض اور آئین صدر جمہوریہ کے اختیارات قومی منصوبہ بندی اور مالی الحاق کے ساتھ ہیں۔ جتوں کے لوگوں کی اقتصادی ترقی کا روبرو کی فراہمی پناہ گزینوں کی بجالی اور جتوں میں سرحدی اصلاح کی تبدیلی کے بارے میں چھان بین کرنے

چاہیے تاکہ ان کے شک و شبہات اور مشکلات و مصائب دور ہوں سلامتی کوئل سے ہیں کسی ایچے برتاؤ کی توقع نہیں۔ اس لئے جتوں کشمیر آئین ساز اسمبلی کے ذریعہ الحاق کی توثیق کرائی جائے۔ ایک دھماکا ایک پردھان اور ایک نشان کاغزہ حب الوطنی کے جذبہ سے بلند کیا گیا ہے۔ اس بنیادی سوال کو دباؤ سے حل نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ یہ ایک نفسیاتی سوال ہے۔ اس سے احتیاط اور باریکی سے دوچار ہونا چاہیے پریشد کی تحریک پھیل رہی ہے پھیلتی جائے گی اور ہند میں بھی پھیلے گی۔ اگر حکام کے پاس اس سے دوچار ہونے کے لئے دباؤ کے بغیر اور کوئی ذریعہ نہیں ہو۔ خط کے آخر میں مکرجی نے خواہش ظاہر کی کہ آپ شیخ محمد عبداللہ سے مشورہ کریں۔ پس سب سے زیادہ یوں کو رہا کیا جائے اور پھر کانفرنس طلب کی جائے جس میں مسئلہ زیر بحث آئین اور ایس سال ڈھونڈا جائے جو ہند کے لئے بحیثیت مجموعی اچھا اور ریاستی لوگوں کے فلاح و بہبود کا ضامن ہو مکرجی نے اپنے نامہ کا نقل شیخ محمد عبداللہ کو اس درخواست اور حاشیہ کے ساتھ بھیجا تاکہ وہ معاملہ کو حل کرنے میں پہل کریں گے۔

پینڈت نہرو کا جواب

پینڈت نہرو نے ۱۰ جنوری ۱۹۵۳ء کو مکرجی کے مکتوب کے جواب میں لکھا یہ الزام ہے کہ حکومت کشمیر نے دباؤ کا استعمال کیا ہے۔ اس بات کے لئے کسی ثبوت کی ضرورت نہیں کہ پچا پریش نے کھلے بندل تشدد کیا ہے بہت سے آفیسر اور پولیس کے آدمی زخمی ہوئے ہیں اور سرکاری املاک کو نقصان پہونچا گیا ہے جو ایچی ٹیشن کی طرف سے تشدد کے واضح استعمال کا ثبوت ہے سرکاری دیگر سرکاری اطلاعات کے مطابق ریاستی حکومت نے دباؤ کے ذریعہ استعمال کرنے کی کوئی کوشش نہیں کی بلکہ کافی ضبط سے کام لیا۔ تاہم حکومت کے لئے کچھ اقدامات کرنے لازمی تھے حکومت کو باتو اپنی ذمہ داریوں سے مستبرار ہونا تھا باحالات قانون رکھنے تھے۔ اس کے علاوہ اور کوئی درمیانی راستہ نہیں تھا۔ اس ایچی ٹیشن کشمیر کا تمام مسئلہ ریاست کا مستقبل پاکستان اور اقوام متحدہ پر اس کے اثرات کو زیر نظر لا کر غور کرنا

حکومت سے یہ توقع کیوں کر رکھتے ہیں کہ ہم کسی ایسی کوشش کو جائز قرار دیں جو جمہوری نظام حکومت اور اس کی طے شدہ پالیسیوں، معیاروں کے سراسر خلاف ہو۔ آپ نے جو سوالات اُبھارے ہیں ان کا تسلی بخش جواب پارلیمنٹ میں کئی مرتبہ دیا گیا ہے۔ میں پارلیمنٹ کے فیصلوں کے خلاف نہیں جاسکتا جس کے احکام کی میں بحیثیت وزیر اعظم تعمیل کرنے کا پابند ہوں۔ یہاں ہے کہ آپ پارلیمنٹ اور اس کے فیصلوں کی بہت عزت نہیں کرتے۔ کتنی اور جمہوری اصولوں کو پیش نظر رکھنے کے علاوہ میں سوچتا ہوں کہ کسی بھی سوچہ بوجہ والے انسان کی نظر میں عملی طور پر ایجنٹیشن ہند کے دشمنوں کو فائدہ دے سکتی ہے اور وہ مقاصد بھی حاصل نہیں کر سکتی جن کے لئے اس کے علمبرداروں نے اسے شروع کیا ہے۔ اگر صورت یہ ہے تو میں سمجھ نہیں سکتا کہ یہ احمقانہ حرکت کیوں جاری رکھی جائے تاوقتیکہ اس کا اصل مقصد مختلف اور کچھ اور نہ ہو کوئی بھی شخص بالآخر اس نتیجے پر پہنچے گا کہ یہ ایجنٹیشن شکایات کو دور کرانے کی خاطر شروع نہیں کی گئی ہے بلکہ یہ ایک تحریک ہے جو جموں کے علاوہ ہند پر کبھی اثر انداز ہو رہی ہے۔ اس کا حکومت صرف ایک ہی جواب دے سکتی ہے۔ ان حالات میں کانفرنس بلانی ایک غیر معمولی بات ہے جب کہ ایجنٹیشن جاری ہے اور ایجنٹیشن ٹرول کو بیک وقت تحریک جاری رکھنے کی بھی پوری آزادی ہو اور وہ کانفرنس میں بھی شامل ہو سکیں۔ مجھے افسوس ہے کہ میں پریشدیوں اور ان کے حامیوں سے اس قسم کا سلوک نہیں کر سکتا۔ اگر ایجنٹیشن جاری رکھی جائے تو یہ ہمارا کام ہے اس ضمن میں کون سے اقدامات کریں ہند اور جموں و کشمیر کے عوام کا مجموعی مفاد (جو ہمارے سپرد کیا گیا ہے) کئی ایسے امتحان کے گردہ کی خواہش سے زیادہ اہم ہے جو تنگ نظری اور تعصبانہ نقطہ نگاہ سے عمل کرنے اور سوچنے میں اور جو ہند کی جمہوریت کو اپنے مفاد کے زیرِ نظر رکھتے ہوئے ایک گردہ کی بھلائی

کئے دوسرے گروہ کو نقصان پہنچانے کی فکر میں ہیں۔

مسکرتی کا تیسرا خط

شیاما پرشاد دکر جی نے پینڈت جواہر لال نہرو کے نام اپنا تیسرا خط، ۱۶ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو بھیجا۔ مکتوب میں دکر جی لکھا ہے کہ ان کی اور ان کے جہنوا اشخاص کی تحریک فرقہ وارانہ نہیں، نہ ہند کے اتحاد کو زلزلہ پہنچا سکتی ہے اور نہ بیرونی عناصر کی شہ پر شروع کی گئی ہے۔ آپ یہ بات سمجھنے سے قاصر ہیں کہ جموں کی ایجنٹیشن بھی جاری ہے، بیک وقت قیدی بھی رہا کئے جائیں اور کانفرنس بھی ہو۔ ہاں اگر پریشدی لیڈروں سے بحث و مباحثہ کرنے کا فیصلہ کیا جائے تو بات چیت کے دوران ایجنٹیشن بند کی جاسکتی ہے۔

نہرو کا جواب - (۳)

۱۶ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو پینڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے تذکرہ صدر مکتوب کے جواب میں لکھا: آپ کا خط پڑھ کر یہ محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ ہم مختلف ذہنی دنیاؤں میں بستے ہیں اور یکساں الفاظ کے معنی ہمارے لئے مختلف ہیں۔ ہو سکتا ہے کہ حکومت ہند یا حکومت کشمیر کی پالیسیاں جموں کا کوئی خاص طبقہ پسند نہ کرے، مجھے یقین ہے کہ وہ اپنے نظریوں کا اظہار اس نام نہاد دستگیرہ (جس کے نتیجے میں اختلاف اور مصائب پیدا ہوئے) کے بجائے اچھے طریقہ سے کر سکتے تھے۔ میرے سامنے اس وقت اعلیٰ آفیسر (جن میں ڈسٹرکٹ مجسٹریٹ، سپرنٹنڈنٹ پولیس اور کانسٹیبل ہیں) کی ایک طویل فہرست ہے جو سٹیٹ گریڈ میں زخمی ہوئے ہیں جس کے پیش نظر یہ نہیں کہا جاسکتا کہ ایجنٹیشن امن پسندانہ ہے۔

جہاں تک کمیشن کی تشکیل کا تعلق ہے مجھے شبہ ہے اگر کوئی دوسرے قسم کا کمیشن بنایا جائے گا تو وہ آپ کو بہتر دکھائی دیتا ہے ایک سرکاری کمیشن ہے جس کا صدر ایک چیف جسٹس ہے جو غیر جانبدارانہ رائے قائم کر سکتا ہے اور اس کمیشن میں غیر

سرکاری اور نیشنل پندرہ سالہ لے گئے ہوئے تو بلاشبہ نکتہ چینی کی جاتی کہ وہ لوگوں کی نمائندگی نہیں کرتے اس لئے سرکاری کمیشن کی تقرری کو بہتر سمجھا گیا جو کسی پارٹی سے متعلق نہیں رکھتا۔ یہ کہنا کہ کمیشن کا دائرہ عمل انتہائی محدود ہے اور اس میں آئینی امور شامل نہیں کئے گئے۔ کیا آپ یہ کہنا چاہتے ہیں کہ آپ پارلیمنٹ پر ایک کمیشن کو جمع بنانا چاہتے ہیں اور اس کے ذریعہ نازک تو فی اور بین الاقوامی مسائل کا فیصلہ کرانا چاہتے ہیں۔ یقیناً میں اس نکتہ چینی پر تعجب کرتا ہوں۔ میں یہ نہیں سمجھ سکا کہ بڑے آئینی معاملے جو تمام ہندوستان میں الاقوامی مسائل پر اثر انداز ہوں کیونکہ ایک مقامی ایجنسی میں استعمال کئے جائیں۔ اس بات کو ایک طرف چھوڑ کر بھی ایک مقامی گروہ جو بھارت اور برصغیر میں چلا رہا ہو یہ سمجھ نہیں سکا کہ کم کس طرح یہ معاملہ اس مقامی گروہ کے ساتھ زیر بحث لائیں (جو شعوری طور پر بالغ النظر نہیں) وہ ان باریکیوں کو سمجھ سکیں) اس ایجنسی کا مطلب پارلیمنٹ کے خلاف ایجنسی ہے یہ صحیح ہے کہ پارلیمنٹ ملک سے غلط نہیں لیکن عام طور پر راجا جالبے کہ پارلیمنٹ ملک کی نمائندہ جماعت ہے۔ اسی طرح یہ بھی صحیح ہے کہ جموں کا ایک گروہ پارلیمنٹ سے بالاتر نہیں۔ کیا ایسے معاملوں میں جو سارے ملک پر اثر ڈالتے ہیں ایک مقامی گروہ کو سارا ملک اور پارلیمنٹ پر دباؤ ڈالنے کی اجازت ہو سکتی ہے مجھے یقین ہے کہ اگر آپ اس پر غور کریں گے تو آپ تسلیم کریں گے کہ ایسی تجویز پیش نہیں کی جاسکتی۔

اس میں شک نہیں کہ آپ ہندوستان پر خیر خواہ ہیں لیکن اس کے باوجود ہندو کی بہتری کے بارے میں ہمارے نقطہ نگاہ میں قطعی اختلاف ہے۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ ہماری مافی کی زندگی بھی مختلف رہی ہے۔ ہم اپنے ماضی کو جس نے حال کو جنم دیا ہے بھول نہیں سکتے۔

میری نظر میں ہند کے مسائل یا دوسرے مسائل کو فرتہ وارانہ نقطہ نظر سے دیکھنا کارہ، تنگ نظری سرکاری گروہ اور قوم کے لئے ایذا رساں ہے۔ میری تجویز ہے

کہ آپ جموں پر چارپنڈی کی اس ایجنسی کو ختم کرانے میں اپنا اثر و رسوخ استعمال کریں۔ کیوں کہ یہ ایجنسی فائدے کے بجائے یقینی طور نقصان آور ہے۔

مکر جی کا چوتھا خط

ڈاکٹر مکر جی نے اپنا چوتھا خط ۱۲ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو وزیر اعظم ہند جواہر لال نہرو کو بھیجا۔ ہمارے مابین اختلافات ہو سکتے ہیں لیکن ہمیں ایک دوسرے کو سمجھنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہیے۔ اگر وزیر اعظم ہند اور شیخ عبداللہ ایجنسیوں کے ساتھ تمام مسائل پر بحث کا یقین دلائیں میں ایجنسی ختم کرانے میں اپنا اثر و رسوخ استعمال کر سکتا ہوں جن امور پر یوج بچا اور غور و فکر کی ضرورت ہے یہ ہیں، جموں و کشمیر کی آئین ساز اسمبلی کے ذریعہ مکمل الحاق سے متعلق قراردادیں پاس کرانا (۲۱) ریاست میں آئین ہند کے بنیادی حقوق شہریتہ مالی الحاق کا خاتمہ، شہریتہ کوٹ کا دائرہ اختیار صدر جموں کے ایک خصوصی اختیارات اور انتظامی بات کے امور لگو کرنے کا سوال اس پر عمل درآمد طر شدہ عرصہ کے اندر ہو (۳) آئین ہند کے ان دو کے امور کے بارے میں شیخ محمد عبداللہ اپنی رائے ظاہر کریں کہ کون سی ترمیمات کی ضرورت ہے جو ان کے محاسن پر زیر غور لائے جائیں گے (۴) ریاست جموں و کشمیر کا آئین آئین ہند کا ایک جزو ہو گا۔ (۵) جموں اور لداخ کی سرحدوں میں تبدیلی کے بغیر علاقائی خود اختیاری دی جائے (۶) ہند کے جھنڈے کی ترقی کی نکل گاڑی دی جائے (۷) پاکت فی قبضہ علاقہ کو آزاد کرنے کے متعلق صریح پالیسی (۸) ایک تحقیقاتی کمیشن قائم کرنا جس میں جموں اور بیرون کشمیر رہنے والے لوگوں کی اکثریت ہندیہ شکایات و مطالبات کی تحقیقات کرے (۹) جن ایجنسیوں کے خلاف خطی حکام جاری ہوئے ہیں ان کا پیشنہ جامدادیں اور اسلحہ واپس کیا جائے۔

نہرو کا جواب (۴)

۱۲ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو مکر جی کے پیش کردہ مطالبات کا جواب وزیر اعظم ہند نے مندرجہ ذیل خط میں دیا۔

ریاست جموں و کشمیر کی آئین ساز اسمبلی آسانی سے قرارداد پاس کر سکتی ہے جس میں ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق کی توثیق کی جائے لیکن اس سے جیسا کہ آپ کا مقصد اور مطلب ہے تکمیل نہیں لائی جاسکتی۔ تکمیل لانے کے سوال میں کچھ اور امور بھی ہیں جو ہمارے قابو میں نہیں حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ریاست جموں و کشمیر آئین ساز اسمبلی نے مختلف مسائلوں کے بارے میں خصوصاً ہندوستان کے ساتھ معاہدہ کی توثیق کر کے جو عمل کیا ہے وہ الحاق کی توثیق کرنے کی نسبت کافی زیادہ ہے کیسی باتوں میں اس سے بھی آگے بڑھ گئی ہے۔ آپ نے کئی امور کا حوالہ دیا ہے اس آئین میں درج ہوئے جو کشمیر کی آئین ساز اسمبلی ترقیب کر رہی ہے میرے خیال میں اس میں تاخیر کا ایک وجہ موجودہ ایجنڈا میں ہے جس نے حکومت جموں و کشمیر کے لئے ان مسائلوں کی عکس را آمد کو مشکل بنایا ہے۔ یہ واضح طور پر بتایا گیا ہے کہ وہی توثیق پر عمل کر لیا گیا ہے کہ ہند کے جھنڈے کو برسرِ حال ہے۔ پاکستانی مقبوضہ علاقہ محض ایسا سوال نہیں جس پر بحث و مباحثہ کیا جائے کیونکہ اس میں بہت سارے سیاسی امور اور فوجی مسائل کو دخل ہے۔ اس میں جموں کی ایجنڈا میں نے پاکستانی مقبوضہ علاقہ کے سوال سے دوچار بننے کا کام شکل بنا دیا ہے کیونکہ ایجنڈا میں وہاں کے لوگوں میں دیر سے عداوت پیدا کر لیا۔ ہم کسی علاقہ کو زبردستی اپنے تحت رکھنے کے معنوں میں نہیں سوچتے بلکہ صرف متعلقہ لوگوں پر بھروسہ رکھتے ہیں۔ جموں و کشمیر کے علاوہ دوسری ریاستوں میں بھی ہیں علاقائی اور صوبائی خود اختیاری کی قدر کرنی ہے لیکن اس سلسلے میں ہم مشورہ تو دے سکتے ہیں لیکن مداخلت نہیں کرتے کوئی ریاستی حکومت خاطر خواہ طور کام نہیں چلا سکتی۔ اگر مرکزی حکومت اس پر چھا جائے۔ مجھے یقین ہے کہ دادا اور بیچے راستہ یہ ہے کہ ایجنڈا میں کو بند کیا جائے۔ معمول کے حالات پیدا کرتے اور باہمی جبر خواہی کا جذبہ بڑھانے کے لئے ہر طرف سے کوشش کی جائے۔ وہی بنیادی ترقی کا ذریعہ ہے شکایات پر غور کرنے اور تخریروں کو رخنہ بخشنے کی راہ ہے۔

مگر جی کا پانچواں خط

۱۲ فروری ۱۹۵۲ء کو ڈاکٹر شام پراشد مگر جی نے اپنا پانچواں خط پٹنہ جواہر لال نہرو

کے نام بھیجے لکھا۔ اگر آئین ساز اسمبلی مکمل الحاق کے متعلق قرارداد پاس کرے تو اس سے اقوام متحدہ میں ہند کا کیس کمزور نہیں ہو سکتا اور اگر تسلیم بھی کیا جائے کہ اس وقت جب کہ کشمیر کے متعلق جن بیوا میں بات چیت ہو رہی ہے الحاق کے متعلق اعلان نا منصفانہ ہے۔ اگر جموں کے نمائندوں کو اس قسم کا یقین دلایا جائے تو میں ان کو مطمئن رہنے کی تلقین کروں گا اور انہیں اس ضمن میں واضح اور غیر مبہم اعلان کے مطالبہ سے باز رکھوں گا لیکن اس سے قبل تیدیوں کی رہائی پر گامزن شدہ پابندیاں مہٹانے اور سزائیں ختم کی جانی لازمی ہیں۔

نہرو کا جواب (۵)

مگر جی کے نام پٹنہ نہرو اپنے پانچویں خط موضعہ ۵ فروری ۱۹۵۲ء میں رقم ہیں۔ آپ کے خط میں کئی ایسے حقائق اٹھائے گئے ہیں جو اس قدر دریں درجہ ہیں کہ ان کے نشانی اور افغانی رنگ سے دوچار نہیں ہو سکتا جن لوگوں کے بارے میں حکومت ہند اور حکومت کشمیر کے مابین فیصلہ ہو چکا ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان کے لئے موزوں وقت نہیں ہے دو دنوں حکومتوں کے مابین ان پر کیسے بحث کی جاسکتی ہے جہاں تک آئین ساز اسمبلی کے ذریعہ الحاق کی حمایت میں قرارداد پاس کرنے کا تعلق ہے اگر اسمبلی چاہے تو ایسا کر سکتی ہے درحقیقت اس کی تمام کارروائی الحاق پر مبنی ہے۔ اسی ASSUMPTION پر آگے جا رہی ہے۔ قرارداد سے الحاق میں کوئی اضافہ نہیں ہو سکتا۔ مجھے ایسی قرارداد منظور کرنے پر بھی کوئی اعتراض نہیں۔ یہ سوال بھی کوئی مشکل پیدا نہیں کرتا بلکہ یہ کہنا مشکل ہے کہ قرارداد سے یہ معاملہ اقوام متحدہ میں نہیں ہے گا۔ ہم نے آج تک جو پوزیشن اختیار کی ہے اس سے آئین ساز اسمبلی کو اس معاملے کے علاوہ دوسرے معاملوں پر بھی اظہار رائے کرنے کا حق ہے لیکن ہم نے اقوام متحدہ کو جو وعدے دئے ہیں ان کے لئے ہم ذمہ دار ہیں اور ہمیں اسی طرح سے معاملہ کو دیکھنا ہے۔ دراصل مشکل کا باعث پریشہ کار کردگی کا پس منظر ہے۔ جو کچھ بھی کسی شخص کے مقاصد ہوں لیکن

قطع نظر ان کے یہ ایجنڈیشن مکمل طور پر فرقہ دارانہ ہے۔ اسلئے یہ ہند کی بنیادی پالیسیوں جنہیں ہمیں روک لانا ہمارے خلاف ہے۔ ماضی میں بھی اس تحریک سے وابستہ بہت سارے اشخاص نے ان پالیسیوں کی مخالفت کی ہے اور ایسی لائن اختیار کی جو کوہم فرقہ دارانہ اور ملکی مفاد کے منافی قرار دیتے ہیں۔ اس تحریک کے حق میں جو تقاریر کی گئی ہیں وہ انتہا پسندانہ اور تشدد دانہ ہیں اور فرقہ داریت ظاہر کرتی ہیں۔ اس تحریک کو قطعی طور پر ختم کیا جانا چاہیئے۔

مکرجی کا چھٹا خط

ڈاکٹر مکرجی نے ۷ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو وزیر اعظم کے نام اپنے چھٹے خط میں لکھا۔
 ۱) ہم فرقہ دارانہ نقطہ نگاہ سے مسائل کا حل نہیں چاہتے۔ حالات کو بہتر بنانے کے لئے مندرجہ ذیل تجاویز پیش کرتا ہوں، ۱) تحریک ختم کی جائے گی (۲) قیدیوں کو رہا کیا جائے، وزیر اعظم ہند اور وزیر اعظم کشمیر ایک مشترکہ فریقہ کانفرنس بلائیں جس میں تمام سیاسی اور آئینی مسائل پر بحث کی جائے، ۳) کشمیر کی سالمیت کو برقرار رکھا جائے اور جموں لداخ اور وادی کشمیر کو علاقائی خود مختاری دی جائے (۵) نیا آئین فوری طور لاگو کیا جائے، ۶) جھنڈے کے سوال کی وضاحت کی جائے ہند کی دوسری ریاستوں کی طرح روز آئے ہند کے جھنڈے کو استعمال کیا جائے۔
 ۷) بنیادی حقوق وغیرہ امور کی وضاحت ہو۔ جولائی ۱۹۵۲ء کے معاہدہ کو آئین ساز اسمبلی کے دوسرے اجلاس کے فوراً بعد لاگو کیا جائے (۸) تحقیقاتی کمیشن کے دائرہ سماعت کو وسیع کیا جائے (۹) کمیشن ہند کے دو جموں اور جموں کشمیر کے چیف جسٹس مشتمل ہو مکمل الحاق کے بارے میں کانفرنس میں غور و خوض ہو اور ایسا تجویز طے کرنے کی کوشش کی جائے جس سے ہندو کشمیر کے مفاد وابستہ ہوں ان امور کی ضماندگی کے بغیر ایجنڈیشن ختم نہیں کی جاسکتی۔

شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے نام مکرجی کا مکتوب

ڈاکٹر مکرجی نے ۹ جنوری ۱۹۵۳ء کو شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے نام اپنے نامے

میں درخواست کی کہ وہ جموں ایجنڈیشن ختم کرانے میں پہل کریں اور اس مکتوب کے ساتھ ۹ جنوری ۱۹۵۳ء کو وزیر اعظم پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کے نام بھیجے ہوئے نوشتہ کی نقل بھی ارسال کی۔

شیخ محمد عبداللہ کا جواب

وزیر اعظم کشمیر نے مکرجی کے نام اپنے جواب میں لکھا۔ جب میں نے گزشتہ ستمبر کو آپ سے سری نگر میں ملاقات کی اور جموں کشمیر کے متعلق کئی مسائل کے بارے میں اپنا نقطہ نگاہ واضح کیا۔ مجھے اطمینان ہوا کہ آپ نے ہمارے نقطہ نظر کو سمجھا ہے جیسا کہ آپ نے بعد ازاں کھلے بندوں میری اور میرے ساتھیوں کی مشکل سے کے بارے میں ہمدردی کا اظہار کیا۔ آج مجھے یہ دیکھ کر افسوس ہو رہا ہے کہ آپ جموں کی موجودہ صورت حال کو واقفیت پسندانہ نگاہوں سے نہیں دیکھتے، اس بات کی پوری شہادت موجود ہے کہ پر جا پریشد نے مسئلہ کشمیر کے لئے ایک فرقہ دارانہ حل ٹھونسنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ اس کے لیڈروں نے کھلے بندوں اس قسم کے بیانات دئے ہیں اور یہ بیانات اس ایجنڈیشن کے اہل مقاصد کے بارے میں کسی شک و شبہ کی گنجائش نہیں رکھتے۔ ان بیانات کی روشنی میں، میں حیران ہوں کہ کوئی ذی شعور مسلمان کیسے پریشد یوں کا ساتھ دے سکتا ہے بخلاف اس کے حکومت کو ان علاقوں سے تحفظ کی درخواستیں کی گئیں ہیں جن سنگھیں ہمسایہ جاتی اور اکالی لیڈر ماسٹر تارا سنگھ کے بیانات نے واضح کیا ہے کہ ہند کے فرقہ پرست کشمیر کے باہر کیسی بڑی اور اچھی دلیلیں پیش کرتے ہیں اور کیا مقاصد رکھتے ہیں۔ الحاق کی قرارداد سے ہندوستان کو کیا نفع ہوگا جب کہ یہ معاملہ اتنا اہم متحدہ کے زیر غور ہے۔ ہم ایسی قرارداد پاس کرنے کے لئے تیار ہیں لیکن حکومت ہند کو ان ذمہ داریوں سے عہدہ برآ ہونے کے لئے تیار ہونا چاہیئے جو ایسے فیصلے کے نتیجے میں اس پر پڑ سکتی ہے۔ اگر حکومت ہند اعلان کرے

کہ آئین ساز اسمبلی کا فیصلہ ناقابل تنسیخ ہے تو اس صورت میں اسے اقوام متحدہ کے ساتھ بیٹھنے کے معاملے کو بھی زیر غور لانا ہوگا۔ ہند کو اس صورت میں اس تنظیم سے خارج ہونا پڑے گا۔ سوال یہ ہے کہ کیا ہند علیحدگی اختیار کر سکتا ہے جب کہ بیرونی طاقتوں کی پوری ہمدردی پاکستان کے ساتھ ہو۔ اس علیحدگی کی پوزیشن میں اگر حکومت ہند آئین ساز اسمبلی کے فیصلہ کو برقرار رکھنے کی خاطر ایسی صورت اختیار کرنے کے لئے تیار ہے تو یہ فیصلہ بغیر درنگی کے کیا جاسکتا ہے لیکن اگر ایسا نہیں کیا جاسکتا تو اسمبلی کی قرارداد بے نفع ہے جب تک ریاست کے مستقبل کے متعلق یہی صورت حال یقینی نہ بن جائے۔ وہ لوگ جو اس مسئلے کا مکمل حل چاہتے ہیں محض اس FORMALITY کو پورا کرنے سے مطمئن نہیں ہو سکتے۔ مزید آئین ساز اسمبلی کے فیصلہ سے مسئلہ کو حل کرنا پھر دروازے سے داخل ہونے کے مترادف ہے۔ ہم یہ تجویز اسلئے رد کرتے ہیں کیوں کہ غیر جانبدارانہ استصواب رائے عامہ کے لئے ضروری ماحول پیدا نہیں ہو سکتا۔ میرے دل میں اس بارے میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ اگر ایسا ماحول پیدا ہو جائے اور لوگوں کو آزادانہ رائے دینے کا موقع مل جائے تو فیصلہ ہر حال میں ہمارے حق میں ہوگا جب کہ پیریشدی اس ملک کے ٹوٹے ٹھوٹے ٹکڑے بنا کر مسئلہ کو حل کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ جموں کشمیر کی حکومت نے جو یہ اختیار کیا ہے وہ ہند کے آئین کے عین مطابق ہے اور اس کے باوجود آپ کہتے ہیں کہ آئین ہند کی توہین کر رہے ہیں۔ مجھے اس پر کچھ ہلچل ہے کہ آپ ایک پڑھان ایک دھان اور ایک نشان کھڑا کر کے فرسوسہ مارتے ہیں آپ کا خیال ہے کہ ہم "نشانات" کے خلاف ہیں۔ جموں کشمیر کا ہند کے ساتھ آئینی الحاق کے پیش نظر ہم ان نشانات کو اسی طرح برتر خیال کرتے ہیں جس طرح ہند کی کسی دوسری ریاست میں کیا جاتا ہے۔ ہماری ریاستی حکومت نے اندرونی طور پر تبدیلیاں کی ہیں اسے ایسا کرنے کا حق ہند کے آئین سے حاصل رہا ہے اور کشمیر کو آئین ہند میں جو خصوصی پوزیشن دی گئی ہے وہ ہند کی

دستور ساز اسمبلی نے غور و خوض کے بعد دی ہے۔ کشمیر اور ہند کا بندھن ٹوٹ ہے لیکن اگر اس رشتہ کی بنیاد تبدیل کرنے کی کوشش کی جائے تو اس کے نتائج جو ہوں ان کے لئے ہم سب کو تیار رہنا چاہیئے۔ اس سلسلے میں یہ بتانا بے جا نہ ہوگا کہ وہ پارٹیاں جو پریشد کی حمایت کرتی ہیں آئین ہند کی موجودہ ہیئت سے مطمئن نہیں۔ ان میں سے چند پارٹیوں نے واضح طور پر مطالبہ کیا ہے کہ یہ آئین ہندوں کے اصولوں (IDEALS) کے مطابق ہونا چاہیئے۔ ان کے کیا ترجمان نے حال ہی میں کہا کہ اس کی پارٹی تو جھنڈے کے بجائے بھگوا جھنڈا بلند کرنے کے لئے جدوجہد کرے گی۔ ساتھ ہی یہ تمام پارٹیاں پریشد کے ایک پردھان ایک نشان کے لئے ایجنڈیشن کی پشت پناہی کر رہی ہیں۔ یہ طریقے کچھ عرصے کے لئے کچھ لوگوں کو متاثر تو کرے لیکن اس بات میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ یہ طریقہ پرجا پریشد کے بہت سارے حمایتیوں کی آئین ہند اس کے نشانات سے وفاداری کو مشتبہ بناتی ہے۔ پرجا پریشد کی جماعت معاہدہ دہلی کے خلاف اور مکمل الحاق کی حامی ہے اور دوسری طرف آپ اس معاہدہ کی فوری طور پر عملدرآمد کرانے کا مطالبہ کر رہے ہیں۔ جہاں تک ہمارا تعلق ہے ہم اس معاہدہ پر ڈٹے ہوئے ہیں اور یہ تمام فیصلے روک لائے جائیں گے۔ آئین آپ نے شاید اس پر غور نہیں کیا ہے کہ جب ہم نے اس معاہدہ کے ایک حصے پر عمل کیا ہے یعنی صدر ریاست کا انتخاب عمل میں لایا تو پرجا پریشد نے اس کے خلاف ایجنڈیشن شروع کی۔ پرجا پریشد نے واضح کیا ہے کہ وہ ان معاہدوں کے خلاف ہے اور آپ نے بھی کھلے بندوں ان کے نظریے کی حمایت کی ہے مسئلہ بالکل آسان ہے۔ اگر پرجا پریشد معاہدہ کو فوری طور پر روک لے آئے دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں تو ہند کے آئین کا یہ جز تسلیم کرنا پڑے گا کہ کشمیر کو انڈین یونین میں خاص درجہ حاصل ہے۔ حکومت جموں کشمیر کی جانب سے

معابدہ دہلی کی عکد رآمد میں کوئی تاخیر نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔ جیسا کہ آپ جانتے ہیں معابدہ گزشتہ سال جولائی میں ہوا اور اگست میں پارلیمنٹ نے اس کی توثیق کی۔ ۱۱ اگست کو ریاست کی آئین ساز اسمبلی نے اس کی تصدیق کی اور اس کے فوراً بعد حکومت ہند کے ساتھ صدر ریاست کے انتخاب کا مسئلہ زیر بحث آیا تاکہ آئین میں ضروری تبدیلیاں کی جائیں۔ حکومت ہند کے آئینی مشیروں نے ضوابط کی جانچ پڑتال کی اور یہ معاملہ ۱۶ نومبر کو اختتام پذیر ہوا۔ ۱۷ نومبر کو ریاستی اسمبلی نے صدر ریاست منتخب کیا۔ صدر ریاست ۲۲ نومبر کو جموں گئے جہاں پر جا پریشد نے ایجنڈیشن شروع کر دی اور صدر ریاست کا استقبال سیاہ جھنڈیوں سے کیا تب سے حالات کچھ اس طرح ہو گئے ہیں کہ حکومت کو لائینڈ آرڈر کے قیام کے لئے اپنی تمام تر توجہ مبذول کرنا پڑی ہے۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ایسے غیر معمولی حالات میں آئین سازی کا کام نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ پریشدیوں کی اشغال انگیزی کے مقابلے میں حکومت نے کافی ضبط و تحمل سے کام لیا۔ کوئی حکومت جو نظم و نسق برقرار رکھنے کی ذمہ دار ہو، مؤثر طریقے سے عمل نہیں کر سکتی جب تک کہ وہ ملازمین، عوامی اداروں اور جوائنڈا کے تحفظ کی ضمانت نہ دے سکے۔ ہمیں لائینڈ آرڈر قائم رکھنے کے لئے یا تو مناسب اقدامات کرنے تھے یا لاقانونی کے سلسلے ہتھیار ڈالنے تھے۔ باوجود اس سرکار کو بے دلی سے ایسے نازک اوقات میں طاقت کو استعمال کرنا پڑا۔ جب حالات کو قابو میں لانے کے لئے دوسرے ذرائع ناکام رہے۔ غیر جانبدارانہ شہادت کی بناء پر یہ بات تسلیم کی گئی ہے کہ سرکار نے سخت گیری اور دست درازی سے کام نہیں لیا ہے۔ چھبکے واقعہ کی تحقیقات ریاست کے ایک سینئر جج مسٹر پرچند لال نے کی۔ آپ نے کہا ہے کہ "سرکاری حکام نے وہاں جائز کارروائی

کی ہے۔ پریشدی ایجنڈیشن کو لوگوں کی شکایات سے کوئی سروکار نہیں بلکہ یہ تشدد کے ذریعے حکومت کو درہم برہم کرنا چاہتی ہے۔ حکومت اگر کوئی سستی برتنے تو یقیناً اس صورت میں انارک پیدا ہونے کا احتمال ہے۔ آپ نے جموں کے لوگوں کی شکایات اور امتیاز کے مبینہ الزامات کے متعلق لکھا ہے اگر آپ نے یہ مجھے لکھ بھیجی ہوتی تو میں اس کا خیر مقدم کرتا۔ کیوں کہ اس طرح مجھے اپنے نظم و نسق میں غلطیاں معلوم ہو جاتیں، میں یہ دعویٰ نہیں کر سکتا کہ ہمارا نظم و نسق مکمل ہے بلکہ اس میں واضح طور غلطیاں بتائی جاسکتی تو ہم ان کو درست کر سکتے ہیں۔ ہم میں سے کسی بھی شخص کو غلط و تار کار خیال نہیں یہ بات وثوق سے کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ ہم نے حالات کا جائزہ لیا ہے اور جموں کے لوگوں کے خلاف کوئی امتیاز نہیں برتا گیا ہے۔ حکومت کشمیر کو مختلف مسائل سے دوچار ہونا پڑا ہے۔ اس کے پیش نظر ہم اس بات سے انکار نہیں کرتے کہ جموں اور دوسرے علاقوں کے نئی اور مسائل کی جانب متوجہ ہونے کی ضرورت ہے جب کہ حکومت ان کو حل کرنے کی طرف توجہ دے رہی ہے۔ آپ نے جموں کی تحقیقات کمیٹی کا ذکر کرتے کہا، اگر کمیٹی کی نظر میں کہیں کوتاہیاں پائی جائیں تو حکومت مناسب اصلاحات کرے گی۔ حکومت عوام کے خیر خواہوں سے تعمیری تجاویز امداد اور تعاون کی طلب گار ہے وہ عوام کے فائدے اور ہی خواہ ہونے کے ناطے سب کچھ کر رہی ہے۔ جموں و کشمیر کے لوگوں نے تقسیم ہند سے پہلے سیکولر ازم کا راستہ اختیار کیا۔ انہوں نے پاکستانی لیڈروں کے حملے 'لایچ' دباؤ اور ۱۹۴۷ء میں غارت گری کا مقابلہ کیا۔ جب پاکستانی حملہ آور سرینگر کے دروازے پر کھڑے تھے کشمیر کے لوگوں نے سیکولر ازم اور انسانیت کے اصولوں کے تحفظ کی خاطر اپنے بہادر فرزندوں کو پیش کیا۔ اس وقت انہیں کسی سے امداد نہیں مل سکتی تھی ہر طرف اندھیرا تھا اور ان

ایک ہتھیار کی حیثیت میں ہے کی نسبت تک ہم اس تنظیم کو تسلیم نہیں کر سکتے۔ ہاں ہم ان لوگوں کے ساتھ جو وابستہ کاری سے ہم سے اختلاف رائے رکھتے ہیں لیکن ریاست کے بنیادی نظام کے متعلق ہماری رائے متفق ہوں مگر ملنے کے لئے تیار نہیں۔ ہم ان پر اپنا نقطہ نظر ضرور واضح کر سکتے ہیں لیکن یہ ایک ایسی فضا میں ممکن ہو سکتا ہے جس میں دباؤ دھمکیاں اور تشدد موجود نہ ہو جس صاف طور سے بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہر جا پر شد کی موجودہ لیڈر شپ کے مقاصد تحریریں اور قراردادیں ہیں۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ہمارے اور ان کے درمیان ملاقات کی بنیاد نہیں ہو سکتی۔ یہ الزام غلط ہے کہ ریاست میں ڈوگرز پر قبضہ کیا گیا ہے۔ ہم ریاست کی آبادی کے تمام فرقوں کے اتحاد اور ترقی کے خواہاں ہیں۔ ہمارا ہر ہی سنگم نے عوام کی جدوجہد آزادی کے دوران اور اس کے بعد پاکستانی قلم کے وقت جو رویہ اختیار کیا وہ کسی سے پوشیدہ نہیں۔ ہم نے ہند کے ساتھ جو معاہدہ کیا ہے اسے ہم ہر حال قبول لائیں گے۔ مجھے امید ہے کہ آپ ہمارے نقطہ نگاہ کو صحیح طور سے سمجھنے کی کوشش کریں گے اور واقفیت پسندانہ نقطہ نگاہ سے واقعات کا جائزہ لیں گے۔

مگر جی کی گرفتاری

ریاستی وزیراعظم کے متذکرہ صدر مکتوب کا جواب مگر نے ۲۴ فروری ۱۹۵۳ء کو دیا جس میں کشمیر کو مخصوص سیاسی پولیٹیشن دینے کے متعلق اپنی مخالفت و ممانعت پر نشیدوں کے ساتھ تمام سیاسی اور آئینی مسائل پر گفت و شنید کرنے پر زور دیا اور اسٹریٹجی کو سیکرٹنگ کے متعلق لکھا میں اس پارٹی کا ممبر نہیں ہوں البتہ اس کے ساتھ وابستہ بہت سارے اشخاص کو جانتا ہوں مجھے ان کے (IDEALISM) اصولی ہونے ان کی حب الوطنی جذبہ قربانی اور خدمت بہت عزیز ہے۔ یہ خط و کتابت تقریباً ڈیڑھ ماہ تک جاری رہنے کے بعد مگر جی کی خواہش پر اختتام پذیر ہوئی۔ انہوں نے حکومت کو دھکی دیا کہ وہ ملک گیر ایکٹیشن شروع کریں لیکن یہ دھمکی نتیجہ خیز ثابت نہیں ہوئی جن سنگم کے جنرل سیکرٹری پنڈت بولی چندر ملنے پارٹی کی جانب سے اعلان کیا "دہلی اور پنجاب کے بعض علمائوں میں جنوں کے صحبت ندوں کی ہمدردی میں جو تحریک جاری ہوئی وہ ایک علامتی

تحریک ہے اس کو دوسرے علاقوں میں نہیں پھیلانا ہے۔ ڈاکٹر لکھن نے بھی ایک ٹیشن سے کٹا کر کٹا کر اختیار کیا۔ اس صورت حال پر ناؤ لکھا کر ڈاکٹر مگر جی نے پٹنہ میں ایک اشتعال انگیز بیان دیتے کہا اگر کشمیری مسلمان ہند کے ساتھ نہیں رہنا چاہتے تو کشمیر چھوڑ کر پاکستان چلے جائیں اس جنونی نظریہ سے اختلاف کرتے پیش ڈیو کرٹیک فرنٹ کے ممبر ڈاکٹر اے کرشنا سوامی نے اعلان کیا کہ انہیں مگر جی کے خیالات سے اتفاق نہیں بلکہ جی نے اپنی سیاسی روکنا زاری پلانے کے لئے تذبذب کے عالم میں اسٹی کو انبالہ کے جلسہ میں اعلان کیا۔

"میں ۱۲ اسٹی کو جنوں جاکر حالات کا پچھتم خود ملاحظہ کروں گا میں ریاست میں داخل ہونے کے لئے پریٹ چال کرنے کی خاطر کوئی درخواست نہیں کروں گا۔ میں نہیں جانتا ریاست میں داخل ہونے کے لئے کس قانون کے تحت پریٹ چال کرنا ضروری"

مگر جی کی گرفتاری

۱۲ اسٹی کو مادھو پور میں ریاست کے چیف سیکرٹری کی طرف سے جاری کردہ تحفظ عام کے نوٹس زیر دفعہ ۱۱ الف کی ڈاکٹر مگر جی سے تھیل کر آئی جس کے تحت انکا ریاست میں داخلہ ممنوع قرار دیا گیا تھا۔ انہیں انسپکٹر جنرل پولیس نے تحفظ قانون امن عامہ کی دفعہ ۱۱ کے تحت انکے دو ساتھیوں سمیت (پنڈت گورو دت وید صدر دہلی جن سنگم اور ٹیک چند جو پٹنہ ہمارے رہنے والے تھے) گرفتار کر کے نظر بند کرنے کا حکم دیا اور انہیں ہری نگر میں نشا طبارغ کے قریب ایک شہرہ محل میں رکھا گیا ساتھ ہی حکومت نے ایک آرڈیننس نافذ کیا جس کے تحت اعلان کیا گیا ریاست کی حدود میں بغیر پریٹ داخل ہونے والے کو ایک ہزار روپیہ جرمانہ اور ایک سال قید کی سزا دی جائے گی مگر جی کی گرفتاری پر پارلیمنٹ میں مولانا محمد عید عودی نے کہا میں نے ان سے استعفا کی تھی کہ ریاست میں داخل ہونے کی کوشش نہ کریں مگر وہ ضدی آدمی نہ مانا۔ "بخشی غلام محمد نے اخبار نویسوں کو بتایا "جب تک مگر جی نظر بند ہیں شیخ محمد عبداللہ سے ملکی ملاقات کا کوئی امکان نہیں" اس پکڑ پھڑ سے جنوں کی سیاسی فضا میں سکوت طاری ہوا۔ لیکن

۲ جون ۱۹۵۳ء کو چوری چھپے بیرون ریاست سے جوں میں داخل ہونے والوں نے بھگو اچھند کو لے کر جوں نکالا۔ اس سے پریشد کی نیم مردہ تحریک میں جان پڑی۔ وہ جسے ڈیفنس رولز کی دفعہ ۵۰ پبلک سیکورٹی ایکٹ کی خلاف ورزی کے جرم میں گرفتار کئے گئے۔ ہندو پریش کے ایک حصے نے ان گرفتاریوں پر گرہ لگاتے شوشتہ آرایا کہ ستیہ کرہ ہی لاپتہ ہوئے ہیں۔

منکر جی کی موت

۱۶ جون ۱۹۵۳ء کو ریاستی عدالت عالیہ جس جس جیالال کیم کے روبرو منکر جی کے وکیل مسٹر ترویدی اور دیو کی پرشاد نے اس کا رپس کی درخواست پیش کی۔ عدالت عالیہ نے ۲۲ جون تک فیصلہ محفوظ رکھا جب کہ ۲۲، ۲۳ اور ۲۴ جون کی درمیانی شب کو ۳ بج کر ۱۰ منٹ پر منکر جی حرکت قلب کے شدید حملہ سے جانبر نہ ہو سکے۔ ان کی نعش بذریعہ طیارہ کلکتہ بھیجے کا اہتمام کیا گیا۔ ہوائی اڈہ پر صدر ریاست، وزیر اعظم، شیخ محمد عبداللہ، ہندو پارلیمنٹ کے ریاستی ارکان و وزراء کا مینہ اعلیٰ حکام اور این سی وکنگ کمیٹی کے ممبران نے ان کی نعش پر پھول چڑھائے اور فرادان منکر جی کے بھائی جسٹس منکر جی کو کلکتہ ماتمی پیغامات بھیجے۔ ریاستی حکومت نے پندرہ پریم ناتھ دوگرہ جنہیں ڈاکٹر منکر جی کی خواہش پر جوں سے نشاط بلدے کے اسی سنگھ میں منتقل کیا گیا نعش کے ساتھ منکر جی کے دونوں ساتھیوں سمیت کلکتہ جانے کی اجازت دی۔ ممبر پارلیمنٹ سردار حکم سنگھ نے ۲۵ جون کو پہلنگام میں یہ انگلشاف کیا کہ منکر جی نے ۱۶ جون کو میرے ساتھ دوران گفتگو اس بات پر آمادگی ظاہر کی تھی کہ وہ تحریک کو واپس لیں گے۔ منکر جی کی موت پر جوں میں ہڑتال ہوئی اکثر گورنمنٹ آرٹس ایمپوریم کی شانہ لوٹی گئی اور عمارت کو نقصان پہونچا یا گیا۔ ۲۹ جون کو پندرہ پریم ناتھ دوگرہ نے انبالہ میں تقریر کرتے کہا: ڈاکٹر شاد پرشاد منکر جی کے انتقال کی وجہ سے تیرہ دن کے لئے تحریک ستوی کی جاتی ہے جو خطرات و پیش میں انگلستان کے لئے ریاست کے اندر سختی و محاذ قائم کرنے کی ضرورت ہے جن سنگھ، ہما سبھا اور رام راجیہ پریشد کے لیڈروں کی بھی یہی رائے ہے، جو لالائی کو پر جا پریشد کے جنرل سیکریٹری درگا داس

نے چٹھا کوٹ کے جلسہ میں سینسٹی خبر اعلان کیا۔ اگر وزیر اعظم ہند اپنے وعدے پر قائم نہیں ہیں گے تو ہم دوبارہ ستیہ کرہ کریں گے۔ اسی دن جوں کے جلسہ میں کہا:

”ہم اس بات چیت کے نتائج پر مطمئن ہیں جو دہلی میں پریشد اور اس کی ساتھی

جماعتوں کے لیڈروں اور پندرہ پریشد کے مابین ہوئی ہیں آپ کو یقین دلانا ہوں کہ آپ

کے مطالبات عنقریب عملی شکل اختیار کریں گے“

پر جا پریشد کے جنرل سیکریٹری درگا داس نے وزیر اعظم ہند اور ہندوستانی فزڈ پرست لیڈروں کے مابین جس عہدہ پیاں کا اپنی تقریر میں انگلشاف کیا اس کی تصدیق مرکزی حکومت کے ذرائع سے نہیں ہو سکی لیکن تردید بھی نہیں کی گئی، ماحول میں سخت تناؤ اور تشدد کے باعث ریاستی حکومت دہلی سے اس انگلشاف اور گفت و شنید کی تفصیلات دریافت نہیں کر سکی اور نہ ریاستی ممبران پارلیمنٹ مولانا محمد سعید صوفی کا ریڈیو صوفی شفیق اور دوسرے جنہیں وزیر اعظم ہند سے قربت کا اعزاز حاصل تھا اس بارے میں کوئی خفیہ اطلاع بھیج سکے اور نہ ریاستی وزیر اعظم اشارتاً، انہیں اس واقعہ کی خفیہ یا عامیانہ تحقیق یا چھان بین کی فہمائش کی نہ مرکزی حکومت نے اس ضمن میں ریاستی حکومت اور وزیر اعظم کشمیر کو اعتماد میں لیا۔ البتہ ۹ اگست ۱۹۵۳ء کے وزارتی تعینات درگا داس کی سیاسی پیش گوئی کی سچائی پر بہر تصدیق ثبوت کی جب کہ شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی برطانی سے یہ اخذ کیا گیا کہ درحقیقت یہ ہند کا فزڈ پرست جماعتوں سے طشدہ منہویہ کا پلاٹ ہے جس میں ریاست جوں کو تیرہ دفعہ ۵۰ کے تحت فراہم کی گئی امتیازی پوزیشن اور معاہدہ دہلی کو پامال و بے اثر بنانا مقصود تھا اور جس کو پایہ تکمیل تک پہونچانے کے لئے شیخ محمد عبداللہ کو منصب وزارت اعلیٰ سے برطرف کرنا پہلا قدم تھا۔ اس مقام پر یہ کہنا ختم ہے محل نہیں ہوگا اگر ایسا نہیں کیا جاتا تو ممکن تھا کہ فزڈ زمانہ کو لیٹن کو ب کے جس کچل سے ریاست دوچار ہے اس کی نوبت نہیں آتی اور ریاست کے ابھرتے جوان سال شاعر خالد سیر کو موت کے دروازہ پہنچوں سے روندھے ہوئے لوگوں کے

چہرہ کی محرومی کا تجربہ کرتے یہ کہنا نہیں پڑتا کہ
یہ لوگ اپنے بیٹوں کو قبروں میں ڈال کر

ہوتے ہیں حادثات سے اب مٹول کم
بہر کیف یہ جاہریشدائے مجاہدین جو کم و بیش چھ ماہ تک جاری رہی ہے ہندو فرقہ پرستوں کی
تشنگی کو آشفتگی بخشی اس ایجنٹیشن میں تقریباً تیس افراد پولیس کی لاکھوں اور گولیوں کے شکار ہوئے
اختلافات

یہ جاہریشدائے مجاہدین کے دوران ہی نیشنل کانفرنس لیڈر شپ میں اختلاف رائے نے شدت
اختیار کی شیخ محمد عبداللہ اپنی تقریر میں مسئلہ کشمیر کو اقوام متحدہ کے سلامتی کونسل کی قراردادوں کے
مطابق حل کرنے پر زور دینے لگے چنانچہ ۲۵ مارچ ۱۹۵۳ء کو ریاستی مجلس قانون ساز کے بجٹ
اجلاس میں پہلی بار بادل ناخواستہ صدر ریاست نے سلامتی کونسل کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے مسئلہ کشمیر کے
فوری حل کی بات کہی۔ ۲۵ مارچ کو بخشی غلام محمد نے معذرت خواہی کا انداز اختیار کرتے ہوئے
یہ ریشدائے مجاہدین میں رہنے والوں کے سوگواروں سے بحیثیت نائب وزیر اعظم اس ناخوشگوار
فصل پر غصہ ادا کیا ہندوئی کا تحریری معذرت نامہ کارپریس نوٹ کی شکل میں جاری کیا۔
سب کمیٹی اور خود مختار ریاست

یہ جاہریشدائے مجاہدین کے دوران ہی کشمیری لیڈر شپ میں نمایاں تبدیلی آئی جس کے
باعث ۲۳ مئی ۱۹۵۳ء کو وزیر اعظم ہندو وزیر داخلہ کیلش ناتھ کا تجویز لکھنے پر پٹنہ اور
پیر بنیٹ و سرنگر میں پٹنہ ہندو وزیر اعظم کشمیر کے ملتان میں کس جوئی انوہول کی گرم
بازاری کارکنین جس کو دبانے کے لئے مولانا محمد سعید ہودی شیام لال مراد اور بخشی غلام محمد نے
مجاہدین کے سرنگر میں اپنی تقریر میں تردید کی لیکن یہ جادو اترنے کے بجائے سرچڑھتا ہی گیا۔
پٹنہ ہندو کی واپسی پر ریاست کے خاور و باقتر میں یہ چہرہ ہوا کہ دونوں لیڈروں کے مابین
الحاق میں تنازعہ شکل اختیار کر گیا ہے نیشنل کانفرنس کی لیڈر شپ میں از محمد افضل بیگ اور صوفی محمد اکبر کے

کے سوا تمام دوسرے شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے نظریہ سے اختلاف رکھتے ہیں لیکن ان کی بھاری بھر کم
شخصیت سے یہ خوب ہو کر وہ خاموش ہیں۔ اسی دوران شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے اپنے بدلے ہوئے نظریہ
کو ٹھوس بنیادوں پر استوار کرنے کی غرض سے نیشنل کانفرنس کی ورکنگ کمیٹی کے آٹھ ممبروں، شیخ
محمد عبداللہ، مولانا محمد سعید ہودی، بخشی غلام محمد، سردار بدھ سنگھ، غلام محمد صادق،
گرو دھاری لال ڈوگر، شیام لال مراد، مرزا محمد افضل بیگ، پرتیک ایک سب کمیٹی تشکیل دی
جو مسلسل بارہ دن تک سر پتھر چورس مسئلہ الحاق کے مختلف امکانات پر غور و خوض کرتے
کے بعد چار امکاناتی نتیجہ پر پہنچی۔

۱، سالم ریاست میں رائے شماری کے ذریعہ فیصلہ کیا جائے کہ ریاست کا الحاق
ہندوپاک کے مابین کس کے ساتھ کیا جائے۔

۲، ساری ریاست کو ایک آزاد ریاست کا درجہ دیا جائے۔

۳، ساری ریاست کو آزاد رکھا جائے اور معاملات خارجہ اور امور دفاع کے متعلق
ہندوپاک کا مشترکہ کنٹرول ہو۔

۴، ریاست کی تقسیم ڈگن پلان کے مطابق کی جائے اور وادی کو آزاد رکھا جائے۔

جب کہ اقوام متحدہ کی سلامتی کونسل کی قراردادوں میں مسئلہ الحاق کے تہفیف کے لئے صرف ایک ہی
طریقہ مقرر کیا گیا ہے کہ رائے شماری کے ذریعہ فیصلہ کیا جائے کہ ریاست کے لوگ ہندیا پاکستان سے الحاق
کے بارے میں اپنی رائے دیں (جس کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ ہندوپاک کی حکومتوں کی خواہش کے مطابق ریاستی عوام
کے حق و قیود اوریت کا تبدیل رائے شماری کو قرار دیا گیا جب کہ خود اختیاری اور تجویز شدہ رائے شماری میں
کافز کے جس پر اللہ تعالیٰ تبصرہ اس کتاب کی اگلی جلد میں پیش کرنا غلام محمد صادق نے تجویز کیا، پراپیٹل
دیتے کہ رائے شماری اسی صورت میں ممکن ہو سکتی ہے جب پانچ متحدہ ممالک روس، کمیونسٹ چین
افغانستان، ہندوستان اور پاکستان کی نگرانی میں یہ عمل میں لائی جائے مگر موجودہ حالات میں
ایس ممکن نہیں ہے۔ بخشی غلام محمد نے امکانی حل کے حوالے سے کہا یہی باعزت و واحد حل

जम्मू के कसरी

विचार

अपने माता-पिता
के कड़े वचनों में
अपने स्वर्णिम भविष्य
के लिए रक्षा कवच की
छांव देखो।

THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 2017.

तापमान

अधिकतम
34°

न्यूनतम
24°

आज वर्षा हो
सकती है।

सूर्योदय 05.22
सूर्यास्त 07.36

JAMMU KESARI

अमर प्रीमियम गेहूं का आटा
10 किलो एमआरपी ₹ 340

आम / चीनी
मारकेट प्राइस ₹ 50/45

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BIG BAZAAR

बना रहा है इंडिया ब्यूटीफुल

उड़नदस्ते के वाहन पुलिस पैट्रोलिंग के माध्यम से शहर व आसपास के इलाकों में नशा तस्करी, नशा, छेड़छाड़, चोरी आदि मामलों पर लगाम कसने की कोशिश करेंगे। उड़नदस्ते की टीम राज्य में आने वाले यात्रियों एवं पर्यटकों की सुविधा के लिए भी हर समय मौजूद रहेगी।

उद्देश्य से की गई है। ये उड़नदस्ते सीधा पी.सी.आर. के संपर्क में रहेंगे, जिसके तहत आम जनता पी.सी.आर.

के लैंडलाइन नंबर-01992-276915 और मोबाइल नंबर 96222-05553 पर संपर्क कर सकती है।



ऊधमपुर पुलिस के उड़नदस्ते को हरी झंडी दिखाते हुए डी.आई.जी. (कुंडल)

विभिन्न सुविधाओं से लैस उड़नदस्ते का वाहन पुलिस पैट्रोलिंग के माध्यम से शहर व आसपास के इलाकों में नशा तस्करी, नशा, छेड़छाड़, चोरी आदि मामलों पर लगाम कसने की कोशिश करेंगे। उड़नदस्ते की टीम राज्य में आने वाले यात्रियों एवं पर्यटकों की सुविधा के लिए भी हर समय मौजूद रहेगी।

उड़नदस्ते को बुधवार को ऊधमपुर-रियासी रेंज के डी.आई.जी. विरेंद्र शर्मा ने हरी झंडी दिखाई। उनके साथ एस.एस.पी. रईस मोहम्मद भट्ट, ए.एस.पी. फैजल कुरेशी, डिप्टी एस.पी. हैडक्वार्टर कामेश्वर पुरी मौजूद थे।

ट्राला पलटन से 1 गुज्जर की मौत

ऊधमपुर/रामसू, 31 मई (दीपक): जम्मू-श्रीनगर राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग स्थित पंथाल में एक ट्राला के पलट जाने से उसकी चपेट में आने से 1 गुज्जर तथा 4 भैंसों की मौत हो गई।

जानकारी के अनुसार जम्मू से श्रीनगर जा रहा एक ट्राला जैसे ही रामसू के समीप पहुंचा तो अचानक चालक ने ट्राले पर नियंत्रण खो दिया, जिससे ट्राला पलट गया। इस दुर्घटना में जहां एक गुज्जर की मौत हो गई, वहीं 4 भैंसों भी मर गईं। मारे गए गुज्जर की पहचान बशीर अहमद निवासी सुम्बर रामवन के रूप में हुई है। पुलिस ने इस संबंध में मामला दर्ज कर दुर्घटना के कारणों की जांच शुरू कर दी है।

श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वैल्फेयर सोसायटी ने की राज्य में शांति बनाए रखने की अपील

जम्मू, 31 मई (आशु): श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वैल्फेयर सोसायटी ने बशीर अहमद जुगल की अध्यक्षता में बुधवार को एक प्रेस वार्ता का आयोजन किया, जिसमें उन्होंने बताया कि जून माह से अमरनाथ की पवित्र यात्रा शुरू हो रही है। उन्होंने सभी धर्मों के लोगों से यात्रा के दौरान राज्य में शांति बनाए रखने की अपील की।

उन्होंने कहा कि अयोध्या में राम मंदिर बनाने के लिए उन्होंने सेवा भाव से ईंटें दान की हैं। जिस प्रकार वहां हिन्दू और मुस्लिम मिल कर राम मंदिर तथा मस्जिद के निर्माण

में अपना योगदान देकर आपसी भाईचारे का संदेश दे रहे हैं, उसी प्रकार जम्मू-कश्मीर सहित देश के अन्य राज्यों के लोगों को भी आपस में प्रेम एवं मिल-जुलकर रहना

चाहिए। इस मौके पर स्वामी श्री संतोष गिरिजी महाराज, स्वामी दयानंद शुक्ला, रमेश अरोड़ा, ए.के. पंडिता, मुमताज सलारिया, रमेश किचलू एवं अन्य लोग मौजूद थे।



कार्यक्रम के दौरान श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वैल्फेयर सोसायटी के सदस्य। (सोहन)

सूर्य 7:34 (अस्त) 5:26 (उदय-कल)

तापमान 31.4 (अधि.) 22.5 (न्यून.)

आर्द्रता 64 (अधि.) 59 (न्यून.)

जम्मू-कश्मीर जागरण

जम्मू 1 जून 2017 दैनिक जागरण

3

पर रहेंगे स्वास्थ्य कर्मी मे नाखुश कर्मियों ने की घोषणा, विरोध प्रदर्शन जारी



युवक को बैतन की मांग को लेकर प्रदर्शन कर नारेबाजी करती फीमेल मल्टीपर्स वर्कर्स • जागरण

ओपीडी नहीं चली, मरीज हुए परेशान

हडताल का असर अस्पतालों में देखने को मिला। अस्पताल में ओपीडी नहीं चली। मरीज ओपीडी खुलने का इंतजार करते

रहे। कुछ ने तो इमरजेंसी में इलाज करवा लिया, लेकिन जम्मू में मरीजों ने जीएमसी व सहायक अस्पतालों का रुख किया।

मुख्य राज विधानसभा के बने नए सचिव

राज्य ब्यूरो, जम्मू : विशेष सचिव और जम्मू-कश्मीर विधानसभा सचिवालय के सबसे वरिष्ठ अधिकारी मुख्य राज सिंह विधानसभा के सचिव नियुक्त किए गए हैं।

विधानसभा के सचिव मुहम्मद रमजान के बुधवार को सेवानिवृत्त होने के साथ ही मुख्य राज सिंह ने श्रीनगर सचिवालय में नया पदभार संभाल लिया। मुख्य राज सिंह विधानसभा के कामकाज संबंधी खासा अनुभव रखते हैं।

विधानसभा के स्पीकर कवीन्द्र गुप्ता ने विधानसभा की नियुक्ति, सेवा नियमों संबंधी नियम 1959 के तहत मुख्य राज सिंह को सचिव बनाने संबंधी आदेश बुधवार को जारी कर दिया। इसके बाद मुख्य राज सिंह ने कामकाज संभाल लिया। इससे पूर्व मुहम्मद रमजान को सेवानिवृत्त होने पर विधानसभा सचिवालय की ओर से भावभीनी विदाई दी गई। रमजान विधानसभा के कामकाज का बहुत अनुभव रखते थे। विधानसभा के नए सचिव की नियुक्ति संबंधी आधिकारिक घोषणा विधानसभा के अतिरिक्त सचिव व प्रवक्ता आरएल शर्मा ने की।



विधानसभा के नए सचिव मुख्य राज सिंह •

मुस्लिमों ने राम मंदिर निर्माण के लिए अयोध्या में भेजी ईंटें



अयोध्या में श्री राम मंदिर निर्माण के लिए ईंटें भेजते श्री अमरनाथ जी यात्रा वेलफेयर सोसायटी के पदाधिकारी • जागरण

जागरण संवाददाता, जम्मू : अयोध्या में रामजन्म भूमि पर भव्य राम मंदिर बनाने के लिए श्री अमरनाथ जी यात्रा वेलफेयर सोसायटी जम्मू-कश्मीर इकाई के मुस्लिम समुदाय ने अनूठी पहल करते हुए मंदिर निर्माण के लिए ईंटें भेजी हैं। मुस्लिम समुदाय के लोगों ने आश्वासन दिया कि राम मंदिर निर्माण में उनका पूरा सहयोग रहेगा। उम्मीद जताई कि इसी तरह वहां बनने वाली मस्जिद निर्माण में हिंदू समुदाय का इसी तरह का सहयोग हो।

प्रेस क्लब में संवाददाता सम्मेलन में यात्रा समिति जम्मू के ईंचार्ज अहमद जांगल ने कहा कि यहां सदियों से सभी धर्म के लोग मिल-जुलकर रहते हैं। भारत की इस पहचान को बनाए रखने और भाईचारे का संदेश देने के उद्देश्य से

सराहनीय

- अमरनाथ जी यात्रा वेलफेयर सोसायटी की अनूठी पहल
- भरोसा दिलाया कि राम मंदिर के निर्माण में रहेगा पूरा सहयोग

ही श्री राम मंदिर निर्माण के लिए ईंटें भेजी गई हैं। उन्होंने उम्मीद जताई कि जल्द उच्चतम न्यायालय का फैसला आएगा और भव्य राम मंदिर का निर्माण शुरू हो जाएगा। श्री अमरनाथ जी यात्रा वेलफेयर सोसायटी के राष्ट्रीय महामंत्री राजू चंदेल ने कहा कि श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा को सफल बनाने में कश्मीरी हमेशा की तरह योगदान दें। उन्होंने कश्मीरी अलगाववादियों को उनका वादा याद करवाया, जिसमें

कश्मीरी पंडितों की रवायतों त्योहारों, उत्सवों में कभी अड़चन नहीं डालने और उनकी हिफाजत की बात कही थी। अब वक्त आ गया है कि हुरियत व कश्मीरी अलगाववादी नेता बाबा वफांनी की यात्रा को शांति पूर्वक मनाने के लिए अपने नौजवानों को आदेश दें कि किसी भी अमरनाथ यात्री पर पत्थर न फेंकें बल्कि उनकी सेवा कर कश्मीरियत की मिसाल पेश करें। जैसा कि अमरनाथ यात्रा की सेवा मुस्लिम परिवार सैकड़ों वर्षों से पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी करते चले आ रहे हैं। सोसायटी के पदाधिकारियों ने कहा कि कश्मीरी आवाम को पाकिस्तान गुमराह कर रहा है। कश्मीरी युवाओं में प्रतिभा की कोई कमी नहीं है। वह कश्मीर व देश का नाम रोशन कर रहे हैं।



श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा शांतिपूर्वक संपन्न होने दें अलगाववादी नेता : राजू चंदेल

जम्मू। विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के प्रान्त कार्यालय शक्ति आश्रम में विहिप की प्रान्त टोली द्वारा विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के प्रान्त संरक्षक स्व० डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी के अक्सक निधन पर शोक प्रकट करते हुए विहिप प्रान्त अध्यक्ष श्री लीलाकरण जी ने बताया कि डा० रमाकान्त दूबे देश, समाज एवं भारतीय संस्कृति के विषय में निडरता से देश विरोधि ताकतों का सामना करते थे। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी का जन्म 15 अप्रैल 1936 को हुआ। वह बाल्यकाल से ही पढ़ाई-लिखाई में तीव्र थे और आर.एस.एस. के सक्रिय स्वयंसेवक थे। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी स्नातक करने के बाद आर.एम.पी. की डिग्री प्राप्त करके अपनी प्रैक्टिस शुरू कर दी। वह गरीबों की आर्थिक और निःशुल्क दवाई देकर उनकी सहायता करते थे। उनका हिन्दू धर्म के प्रति बड़ी आस्था थी और वह राष्ट्रधर्म एवं जम्मू-कश्मीर के प्रति किसी भी प्रकार की बुरी घटना घटित होने पर उसका वह विरोध करते थे। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी को धर्माथ ट्रस्ट के अतिरिक्त अन्य सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक संगठनों द्वारा समय-समय पर सम्मानित किया गया। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के 13 वर्ष तक विश्व हिन्दू परिषद जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रान्त के अध्यक्ष के रूप में रहे एवं आर.एस.एस. के जम्मू संभाग के सह प्रचारक के रूप में भी कार्य किया।

साप्ताहिक

8 यथार्थ काल

जम्मू, वीरवार, 01 जून, 2017



जम्मू



श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा शांतिपूर्वक संपन्न होने दें अलगाववादी नेता : राजू चंदेल

यथार्थकाल संवाददाता

जम्मू। श्री अमरनाथ जी यात्रा वेलफेयर सोसायटी के राष्ट्रीय महामंत्री राजू चंदेल ने जून माह में कश्मीर में श्री अमरनाथ जी बाबा बर्फानी यात्रा को लेकर कश्मीरी अलगाववादी नेताओं से सवाल किया कि वे अपने उस वादे को याद कर उसे पूरा करें कि कश्मीरी पंडितों व उनकी रवायतों, त्योहारों, उत्सवों ने कभी विघ्न नहीं डालेंगे और कश्मीरी पंडितों की हिफाजत करेंगे। चंदेल



ने कहा कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि हुरियत व कश्मीरी अलगाववादी नेता श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा को शांतिपूर्वक संपन्न होने दें तथा यात्रियों की सेवा कर कश्मीरियत की मिसाल पेश करें। उन्होंने कहा कि कश्मीरी लोग मेहमान और यात्रियों को खुदा का

बन्दा मानते हैं। आज कश्मीर देखना चाहता है कि कश्मीर का अलगाववादी नेता चारों का कितना पक्का होता है। इस मौके पर जगतगुरु स्वामी संतोषानंद गिरि जी महाराज व स्वामी दयानंद शुक्ला व भारतीय जनता पार्टी के नेता रमेश अरोड़ा, जम्मू कश्मीर के प्रदेश अध्यक्ष ए के पंडिता, चौधरी बशीर, हाजी मुस्ताक, माइदिन तांत्रे, मुमताज सलारिया, श्रीमती तांत्रे, रमेश किचलू आदि गणमान्य व्यक्ति उपस्थित थे।



जम्मू। विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के प्रान्त कार्यालय शक्ति आश्रम में विहिप की प्रान्त टोली द्वारा विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के प्रान्त संरक्षक स्व० डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी के अक्सक निधन पर शोक प्रकट करते हुए विहिप प्रान्त अध्यक्ष श्री लीलाकरण जी ने बताया कि डा० रमाकान्त दूबे देश, समाज एवं भारतीय संस्कृति के विषय में निडरता से देश विरोधि ताकतों का सामना करते थे। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी का जन्म 15 अप्रैल 1936 को हुआ। वह बाल्यकाल से ही पढ़ाई-लिखाई में तीव्र थे और आर.एस.एस. के सक्रिय स्वयंसेवक थे। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी स्नातक करने के बाद आर.एम.पी. की डिग्री प्राप्त करके अपनी प्रैक्टिस शुरू कर दी। वह गरीबों की आर्थिक और निःशुल्क दवाई देकर उनकी सहायता करते थे। उनका हिन्दू धर्म के प्रति बड़ी आस्था थी और वह राष्ट्रधर्म एवं जम्मू-कश्मीर के प्रति किसी भी प्रकार की बुरी घटना घटित होने पर उसका वह विरोध करते थे। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी को धर्माथ ट्रस्ट के अतिरिक्त अन्य सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक संगठनों द्वारा समय-समय पर सम्मानित किया गया। डा० रमाकान्त दूबे जी विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के 13 वर्ष तक विश्व हिन्दू परिषद जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रान्त के अध्यक्ष के रूप में रहे एवं आर.एस.एस. के जम्मू संभाग के सह प्रचारक के रूप में भी कार्य किया।

जारी शिव शक्ति सेना

शिव शक्ति सेना के प्रधान केश गुप्ता के नेतृत्व में हुए दर्शन के दौरान पार्टी कार्यकर्तियों द्वारा राज्य व केन्द्र सरकार के खिलाफ नारेबाजी करते हुए आरोप लगाया कि सरकार हरिवत के बचाव में नकार कोई सेना विरोधी निर्णय लेती है तो उससे जवानों का नोबल दृष्टेगा।

गुप्ता ने कहा कि अगर राज्य व केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा जार गगोई के खिलाफ फआरआई लगाई तो पूरे भारत में आंदोलन की बिंगारी ङक उठेगी। गुप्ता ने घाटी ' सक्रिय राष्ट्र विरोधी व सामाजिक तत्वों के खिलाफ खल से सख्त कार्रवाई किए जाने की मांग की। इस दौरान शेवदीप गुप्ता, सतपाल शर्मा, गशिवनी गुप्ता, काका, राहुल गुप्ता, अमन कुमार सहित पार्टी के अन्य कार्यकर्ता मौजूद थे।

ने पीडीपी नेता

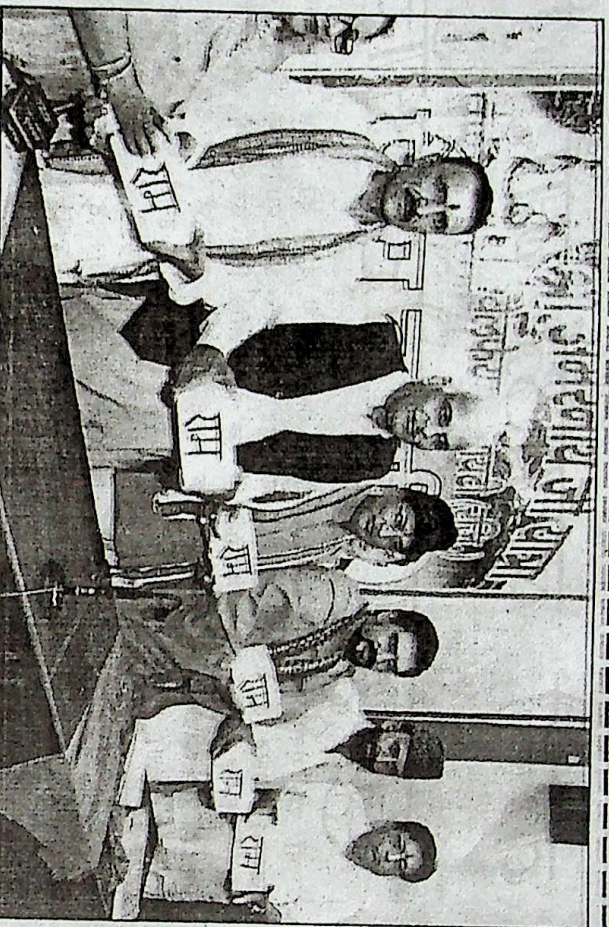
ि, दो घायल

प्रज्ञात बंदूकधारी ने उन पर गोलियां चलाना शुरू कर दी और भाग गया।

इस हमले में पीडीपी नेता प्रबदूल रशीद लोन तथा उनका एक रिश्तेदार गंभीर रूप से घायल हो गए। दोनों को उपचार के लिए जिला अस्पताल ले जाया गया। इस हमले के बाद सेना तथा पुलिस ने जिले के कुछ इलाकों की छायेवारी कर तीन लोगों को गिरफ्तार भी किया है।

तीर्थ स्थल का दौरा किया

प्रतिनिधी तथा कश्मीरी पंडित समुदाय के विभिन्न सदस्यों ने तीर्थ स्थल पर राज्य का स्वागत किया। राज्यपाल ने मुख्य सचिव तथा अन्य अहि कारियों के साथ श्रद्धालुओं



जम्मू में श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा सोसायटी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष राजू चन्देल, स्वामी संतोषा नंद गिरी जी महाराज, एमएलसी रमेश अरोड़ा, स्वामी दयानंद शुक्ला जी पत्रकारों को संबोधित करते हुए।

कश्मीर पर कांग्रेस की दुविधा!

नव जम्मू समाचार के नेता सरकार और सेना का गंभीर तिवारी ने इसका समर्थन जम्मू 31 मई : कश्मीर समर्थन करते हैं और दूसरे किया। उन्होंने नियमित ब्रीफिंग को लेकर कांग्रेस पार्टी दुविधा सेट के नेता विरोध करते हैं। में सेना का समर्थन करते हुए हैं है। उसके नेताओं को समझ कांग्रेस के प्रवक्ता जब सिर्फ इतना कहा कि सेना को में नहीं आ रहा है कि वे औपचारिक रूप से पार्टी लोगों का दिलो दिमाग भी जीतना सरकार और सेना का खुल कायालय में नियमित ब्रीफिंग चाहिए। लेकिन कांग्रेस के वरिष्ठ इसलिए पार्टी के नेता अलग होता है और जब अलग से का विरोध कर दिया। उन्होंने अलग बयान दे रहे हैं। कांग्रेस ट्विट करते हैं या मीडिया से कहा कि कश्मीर में गंदी लड़ाई को लग रहा है कि कश्मीर के बात करते हैं तो उनका रुख की बात करना ठीक नहीं है। घटनाक्रम का मैसेज पूरे देश बदल जाता है। तभी पिछले उन्होंने कहा कि सेना प्रमुख ने में जाएगा, इसलिए वह सोच दिनों जब सेना प्रमुख जनरल गलती की है। घाटी में कोई समझ कर बयान दे रही है। बिपिन रावत ने एक पत्थरबाज गंदी लड़ाई नहीं चल रही है, लेकिन साथ ही स्थानीय स्तर को मानव हानि और कहा कि हैं। इसी तरह मानव हानि बनाने पर वोट बैंक का ख्याल भी समर्थन किया और कहा कि हैं। इसी तरह मानव हानि बनाने रखा जा रहा है। कांग्रेस पार्टी कश्मीर में गंदी लड़ाई चल के सवाल पर भी कांग्रेस के ने इसके लिए सोची समझी रही है और इसका मुकाबला एक दूसरे वरिष्ठ नेता दिग्विजय रणनीति के तहत पार्टी नेताओं करने के लिए नए तरीकों की सिंह ने मेजर गोगोई का विरोध के दो सेट बनाए हैं। एक सेट जल्लत है तो कांग्रेस के प्रवक्ता किया था।

अब्दुल हक ने पालिथीन पर रोक लगाने की सरकार की प्रतिबद्धता को दोहराया

नव जम्मू समाचार उन्होंने कहा कि सरकार ने कड़ी कार्रवाही करेगी तथा जम्मू 31 मई : ग्रामीण लखनपुर में सतर्कता को जम्मू कश्मीर राज्य में पंचायतीराज एवं बढ़ाया है तथा इससे यह पालिथीन के आयात को विकसित, पंचायतीराज एवं बढ़ाया है तथा इससे यह पालिथीन के आयात को कानून व न्याय मंत्री अब्दुल सुनिश्चित हो रहा है कि अनुमति नहीं दी जायेगी।

OP NEWS OF J&K

Did Anil Kumble look private WhatsApp conversation with Reshma

JAMMU

WEDNESDAY 31 MAY 2017

Ensure peace, communal brotherhood to make Amarnath Yatra peaceful: SMYS

TOP NEWS REPORT

JAMMU, May 31: Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader and Incharge, Shree Amarnath Yatra Samiti (SMYS), J&K, Bashir Ahmad Jagal appealed to the general masses to ensure peace and communal brotherhood in the State to make the ensuing Shri Amarnath Yatra peaceful.

"Since all Hindus and Muslims of India are one as such should work for united cause and defeat the nefarious designs of neighbouring country which hell bent on



destroy the peace and brotherhood in India," Jagal told reporters, here on Wednesday.

Jugal further said

that he has manufactured bricks donated with name of 'Shree Ram' to construction Committee of Ram

Mandir at Ayodhya. Jugal also appealed the Central Government to constitute a

JAMMU, May 31: Member of Parliament and former BJP State president, Jugal Kishore Sharma along with MLA RS Pura, Gagan Bhagat visited Shiv Nagar and sanctioned Rs 10 lakh for construction of community hall.

the area greeted the Member Parliament and said that they are in need of the community hall to celebrate the functions.

Jugal said that this community hall will be constructed in the centre point of the village and the whole community will get benefited.

Jugal asked that

Narendra Modi is working with the great deeds to uplift the lower class of the society.

He appraised the centrally sponsored schemes and achievements made by the Central Government under the leadership of Prime Minister.

■Turn to page 2

CUI observes World No Tobacco Day

TOP NEWS REPORT

JAMMU, May 31: The Department of Botany and Zoology of Central University of Jammu (CUI) observed World No Tobacco Day by organizing an awareness campaign here on Wednesday.

Speaking on this occasion, Prof. Ashok Aima, Vice Chancellor, Central University of Jammu, stressed upon the importance of having a healthy body to have a healthy mind.



relevant to society.

Dr. Deepak Abrol, Radiation Oncologist, GMC, Jammu, Founder LBNROH - Cancer Care Foundation and Vice

'Tobacco - A threat to Development'.

Earlier, Prof. S.K. Khosa, Head, Departments of Physics, Nano and Material Sciences gave

Health Deptt employees to go on strike from June 8

the Jammu division Others who have taken strike in

Dorjay reviews functioning of Cooperatives

*Calls for holding cooperative societies

Excelsior Correspondent

SRINAGAR, May 31: Stressing the need for giving momentum to cooperative movement in the State, Minister for Cooperatives and Ladakh Affairs, Chetang Dorjay today asked the concerned for initiating the process to conduct the elections for different cooperative societies from primary to secondary levels as the earliest.

Chairing a high level meeting of officers of department convened to review the functioning of Cooperative Department, which was attended by Minister of State for Forest, Environment, Animal & Sheep Husbandry, Cooperative and Fisheries, Mir Zahoor Ahmad, Secretary Cooperative, Bashir Ahmad Bhat and other senior officers of Cooperative Department, the Minister asked the concerned for issuing notification on holding of elections of various societies established in the State.

Asking the concerned for taking District Development Commissioners on board before issuing notification in this regard, the Minister said they play vital role in conducting the elections for cooperative societies.

Retracting the commitment of 10 yrs RI awarded to narco smugglers

Excelsior Correspondent

JAMMU, May 31: 1st Additional Sessions Judge Jammu MA Chowdhary today awarded 10 years RI and fine of Rs 2 lakh to Nirmal Singh, son of Mohan Singh of Arunah and Virender Gupta, son of Sain Dass of Lower Roop (Nagar in NDPSA case).

According to the police case, these two smugglers were nabbed by Police Station Bahu Fort on October 13, 2010 along with 5 kilograms of cannabis and accordingly a case under NDPSA was registered against them.

After hearing Additional Public Prosecutor Ajay Singh Manhas for the State whereas Advocate Prince Khanna for the accused persons, court observed, "Illicit drugs have a high addiction potential and there is gradual increase in their intake, getting the users dependent on these drugs both physically and psychologically", adding "the young generation, which is called future of a society or a nation, is thus, at a peril".

Accordingly, court awarded 10 years rigorous imprisonment and fine of Rs 2 lakh to both the smugglers. "In default of payment of fine, the defaulting convict shall undergo further simple imprisonment for a period of three years", the court added.



Minister for Cooperatives chairing a meeting at Srinagar

Government to give momentum cooperative movement, Minister said that the State has ample potential for establishing cooperative societies and to generate employment opportunity. He also asked the concerned for organizing workshops for the employees and awareness camps to sensitize the youth about the schemes besides new developments in technological innovations in cooperative sector for the benefit of people related with the societies.

Taking stock of cooperatives available at different places, the Minister directed the concerned to ensure that there should be encroachments on land available in different places in State. He asked them to prepare Detailed Project Report (DPR) for constitution of Cooperative Office Tulsbagh and submit the same to the concerned quarter for arrangement of funds.

Addressing the meeting, Zahoor called for giving wide

ESIC reg

Excelsior Correspondent

JAMMU, May 31: Employees State Insurance Corporation (ESIC), a social security organization under Ministry of Labour Employment, Govt of India recently extended the scheme to the 22 districts of Jammu Kashmir.

While the scheme was implemented in eight districts August 1st, 2016, in the 14 remaining districts, it is being implemented with effect April 1st, 2017 in the remaining districts including Leh, Kargil of Ladakh division.

In a process to finalize the scheme and implementation regard to registration of employers (shops/establishment contractors/ man power s

Market for availability of essentials, frequent marketing checking

Excelsior Correspondent

May 31: Kind hoarding or profiteering activities carried out by the unscrupulous people of the society, he added.

Directing to enforce law on errant traders, the Minister said it is not justified that one product would have a different MRP at one place, while the similar product will bear different MRP at a different place within the State.

Stressing on need to make checking of products a statewide campaign, the Minister said the checking should not be restricted to one area only, but should be extended to entire State.

Zulfiqar Ali directed the officers present to ensure that those errant traders who were found

guilty and fined in the past are not repeating the same crime again.

Stressing on need to ensure cent percent stamping of instruments is done, the Minister said stamping is an essential component of LMD and failure to do the work means sales of goods is done in violation of norms, adding anything done against norms is illegal.

Later, the Minister also had a review meeting with FCS&CA officials to review electronic Secretary FCS&CA, Shafig Raina, Director FCS&CA, FCS&CA Ingalbi, Director FCS&CA, Kashmir Nissar Ahmad Wani and other concerned officers were present in the meeting.



Amarnath Yatra Welfare Society representatives at a press conference at Jammu on Wednesday.

Chandael asks separatists to allow smooth conduct of Amarnath Yatra

Excelsior Correspondent

JAMMU, May 31: Shri Amarnath Ji Yatra Welfare Society national general secretary Raju Chandael has asked separatists of Kashmir to recall their promises made earlier that no hindrance will be created in the religious affairs of Kashmiri Pandits while performing their religious traditions and festivals in the Valley.

While talking to reporters here today, he said the annual yatra of Swami Amarnath Ji is commencing in the month of June and separatists should ensure all cooperation in this regard.

Chandael has demanded that the Hamiriyat and separatist leaders will restrain their youth from indulging in any subversive activity during the Shree Amarnath Ji yatra allowing Kashmiri Pandits and Hamiriyat

grips from out side the State to perform dashan at holy cave without facing any problem.

He said that Kashmir is known for the hospitality and it so to keep the tradition intact the Hamiriyat and separatists should allow the yatra to pass smoothly. The people of Kashmir are innocent and they are being misled by Pakistan. He made an appeal to people not to fall prey to Pakistan's false propaganda.

He appealed the Government to ensure employment opportunities to Kashmiri youth and also appealed the youth to shun the path of violence.

Others present in the press conference included Jagat Genu Ji Maharaj, Swami Santoshand, Giri Sharda, MLC Ramash Dayanand J&K president of the Society A K Pandita, Choudhary Bashir, Kashmiri Pandits and Hamiriyat

जानीपुर में माता के दरबार में लगेगा भक्तों का मेला अमरनाथ यात्रा प्रबंधों दो माह में डेढ़ लाख पंजीकरण को तिहरी चुनौतियां

कश्मीर के खराब हालात से अमरनाथ यात्रा पंजीकरण की गति धीमी पड़ी
अमरनाथ यात्रा को पुख्ता इंतजाम करे सरकार

अमर उजाला ब्यूरो
जम्मू

सुरक्षाबलों के लिए आतंक
पत्थरबाज और मौसम
लेगा परीक्षा

अमर उजाला ब्यूरो
जम्मू



की जरूरत

कहा कि बातचीत के
बाजी और बंदूक के
एजेंडा आफ
बातचीत कि जाएगी,
सकती। इसके लिए
है।

स्कूल

आदेश के बावजूद
अब भी खुल रहे।
है कि निजी स्कूल
नी मनमानी कर रहे
बजाय सिविल ड्रेस
सार उनके बच्चे क्षेत्र
सात या दस जून के

श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा के प्रबंधों के लिए
सुरक्षाबलों को तीन तरह की
चुनौतियां से निपटना होगा। इनमें
घाटी के पत्थरबाज, खराब मौसम
और आतंकी शामिल हैं। तीनों में
एक भी आसान नहीं है। यात्रा के
शुरू होने से खत्म होने तक इनसे
निपटने के लिए व्यापक इंतजाम
करने होंगे। हालांकि, इसके लिए
तैयारियां शुरू कर दी गई हैं। इन
तीनों परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए ही
केंद्र इस बार एडवांस में सुरक्षाबलों
को तैनात करने के लिए भेजने की
तैयारी कर चुका है।

जम्मू के भगवती नगर में श्री
अमरनाथ यात्रा के लिए जत्था को
रवाना किया जाएगा। यह जत्था जम्मू
से बालटाल और पहलगाम रूट से
होकर पवित्र गुफा तक पहुंचेंगे,
लेकिन वहां तक पहुंचने के लिए

400 किलोमीटर तक का हाईवे का
सफर तय करना पड़ेगा। जहां
आतंकवाद एक बड़ी चुनौती होगी।
पिछले एक साल में नगरोटा,
उधमपुर, अनंतनाग हाईवे पर
आतंकी हमले हो चुके हैं। जबकि
उधमपुर से लेकर रामवन तक हाईवे
पर कई जगह पस्सियां गिरने का
सिलसिला बरसात से पहले ही शुरू
हो चुका है।

अनंतनाग से लेकर सोनमर्ग तक
यात्रियों को पत्थरबाजों से भी बचना
होगा। तीनों ही परिस्थितियां गंभीर हैं
और इस पर एक बड़ी रणनीति के
तहत काम करना होगा। सूची का
कहना है कि अमरनाथ यात्रा श्राइन
बोर्ड, राज्य पुलिस, अन्य सुरक्षा
एजेंसियों ने मिलकर इस पर रणनीति
बना ली है।

29 जून से शुरू हो रही अमरनाथ
यात्रा के लिए तैयारियां तेज की गई
हैं। पिछले दो माह में यात्रा के लिए
डेढ़ लाख से अधिक यात्रियों ने
एडवांस पंजीकरण करवाया है।
हालांकि गत मार्च में पंजीकरण में
तेजी आई थी, लेकिन कश्मीर में
खराब हालात से पंजीकरण की गति
धीमी पड़ी है। वर्ष 2016 में मई के
अंत तक 1.75 लाख श्रद्धालुओं ने
पंजीकरण करा लिया था। पारंपरिक
बालटाल और पहलगाम ट्रैक को
क्लीयर करने का काम किया जा रहा
है। आगामी कुछ दिन में श्री
अमरनाथ श्राइन बोर्ड की टीम ट्रैक
और पवित्र गुफा का सर्वे करेगी।

पिछले साल के मुकाबले इस
साल यात्रा की अवधि आठ दिन की
कटौती के साथ चालीस दिन की है।
पवित्र गुफा के आसपास अभी तक
मौसम अनुकूल बना हुआ है।
पहलगाम और बालटाल की तरफ

जम्मू। श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वेलफेयर सोसायटी के राष्ट्रीय महासचिव राजू चंदेल
ने कहा कि यात्रा में खलल न हो, इसके लिए प्रदेश सरकार पुख्ता इंतजाम
करे। हुरियत और अलगाववादियों नेताओं से भी कहा है कि वह यात्रा में
सहयोग करें। यात्रा के दौरान किसी भी तरह का विघ्न न हो। उन्होंने कहा कि
पाकिस्तान कश्मीरी युवकों को गलत रास्ते पर चला रहा है। इस मोर्के पर
स्वामी संतोषानंद, स्वामी दयानंद शुक्ला, रमेश अरोड़ा, एके पंडित मौजूद रहे।

डॉ. सुशील को डबल हेलिकाल

मेजर गोगोई पर

जानीपूर में माता के दरबार में लगेगा भक्तों का मेला अमरनाथ यात्रा प्रबंधों दो माह में डेढ़ लाख पंजीकरण को तिहरी चुनौतियां

कश्मीर के खराब हालात से अमरनाथ यात्रा पंजीकरण की गति धीमी पड़ी
अमरनाथ यात्रा को पुख्ता इंतजाम करे सरकार

अमर उजाला ब्यूरो
जम्मू।

सुरक्षाबलों के लिए आतंक
पत्थरबाज और मौसम
लेगा परीक्षा

अमर उजाला ब्यूरो
जम्मू।



की जरूरत

कहा कि बातचीत के
वाजी और बंदूक के
एजेण्डा आप
बातचीत कि जाएगी,
सकती। इसके लिए
है।

स्कूल

आदेश के बावजूद
अब भी खुल रहा।
है कि रिजि स्कूल
नी मनमानी कर रहे
बजाय सिविल ड्रेस
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से बालटाल और पहलगाम रूट से
होकर पवित्र गुफा तक पहुंचेगा,
लेकिन वहां तक पहुंचने के लिए

400 किलोमीटर तक का हाईवे का
सफर तय करना पड़ेगा। जहां
आतंकवाद एक बड़ी चुनौती होगी।
पिछले एक साल में नगरोटा,
उधमपुर, अनंतनाग हाईवे पर
आतंकी हमले हो चुके हैं। जबकि
उधमपुर से लेकर रामवन तक हाईवे
पर कई जगह परिसरों गिरने का
सिलसिला बरसात से पहले ही शुरू
हो चुका है।

अनंतनाग से लेकर सोनमर्ग तक
यात्रियों को पत्थरबाजों से भी बचाना
होगा। तीनों ही परिस्थितियां गंभीर हैं
और इस पर एक बड़ी रणनीति के
तहत काम करना होगा। सुरक्षा
कहना है कि अमरनाथ यात्रा श्राइन
बोर्ड, राज्य पुलिस, अन्य सुरक्षा
एजेंसियों ने मिलकर इस पर रणनीति
बना ली है।

29 जून से शुरू हो रही यात्रा का
यात्रा के लिए तैयारियों तय की गई
हैं। पिछले दो माह में यात्रा के लिए
डेढ़ लाख से अधिक यात्रियों ने
एडवांस पंजीकरण करवाया है।
हालांकि गत मार्च में पंजीकरण में
तेजी आई थी, लेकिन कश्मीर में
खराब हालात से पंजीकरण की गति
धीमी पड़ी है। वर्ष 2016 में गर्म के
अंत तक 1.75 लाख श्रद्धालुओं ने
पंजीकरण करा लिया था। पारंपरिक
बालटाल और पहलगाम ट्रैक को
क्लीयर करने का काम किया जा रहा
है। आगामी कुछ दिन में श्री
अमरनाथ श्राइन बोर्ड की टीम ट्रैक
और पवित्र गुफा का सर्वे करेगी।

पिछले साल के मुकाबले इस
साल यात्रा को अगली आठ दिन की
कटीती के साथ चालीस दिन की है।
पवित्र गुफा के आसपास अभी तक
मौसम अनुकूल बना हुआ है।
पहलगाम और बालटाल की तरफ

जम्मू। श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वेलफेयर सोसायटी के राष्ट्रीय महासचिव राजू चंदेल
ने कहा कि यात्रा में खलल न हो, इसके लिए प्रदेश सरकार पुख्ता इंतजाम
करे। हुरियत और अलगाववादीयों नेताओं से भी कहा है कि वह यात्रा में
सहयोग करें। यात्रा के दौरान किसी भी तरह का विघ्न न हो। उन्होंने कहा कि
पाकिस्तान कश्मीरी युवकों को गलत रास्ते पर चला रहा है। इस मौके पर
स्वामी संतोषानंद, स्वामी दयानंद शुक्ला, रमेश अरोड़ा, एके पंडित मौजूद रहे।

मिर्जापुर जिले के जंजिरा जंजिरा है।
पवित्र गुफा में यात्रा करवाते निजाल
रूप में विराजमान हैं। अमर आगे भी
मौसम साथ देता है तो यात्रा की
समाप्ति तक भक्तों को पवित्र
हिमालय के दर्शनों का सौभाग्य प्राप्त

जम्मू। देशभर से आने वाले
अमरनाथ यात्रियों को बदतर
सुविधाएं मुहैया करवाने के लिए श्री
अमरनाथ श्राइन बोर्ड के साथ राज्य
सरकार और जिला प्रशासन युद्धस्तर
पर तैयारियों में जुटे हुए हैं।

डॉ. सुशील को डबल हेलिकाल

मेजर गोरोई का जम्मू

जम्मू केसरी

विचार

अपने माता-पिता
के कड़े वचनों में
अपने स्वर्णिम भविष्य
के लिए रक्षा कवच की
छांव देखो।

THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 2017. तापमान

अधिकतम
34°

न्यूनतम
24°

आज वर्षा हो
सकती है।

सूर्योदय 05.22
सूर्यास्त 07.36

JAMMU KESARI

अमर प्रीमियम गेहूँ का आटा
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उड़नदस्ते का वाहन पुलिस पेट्रोलिंग के माध्यम से शहर व आसपास के इलाकों में नशा तस्करी, नशा, छेड़छाड़, चोरी आदि मामलों पर लगाम कसने की कोशिश करेंगे। उड़नदस्ते की टीम राज्य में आने वाले यात्रियों एवं पर्यटकों की सुविधा के लिए भी हर समय मौजूद रहेगी।

केलेंडर नंबर-01992-276915
और मोबाइल नंबर 96222-05553
पर संपर्क कर सकती है।



ऊधमपुर पुलिस के उड़नदस्ते को हरी झंडी दिखाते हुए डी.आई.जी. (कुल्ल)।

विभिन्न सुविधाओं से लैस उड़नदस्ते का वाहन पुलिस पेट्रोलिंग के माध्यम से शहर व आसपास के इलाकों में नशा तस्करी, नशा, छेड़छाड़, चोरी आदि मामलों पर लगाम कसने की कोशिश करेंगे। उड़नदस्ते की टीम राज्य में आने वाले यात्रियों एवं पर्यटकों की सुविधा के लिए भी हर समय मौजूद रहेगी।

उड़नदस्ते को बुधवार को ऊधमपुर-रियासी रेंज के डी.आई.जी. विरेंद्र शर्मा ने हरी झंडी दिखाई। उनके साथ एस.एस.पी. रईस मोहम्मद भट्ट, ए.एस.पी. फैजल कुरैशी, डिप्टी एस.पी. हैडक्वार्टर कामेश्वर पुरी मौजूद थे।

द्रोणा पलटन स।
गुज्जर की मौत

ऊधमपुर रामसू, 31 मई (दीपक): जम्मू-श्रीनगर राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग स्थित पंथाल में एक ट्राले के पलट जाने से उसकी चपेट में आने से 1 गुज्जर तथा 4 भैंसों की मौत हो गई।

जानकारी के अनुसार जम्मू से श्रीनगर जा रहा एक ट्राला जैसे ही रामसू के समीप पहुंचा तो अचानक चालक ने ट्राले पर नियंत्रण खो दिया, जिससे ट्राला पलट गया। इस दुर्घटना में जहां एक गुज्जर की मौत हो गई, वहीं 4 भैंसों भी मर गईं। मारे गए गुज्जर की पहचान बशीर अहमद निवासी सुम्बर रामवन के रूप में हुई है। पुलिस ने इस संबंध में मामला दर्ज कर दुर्घटना के कारणों की जांच शुरू कर दी है।

श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वैल्फेयर सोसायटी ने
की राज्य में शांति बनाए रखने की अपील

जम्मू, 31 मई (आश): श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वैल्फेयर सोसायटी ने बशीर अहमद जुगल की अध्यक्षता में बुधवार को एक प्रेस वार्ता का आयोजन किया, जिसमें उन्होंने बताया कि जून माह से अमरनाथ की पवित्र यात्रा शुरू हो रही है। उन्होंने सभी धर्मों के लोगों से यात्रा के दौरान राज्य में शांति बनाए रखने की अपील की।

उन्होंने कहा कि अयोध्या में राम मंदिर बनाने के लिए उन्होंने सेवा भाव से ईंटें दान की हैं। जिस प्रकार वहां हिन्दू और मुस्लिम मिल कर राम मंदिर तथा मस्जिद के निर्माण

में अपना योगदान देकर आपसी भाईचारे का संदेश दे रहे हैं, उसी प्रकार जम्मू-कश्मीर सहित देश के अन्य राज्यों के लोगों को भी आपस में प्रेम एवं मिल-जुलकर रहना

चाहिए। इस मौके पर स्वामी श्री संतोष गिरि जी महाराज, स्वामी दयानंद शुक्ला, रमेश अरोड़ा, ए.के. पंडिता, मुमताज सलारिया, रमेश किचलू एवं अन्य लोग मौजूद थे।



कार्यक्रम के दौरान श्री अमरनाथ यात्रा वैल्फेयर सोसायटी के सदस्य। (तोहन)

Zulfkar for availability of essentials, frequent marketing checking

Excelsior Correspondent

SRINAGAR, May 31: Minister for Food, Civil Supplies and Consumer Affairs (FCS&CA) and Department of Information and Public Relations (DIPR), Choudhary Zulfkar Ali today directed officers of Legal Metrology Department (LMD) to ensure that all possible steps are taken so that people do not face any kind of difficulty during the holy month of Ramadan.

Speaking during a review meeting, the Minister said there is a surge in usage of edibles and other related things during the month of Ramadan. It is therefore, important that requisite

steps are taken to prevent any of kind hoarding or profiteering activities carried out by the unscrupulous people of the society, he added.

Directing to enforce law on errant traders, the Minister said it is not justified that one product would have a different MRP at one place, while the similar product will bear different MRF at a different place within the State.

Stressing on need to make checking of products a statewide campaign, the Minister said the checking should not be restricted to one area only, but should be extended to entire State.

Zulfkar Ali directed the officers present to ensure that those errant traders who were found

guilty and fined in the past are not repeating the same crime again.

Stressing on need to ensure cent percent stamping of instruments is done, the Minister said stamping is an essential component of LMD and failure to do the work means sales of goods is done in violation of norms, adding anything done against norms is illegal.

Later, the Minister also had a review meeting with FCS&CA officials to review electronic Public Distribution system.

Secretary FCS&CA, Shaifq Raina, Director FCS&CA, Jammu Inqalibi, Director FCS&CA Kashmir Nissar Ahmad Wani and other concerned officers were present in the meeting.

Looks Unisex as

Jammu Pride Awards

best summer fashion collection and in the second fortnight the sub-category was salon and on the basis of public voting and 30-jury members' top 4 salons were chosen. People were then asked to vote for their favorite one to make it Jammu's No 1. Also the jury members Maansi Gupta Centre Director JD



Unisex Salon, Channi Himmat Ritika being awarded after becoming the winner at Jammu on Wednesday.

-Excelsior/Rakesh

Institute and Vickyram Mahajan and Model-cum-Actor rated all four after of them as per their expertise. Public voting was done through whatsapp and on-air calls and the cumulative results were in favour of the Looks Unisex feel Salon.

An award function was organized today in which the Chairperson of Looks Unisex Salons, Channi Himmat Ritika Trehan and her team was presented the award by Big FM Vikrant Sharma and jury members.



Amarnath Yatra Welfare Society representatives at a press conference at Jammu on Wednesday.

-Excelsior/Rakesh

Chandael asks separatists to allow smooth conduct of Amarnath Yatra

Excelsior Correspondent

JAMMU, May 31: Shri Amarnath Ji Yatra Welfare Society national general secretary Raju Chandael has asked the separatists of Kashmir Valley to recall their promises made earlier that no hindrance will be created in the religious affairs of Kashmiri Pandits while performing their religious functions and festivals in the Valley.

While talking to reporters here today, he said the annual yatra of Swami Amarnath Ji is commencing in the month of June and separatists should ensure all cooperation in this regard.

Chandael has demanded that the Hurriyat and separatist leaders will restrict their youth from indulging in any subversive activity during the Shree Amarnath Ji yatra allowing Kashmiri Pandits and Hindu pil-

grims from out side the State to perform darshan at holy cave without facing any problem.

He said that Kashmir is known for the hospitality and it has been a tradition of the Valley so to keep the tradition intact the Hurriyat and separatists should allow the yatra to pass smoothly. The people of Kashmir are innocent and they are being misled by Pakistan. He made an appeal to people not to fall prey to Pakistan's false propaganda.

He appealed the Government to ensure employment opportunities to Kashmiri youth and also appealed the youth to shun the path of violence.

Others present in the press conference included Jagat Gattu Shree Swami Santoshand, Gini ji Maharaj, Swami Dayanand Shukla, MLC Ramesh Aora, J&K president of the Society A K Pandita, Choudhary Bashir, Haji Mushtaq, Mohi-ud-Din Tantiy etc.

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نہ پونج سکا۔ تقریباً آدھی صدی تک تو صرف اس کی بنیادیں ہی بھری رہیں۔ جب خدا خد اکر کے اس کی دیواریں بنیں تو بجائے ہال کو چھت نصیب نہ ہوا جبکہ ڈوگرہ ہال کے نام پر ایک بہت بڑا محلہ آباد ہو گیا۔ سبھا کے موجودہ پردھان شری گمن لال بھارتی نے پچھلے دو تین سالوں میں بڑی لگن اور بہت سے دن رات ایک کر کے اس ہال کو پائیدار بنایا ہے۔ اور پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ سمارک شیلے میں بھی انہوں نے دن رات ایک کیا ہے۔ جس کے لئے ڈوگرہ قوم ان کی بھاری ہے۔

پہلی آخری بات کہہ کر اپنی رپورٹ ختم کر دیں گا، جموں یونیورسٹی نے پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ جی کا کانسے کا ایک ٹیسٹ بنوایا تھا جو پچھلے دو سالوں سے یونیورسٹی میں پڑا ہے۔ نہ جانے سرکار سوتلی مصلحتوں کے پیش نظر ابھی تک اس بات کو لگو اسے کا فیصلہ نہیں کر پا رہی۔ ریاستی خوام کے ساتھ یہ بہت بڑی بے انسانی ہے۔ پنڈت ڈوگرہ بلا لحاظ مذہب ملت سب کے ساتھ تھے۔ وہ ریاست کی اکیلا کے پرنس تھے۔ ریاستی سرکار کو چاہیے کہ تعصب کی عنایت اتار چھیکے اور پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کے ٹیسٹ کو جلد از جلد جموں شہر میں کسی موزوں جگہ نصب کر دے۔

آخر میں ایک بار پھر میں پروفیسر بلراج مدھوک شیخ عبدالرحمان شری ٹرنیڈر سیکھ اور شری گدھاری لال ڈوگرہ جی کا و دیگر معتمد رہنماؤں کا ہار دکت دھنیہ یاد کرتا ہوں اسکا کرنا ہوں کہ پنڈت جی کا یہ سمارک ہم سب کو ہمیشہ پر یاد دلاتا ہے۔

یہ سبھارت

موہن لال گپتا

سیکرٹری

پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ سمارک شیلے جموں

ڈوگرہ صدر سبھا جموں

رپورٹ

پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ سمارک سہتی۔ برہموتھ ہریل ایلکس منعقد
3 فروری 1950ء بروز اتوار بمقام پرتاپ ڈوگرہ ہال جموں

- صدارت اجلاس:۔ شیخ عبدالرحمان میرپور لیٹ
- مجتہد کے نقاب کشائی:۔ پروفیسر لیراج مدھوک، صدر آل انڈیا جی سنگھ
- مہمان خصوصی:۔ شری گربار لال ڈوگرہ میرپور لیٹ و شری برہموتھ ہریل

صاحب صدر جناب شیخ عبدالرحمان و حاضرین حاضریہ !
ہم سب کے لئے آج انتہائی خوشی کا دن ہے کہ پروفیسر لیراج مدھوک صدر آل انڈیا جی سنگھ
نے ہماری درخواست قبول کر کے دہلی سے جاکر آج یہاں ڈوگرہ پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کے خیمہ
کی نقاب کشائی کی ہے۔ پروفیسر صاحب کا آپ کو پرچہ دینے کی ضرورت نہیں۔ انہوں نے اپنا جیون
دیش سہا میں لگا رکھا ہے۔ جموں و کشمیر سے ان کا دلچسپ دگاؤ رہا ہے۔ اس لئے جب پنڈت
کی بھی خیمہ کی نقاب کشائی کے لئے ڈوگرہ صدر سہا میں دھار کیا جائے گا۔ تو ہر نمبر کی ایک ہی
آواز سہتی "پروفیسر لیراج مدھوک سے بڑھ کر اور کوئی شخص ایسا نہیں جس کو یہ سہانہ بے

پرنسپل صاحب نے ہماری پراپتھنا سولیکار کر کے یہاں آنے کا جو کسٹ کیا ہے اور ہمارے پروگرام کو سنبھال بنایا ہے۔ اس کے لئے میں پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ سماجک سمتی، ڈوگرہ صدر سیکرٹری اور آپ سب کی طرف سے ہارڈک دھنیہ یاد کرتا ہوں، اور اس بات کو یاد کرتا ہوں کہ وہ آئندہ بھی ہماری دہسری کرتے رہیں گے۔ آج کے پروگرام میں شری نریندر سنگھ ممبر پارلیمنٹ و جنرل سیکرٹری آل انڈیا لوک دل اور شری گودھاری لال ڈوگرہ ممبر پارلیمنٹ و شیش اسٹی کے روپ میں شامل ہوئے ہیں شری نریندر سنگھ لوک دل کے جنرل سیکرٹری ہی نہیں، چوہدری چرن سنگھ جی کے بہت ہی نزدیک ترین ساتھیوں میں سے ہیں۔ جموں سے انکو و شیش لگاؤ ہے۔ جناب گودھاری لال جی ڈوگرہ جن کو جموں و پونچھ کے غوام کے حالیہ پارلیمنٹ کے چناؤ میں بھاری اکثریت سے کامیاب کروا کر پارلیمنٹ میں بھیجا ہے۔ دونوں جہاں سجاد اپنی بھاری مصروفیت کے باوجود ہماری درخواست پر آج ہمارے پروگرام میں شامل ہوئے۔ ان کے لئے یہاں پونچھ ہیں۔ میں اپنے معزز جہالوں کا از حد شکور ہوں اور دل کی گہرائیوں سے ان کا سواگت کرتا ہوں۔

حاضرین کی طرف سے
وہ قوم زندہ رہنے کا حق کھو بیٹھتی ہے جو اپنے غلط فہمیوں سے رہنماؤں۔ اپنے قومی ہیروز اور ان عظیم شخصیتوں کو فراموش کر دیتی ہے جنہوں نے اس قوم کی تقدیر کو اپنی ہڈیوں کے سانچوں میں ڈھالا ہے اور اپنے خون سے سینچا ہے۔ ریاست کے اہل اس میں دو شخصیتوں کے نام سدا امر رہیں گے۔ اس کے نہیں کہ ایک جہاں راجہ تھا اور دوسرا نیتا۔ جس نے جینا کی آواز بلند کی اور ان کے کسٹ دور کر کے نام پیدا کیا۔ بلکہ اس کے دیکھنے کی کوششوں اور محنت سے بھارت ورش کی سرحدیں شمال میں دور چین روسی ترکستان اور افغانستان سے جا ملیں۔ اور دوسرے کے دشمن پریم اور تیاگ نے ریاست جموں و کشمیر کو بدلیشوں کی ایک خطرناک سازش کا شکار ہونے اور بھارت سے الگ ہونے سے بچا لیا۔ پہلی شخصیت جہاں راجہ گلکاب سنگھ تھے اور دوسرے جموں و کشمیر کی جینا کے ہر دے سے نپٹ پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ۔

ڈوگرہ کے لاثانی سپوت پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کا نام آئے ہی اس دھرتی پر بسنے

والے ہر عرب وطن کا سفر فرسے بلند ہو جاتا ہے۔ آج سے لگ بھگ ۲۸ سال قبل ریاست کے ویر پوتوں نے پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کی قیادت میں ریاست کی اکیڑا کے لئے اپنا خون بہایا، پس پوچھا جائے تو جیوں کشمیر کا ذرہ ذرہ پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کا احسان مند ہے اور ہمیشہ رہے گا۔ اگر ۱۹۵۲ میں انہوں نے سامراجی منصوبوں کے خلاف رائے عامہ کو نہ جگایا ہوتا اور اپنی لامثال حب الوطنی اور تدبیر کو بروئے کار نہ لاکر ہندوستان اور ریاست بھر میں تحریک شروع نہ کی ہوتی۔ کون کہہ سکتا ہے کہ اُس صورت میں ریاست کو آج کن قیامت خیز مناظر سے دوچار ہونا پڑتا۔ اور آج بدترین قسم کی فوجی دیکھ بھال پر مساط نہ ہوتی۔

جموں کشمیر کے عوام کی یہ قسمتی ہے کہ ان قومی رہنماؤں کا کوئی دشمنش اتنا سب یا یادگار میاں نہیں بن پائے جو آنے والی نسلوں کو پریرنا دیتا رہے۔ ہندوستان کی تاریخ میں گلاب سنگھ واحد حکمران تھے۔ جسے یہ یقین نصیب ہوئی، کہ ہندوستان کی حدود کو وسعت دے۔ گلاب سنگھ سے پہلے کسی حکمران جتنے کہ سمندر گیت اور اکثر تک کے ذہن میں یہ خیال نہیں آیا تھا کہ ہندوستان کی سرحد ہمالیہ کے اُس پار تبت تک پہنچانی جائے اس عظیم کام کے لئے ہمارا جہ گلاب سنگھ کی فوجیں راستے میں ہر رکاوٹ اور دشواری کو روندتی ہوئی ماہ کشمیر میں مانسردہ پہنچیں جب سردی پورے جوتن پر تھی اور عین دوپہر کے وقت بھی درجہ حرارت نقطہ انجماد سے نیچے رہتا ہے۔ موجودہ دور میں دوسری جنگ عظیم کے دوران جرمن کی جو فوجیں روس میں داخل ہوئی تھیں اُن میں سے بیشتر فوج اپنے خزانے کے لئے منجمد ہو جاتے تھے۔ مثلاً اِس سردی کا ہلکا سا تجربہ روس میں پولین کو تپ ہوا ہو گا۔ لیکن ہندوستان کی تاریخ ایسی کسی جنگ کی رویداد مہیا نہیں کرتی۔ اس قسم کی جنگ اگر ہندوستانیوں نے لڑی تھی تو اس کا سہرا ہمارا جہ گلاب سنگھ اور اُس کی بہادر ڈوگرہ فوجوں کے سر ہے۔ ہم اُس زمانہ کا تصور تک نہیں کر سکتے جب بچہ سرکس تبت میں تھیں۔ ٹینک اور ماڈرن ہتھیار ابھی وجود میں نہیں آئے تھے۔ نقل و حرکت کے لئے ٹرک اور دیگر ساز و سامان نہیں تھا۔ تبت ہمارا جہ کا ڈوگرہ جرنیل زور آور سنگھ اپنی فوجوں کے ساتھ ہندوستان کی توسیع کے خیال سے دشوار گزار پہاڑوں، برف پوش زنجیروں کو سہاندا ہوا سپندہ ہزار فٹ کی بلندی پر پوچھا تھا۔ یہ ایک کھلی حقیقت ہے کہ ایسا عظیم کام نامہ کرنے والا گلاب سنگھ اگر یونان میں پیدا ہوا

ہوتا تو سکندر اعظم کہلاتا۔ اگر ذرا نس میں جنم لیا ہوتا تو اس کا مرتبہ نیپولین سے کہیں زیادہ بلند و برتر ہوتا۔
کتنے افسوس کا مقام ہے کہ پچھلے سوا سو سالوں میں ریاستی عوام اپنے اس بہادر ہیرو کی کوئی شان
شایاں یادگار قائم نہیں کر پائے۔

مہندوستان نے سردار دلہیہ بھائی پٹیل کو مرد آئین کا نام اسلئے دیا تھا کہ انہوں نے اپنے
تذہب سے چوتھے ریاستوں کی جد اگانہ خیمیت ختم کر کے انہیں مہندوستان میں مدغم کیا۔ لیکن جس
ماحول میں ہمارا یہ گلاب سنگھ نے جموں و کشمیر کی چھٹی چھٹی خود مختار ریاستوں کو یکجا کیا۔ اور
علاقائی سرکشی کو ختم کر کے عوام کو یکجہتی کا پیغام دیا۔ وہ کم اہم نہیں۔ سردار پٹیل کے ذہن میں جن عجیبی
کا خیال ۱۹۴۹ء میں آیا وہی تندر لنگ بھاگ سوا سو سال پہلے گلاب سنگھ کے ذہن میں موجود تھا۔ اور
اسی یکجہتی کو حسب آزادی کے فوراً تجدید کرنے کی سازش رچی گئی تہ پندت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ میدان عمل
میں آئے انہوں نے ریاستی عوام کو ہی نہیں بلکہ مہندوستان بھر میں جگہ جگہ جاکر عوام اور قومی نیتوں
کو اس خطرے سے آگاہ کیا اور عوامی تحریک شروع کی جس کے پھل سرورپ ریاست کی یکجہتی کو تحس
کر کے والی سازش ناکام ہوئی۔

پندت ڈوگرہ ۲۵ مارچ ۱۹۷۲ء کو سرگباش ہوئے۔ وقت گزرتا گیا حسب عادت
عوام ان کی کوئی یادگار قائم نہ کر پائے۔ پچھلے سال ڈوگرہ صدر سبھا میں یہ سوال زیر بحث آیا سو گریہ
لالہ دھن راج دھن جی جنہوں نے پندت جی کے ساتھ رہ کر کافی وقت گزارا تھا، کی پریرنا سے کچھ
ساتھیوں نے ڈوگرہ پندت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کا سمارک بنانے کا بیڑہ اٹھایا۔ اس پر ڈوگرہ
کو چنانچہ کے لئے پندت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ سمارک سستی کا قیام عمل میں لایا گیا جس کے پردھان لالہ
رام دھن دھن جی اور سیکریٹری خادم کو چنا گیا۔ لالہ رام دھن دھن جی بڑی تگ اور تن دہی سے اس کام
کو پایہ تکمیل تک پہنچانے میں مصروف تھے کہ موت کے ظالم ہاتھوں نے ان کو ہم سے چھین لیا۔ ہمیں
بھاری دکھا کا لگا۔ لالہ رام دھن دھن جی کی مہمت سے ہم سب کی مہمت بڑھتی تھی۔ وہ ہمارے دربان
رہے نہیں۔ لیکن ان کے نہ ہونے سے ہم پر اور بھی زیادہ ذمہ داری آ پڑی تھی جس کو پورا کرنا ہم
صوبہ کے سربراہان اور لیڈر سبھا۔ ڈاکٹر گوری مشکر دوپلے کو سستی کا پردھان چنا گیا، اور

- 15- شری باری داس گپتا بشناہ والے گاندھی نگر جموں 251- ۵۵ روپے
- 16- شری شیام لال گپتا " " " " 251- ۵۵ "
- 17- شری ہری چند اگر وال اندو ٹیل اندو سٹری جموں 101- ۵۵ "
- 18- شری دیسراج گپتا اینڈ سنز گاس منڈی جموں 101- ۵۵ "
- 19- شری تھوڑو رام اینڈ برادرز کھانا بازار جموں 21- ۵۵ "
- 20- شری جے کھانا " " " " 101- ۵۵ "
- 21- شری ہزاری لال اگر وال رگھوناتھ بازار " 251- ۵۵ "
- 22- شری راجندر چڈھا Exmca گاندھی نگر " 151- ۵۵ "
- 23- مسیئر زجے کے ٹائیس کارپوریشن گندم منڈی " 251- ۵۵ "
- 24- شری راجندر سنگھ بیہی سائیکل وریل جموں 251- ۵۵ "
- 25- شری راجہمارا اگر وال سیڈ سٹور رائی تالاب جموں 501- ۵۵ "
- 26- شری چھوٹا جی گپتا سوپ فیکری دیر بارگ جموں 501- ۵۵ "
- 27- شری دیسراج جاجی سیر لالہ پنوں شاہ آرٹھی " 101- ۵۵ "
- 28- مسیئر گپتا ایگریکلچر ایملیٹ دیر بارگ جموں 101- ۵۵ "
- 29- مسیئر زجے گت سوپ فیکری گٹ جموں 201- ۵۵ "
- 30- مسیئر زکرتھنا سوپ فیکری " " 101- ۵۵ "
- 31- بانہال گروپ بندریو شری تارا چند سوپری 200- ۵۵ "
- 32- شری کادیپ راج شام لال گندم منڈی جموں 101- ۵۵ "
- 33- شری چھوٹا جی لکٹ فیکری ڈوگرہ ہال جموں 501- ۵۵ "
- 34- شری روپ لال گپتا ٹمبر مرچنٹ کنال روڈ " 21- ۵۵ "
- 35- شری سوم دت ٹمبر مرچنٹ " " 21- ۵۵ "
- 36- شری دوارکاناتھ کنال روڈ جموں 5- ۵۵ "

- 37 - مسیز گیتا ٹمبر تالاب تلو جموں 21-۵۵ روپے
 38 - گیت دان 5-۵۵
 39 - شری سوداگر مل کنال روڈ جموں 5-۵۵
 40 - شری روپ جی کنال روڈ جموں 10-۵۵
 41 - ڈاکٹر ست پال گیتا رماڑی کالونی جموں 101-۵۵
 42 - شری پورن چند گیتا سیملپور والے 251-۵۵
 43 - کنور سورندرن سنگھ دھجوا ام کھجورہ جموں 22-۵۵

پچھلے کمال جے پور میں سنگ مرمر کا شاندار عتبہ تیار کرنے کا آرڈر دیا گیا تھا۔ ماہ ستمبر میں عتبہ تیار ہو کر بلا ہے جس کی آج ابھی پروفیسر بلیان مدھوک جی نے نقاب کشائی کی ہے۔ پنڈت جی کا عتبہ سندھ میں یا نہیں، چھوٹا ہے یا بڑا، اس بارے میں طرح کی باتیں کی جا سکتی ہیں۔ مجھے خود ڈرا ہے کہ پنڈت جی جتنے قابل تھے عتبہ شاید اتنا شاندار نہ ہو۔ شاید یہ ان کی شان کے مطابق بھی نہ ہو، لیکن ہم میں جتنی مہمت تھی، ہم نے کیا ہے۔ ہم تو چاہیں گے کہ ریاست کے نگر نگر، گاؤں گاؤں میں سورگیہ پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ اور گلاب سنگھ کے شان شایاں سہاگ بنیں۔ تاکہ آنے والی سلیس ان میں سورگیہ پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ اور گلاب سنگھ کے ایک راستہ دکھایا ہے۔ دوسرے لوگ اس سے پرنا سے پرنا لے سکیں۔ ڈوگرہ صدر سبھانے ایک راستہ دکھایا ہے اس کے ساتھ پٹرول پمپ والی جگہ پر شاندار لے سکتے ہیں جس جگہ پنڈت جی کا عتبہ لگا یا گیا ہے اس کے ساتھ پٹرول پمپ والی جگہ پر شاندار پھلواڑی لگانے اور دوسرے کونے پر ریاست کے نامور مہر و مہاراجہ گلاب سنگھ کا عتبہ لگانے کا ہمارا پروگرام ہے۔ ہم سورگیہ پنڈت جی کے نام پر سبھانے ایک لائبریری اور ڈسپنسری بھی چلانا چاہتے ہیں۔ لیکن ابھی جگہ خالی نہیں۔ مقدمہ چل رہا ہے۔ جب بھی جگہ خالی ہوگی ہم اپنے پروگرام کو عملی جامہ پہناتے ہیں گے۔

ایک اہم بات کا ذکر کرنا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں۔ ابھی ہم جس پر تاپ ڈوگرہ ہال میں بیٹھ کر رہے ہیں اس کی بنیاد 7 مئی 1971ء کو پٹی آن سے 6 سال پہلے سورگیہ مہاراجہ پر وگرام سار ہے ہیں۔ لیکن آدھی صدی سے زائد عرصہ گزرنے کے بعد بھی یہ ہال اپنی مکمل پرتاپ سنگھ کے نام پر رکھی گئی تھی۔

[illegible]

ریاستی عوام کو مطمئن کیا جائے۔ - بینڈت سنت رام بڑا واضح نظریہ

جوں ۶، اگست - آج شام کو ایک مقامی
 بہن میں چند دستوں کی چائے پارٹی تھی۔
 اس دوران میں ریاست کی سپاہیات اور
 دیگر حالات بھی دستوں میں زیر بحث آ گئے۔
 لیکن گفتگو کا محوریت پر جاہریش کی ایجیٹیشن
 شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے آزاد کنہ کا قصہ میرا۔
 پارٹی میں بینڈت سنت رام بڑا دلدادہ کیف نمایاں
 سپیکر تھے۔ جو کہ کچھ دلوں میں ڈوگر مہیا
 کے قانونی حیز میں کر کے پورے تھے۔ آپ نے

کے دائرہ اختیار میں لانے کے ساتھ ساتھ
 بنیادی حقوق بھی دئے جائیں۔ نیز ریاست کا
 مالی ادغام کرنے کے علاوہ کشمیر اور کٹر دلوں
 کو منہ رخ کر دیا جائے۔ ۲۔ رائے شاری
 کی صورت میں صوبہ جوں کے آزاد کئے ہوئے
 علاقہ اور لداخ کو ہندوستان میں مدغم کیا
 جائے۔ ۳۔ جوں کے عوام کو سیٹ اپسلی اور
 ہند پارلیمنٹ میں مناسب نمائندگی دی جائے۔
 اور ایکشن کمیشنز کی نگرانی میں انتخابات

سانبہ۔ یہاں جب ڈوگر کے مشہور شاعر رضا کر رہا تھا تو سنہ ۱۸۸۷ء میں صاحب سہیل
 جیل سے رہائی کے بعد اپنے ساتھیوں کے ساتھ لوہے۔ تو نزار اردن لوگ پہلے ہی آدھ
 لاری پر موجود تھے۔ رضا کر صاحب کو لوگوں نے ہاتھوں ہاتھ اٹھالیا۔ اور سینکڑوں
 شتھی جو آپ سے بے لگ ہوئے۔ انہوں نے پھروں کے نازوں سے رضا کر صاحب
 کو لاد چکا۔ جو جلوس آپ کی آمد پر سانبہ میں نکلا۔ وہ حاضری کے لحاظ سے بے نظیر
 تھا۔ نزار اردن مرد و زن بچے لوٹھے اس جلوس میں شامل ہوئے۔ اگر سانس
 قصبہ اور سندھ لوگ کا چکر لگایا گیا۔ رضا کر صاحب روگنا تھ سنگھ سہیل لوگوں کے
 نوزوں کا جواب دست بند پر نام سے دیتے۔ پیر جاوید کی تحریک میں عوام
 لاکھوں کی تعداد میں آمد آمد کے شامل ہونا اور ہندوستان میں شمولیت کی مشتر
 کے گرد و روانہ دار نزار اردن نوجوانوں۔ لوٹھوں اور بچوں کا گھومنا رضا کر صاحب
 کی ہی ڈوگری شاعری کا حصہ تھا۔ جنہوں نے کہ ڈوگر میں اپنے کنبوں سے ایک
 نئے روح بھونک کر جہاں کے بسنے والوں کو اپنے حقوق کی خاطر جدوجہد کا درس
 دیا ہے۔ رضا کر صاحب ڈوگری کے چوٹی کے شاعر ہیں۔ اگر یہ کہا جائے کہ آپ ڈوگری
 زبان کی شاعری میں ملک الشرا ہیں۔ تو بے جا نہ ہوگا۔ آپ ایشا اور اخلا
 کے لحاظ سے ایک اویچے انسان ہیں۔ اس بڑھاپے کی عمر میں جب کہ وقت آرا
 کا ہونا ہے۔ اور چین کے صاحبزادے اچھے اچھے سرکاری عہدوں پر پہنچ چکے
 کے چھوٹے بھائی ریاست کی ملازمتوں میں ادنیٰ درجہ رکھتے ہوں۔ آپ کا حکومت
 کے خلاف ایک رہنما ٹھہرنا تعجبدار ہو کر بھی سینہ اگر تحریک میں جٹ جانا نہایت
 قربانی کی مثال پیش کرتا ہے۔ یقیناً روگنا تھ سنگھ سہیل نے وہ کام کیا ہے۔ اور
 جہاں میں اپنی سلاخوں کے پیچھے بندہ کراہے پختہ آراء اور حوصلوں کی توانائی
 کا ثبوت دیا ہے۔ یہ کسی کڑی سے کڑی ریاضت سے کسی بھی طرح کم

کیا کہ میں ہندوستان نے بڑے بڑے سپہ سالاروں
 اور رہنماؤں سے دلاں ملا دیوں۔ اور میں نے
 انہیں اپنا نظریہ بیان کیا ہے۔ جس سے کہ
 ریاست کے عوام مطمئن ہو سکتے ہوں چنانچہ
 مندرجہ ذیل چند ایک ایسی چیزیں ہیں۔ اگر
 ریاستی حکومت آف پیپر ہندوستان غور کرے تو
 سنا سب رہے گا۔ ۱۔ دوسری ہی تلاش ریاستوں
 کا مانند ریاست کا مانند سے مکمل الحاق کیا
 جائے۔ اگر حالات مجبورہ ہیں الا فامی
 حالات کی وجہ سے ایسا نہ ہو سکے تو انہیں
 ہندو کوٹوا لاگو کر کے ریاست کو سپریم کورٹ
 (عالمی سطح پر بدھیں)

سارے رہا جائے۔ جس طرح کثیر کی نگہداشت
سیاسی تحریکیوں میں ہلاک شدہ ہتھیار
کے گھرانوں کو دیا گیا تھا۔

۶۔ ریاست میں صرف ایک جھنڈا اور
وہ بھی بند لیٹن کا ہونا چاہیے۔ اگر
کثیر لیٹن کے لئے کسی علاحدہ جھنڈا کی
اجازت دی جائے۔ تو دو گروں کو
جھنڈے کی ریاست کو مضبوط بنا دیا تھا۔
صوبہ جموں میں اپنا جھنڈا لیرانے کی
اجازت دی جائے۔ ۷۔ دوسری
کلاس ریاستوں کی مانند یہاں بھی ایک
راج پر کچھ بلور آرائشی ہیڈ ہونا چاہئے۔

۸۔ صوبہ کثیر کے ہندو اور سکھ ریٹین
کو جموں کی بجائے کثیر میں ہی از سر
آد کیا جائے۔ ۹۔ نام ہندو آزاد کثیر
یا پاکستان سے آنے والے مسلمانوں کو یہاں
میں ناجائز طور پر داخل ہونے یا از سر
آد ہونے سے روک دیا جائے۔

۱۰۔ ریاست میں ۲۴ راجپوت کے متعلق
اقتصادی لیونٹ قائم کرنے کے متعلق
ریاست کے مختلف حصوں کی پیداوار کو
پیش نظر رکھتے ہوئے تبدیلی کی جائے۔
ریاست کی زرعی اصلاحات ہند میں
جاری کی ہوئی زرعی اصلاحات کے مطابق
ہونی چاہئیں۔ دیگر استحقاقوں کو دروازہ
اور سببوں کے لئے مخصوص شدہ
اراضیات کو بڑی زمینداروں کی منجوی
کے قانون سے مستثنیٰ کر دیا جائے۔

۱۱۔ ریاستوں کے باہرین آمدورفت کے
پریسوں اور سیٹ ڈیفنس ریلز اور
سیکورٹی ایڈمنسٹریشن کے قوانین کی بنا
دیا جائے۔ اور ان کی جائے نظر بندی کا
قانون لاگو کیا جائے۔ ۱۲۔ ای کی کورٹ
بجے سے کانٹری ٹریڈنگ ایڈوائزر کی بنا
کر کے ایڈوائزر قائم کی جائے۔

۱۳۔ مستحق میں ریاست کی مندرجہ ذیل
کل ہند بنیادوں پر مرتب کی جائے۔ ۱۴۔
ایک آزاد کمیشن سپریم کورٹ کے جج کی
صدارت میں مقرر کیا جائے۔ جو مندرجہ ذیل
اجوئے تعلق تحقیقات کرے۔ الف۔ ریاست
کے نظم و نسق میں شدید بد نظمی
ب۔ جموں کے عوام کی سیاسی اور اقتصادی
مشکلیات۔ ج۔ حالیہ سینہ آگرہ کے
دوران میں آمر و برتری۔ لوٹ اور ناگزیر کے
واقعات کے علاوہ پولیس اور میٹھا کی
زیادتیوں۔ ۱۵۔ پانچویں کے لئے استحقاق
دیگر کے قبضے اشتباہ جو لار اور ٹرن خانہ کا
سامان جس کی نایت کردہ دونوں مذمتی ہے
جو سرنگرے کا یا گیا ہے۔ اپنے اصل مقامات
پر رکھا جائے +

حکومت و کشمیر ایک ایسی سیاحی فضا ہے جس سے ہم ایک نئی دنیا اور جمہوری ریاست تعمیر کر سکتے ہیں۔

پندت پریم ناتھ دگر
لے اپنے بیان میں تبا
کہ تخریک کو مند

کرنے کے سلسلہ میں جن لوگوں کو درپاس کیا
اور رام واجہہ نیرشد کے خیالات اور
مشورے سے ہمیں مدد اور پاکیزگی کی
وزارت کے افسر کو گفت و شنید کی انٹر
انڈیا ہوئی ہے۔

پیشہ کی پالیسی

مذہب تو دگر نہ اپنے سوط بیان میں
ان ناکہ چیزوں کو بھی مفصل طور پر حجاب
دیا ہے۔ جو ہر جا پر شاہ کی پالیسی پر
آئے دن اعتراضات کرتے ملیں۔ ان تعین
میں ہندو نے نہ تباہ کیا کہ یہ جا پر تباہ
کی موجودہ پالیسی کا سرکہ یہ مفصل نہیں۔ تا
ہے کہ ریاست کو ہندوؤں اور مسلمان
جماعتوں کی بنا پر تقسیم کر دیا جائے۔ یا
حبوب اور کشمیر کے عوام میں نا اہلی اور
ناجانی پیدا کی جائے۔ یہ بات قابل ذکر
ہے۔ کہ یہ بیان مشائخ کرنے سے پہلے
پروانہ کے ممبران کو جو دیلی آئے یہوئے
تھے۔ سب کو مطلع کر کے لئے پیش کیا گیا
تھا۔ اور یہاں پر شری اس سبب پر طرہ
کے مسلمان پر جو خیریت ملک حجاب سے
لوٹروں اور جن سسٹم کے عہدے سبھا
اور رام راجیہ پروانہ کی حاکمیت پیش نہیں
کے مابین متعلقہ رہی تھی۔ اس میں یہ بیان
اشاعت سے قبل پیش کیا گیا تھا۔

شہری بندت پر پیمانہ طرہ کا منض
شہری ڈگر دے اپنے بیان میں تیار
کہ ہر جاہل بند کے سید آگرہ کو من کرنے
کا اقدام خیریک کے تمام جاہلوں اور
ریاست کے موجودہ حالات کو ذہن میں
رکھتے ہوئے نیز سند اور پاکستان
کے وزراء کے اعلیٰ آئینہ گفتہ
کو پیش کرنے سے اٹھانکنا ہے۔

سینہ آگہ کو بند کر نیکی غرض دعا بیت
 پندرت جی نے بنایا۔ کہ سینہ آگہ
 کو بند کرنے سے حکمت سینہ اور جانت
 جوت کہ کشمیر کو اس امر کا پتہ حاصل ہو گیا
 گا۔ کہ وہ جوت کے عوام کی شکایات
 اور ان کے مشکوک و شبہات کو رست
 کر پی۔ نیز ریاست اور بارنیا و
 بند کے ماہین کو ان اختلافات کو حل کرنے کی
 راہ میں جو مشکلات و عواقب ہو رہے ہیں
 انہیں ختم کرنے میں بھی مدد ملے گی۔

آئیٹنی ایکی بیشن جاری رہیگی
جب تک کہ پرہیزگارینہ کے مفاد پر
مکمل اور قطعی طور پر پورے نہیں پہنچاتے

تو ایستادن بند کردی گوی پیرایم نفس را نایابی کرد و مندا را پس کافر می اثر
 (پندت پریم ناخته دگره کا نادر سخن بیان د)

میں سے ریاست جیوں کو شیر کے مکمل الحاق کے بارہ میں جموں کی سیاسی
تحریر کیا۔ مگر ماہ کے بعد بند کر دی گئی ہے۔ واضح ہے کہ تحریر کے بند کرنے کا سلسلہ
میں بلی میں کیا یہ میرا مخلص عظیم بخشی غلام محمد ہے بندت پر ہم ناقدہ ڈوگرہ پر جھان
آئی جو کہ کشمیر پر جا رہا ہے بندت مولی چند رنشا جہول سیکرٹری بجارتہ
جن سنگھ اور شری این سی پیر پورجی کے مابین سیاسی گفت و شنید جاری
تھی۔ اس طویل بات چیت کے اختتام پر شری بندت سا پریم ناقدہ ڈوگرہ
نے ۱۵ سو الفاظ کا ایک مفصل بیان شائع کیا جس میں آپ نے واضح
طریقہ بتایا۔ کہ شری نہرو کے حالیہ بیان کو اس لئے کہ مسئلہ کشمیر کو حل
کرنے کے متعلق حکومت ہند نے نظریہ میں تبدیلی واضح ہوئی ہے۔ اور
سیاسی صورت میں حالیہ تبدیلیوں نے باختیار اصرار کیا کہ اس امر کے لئے
مجبور کر دیا ہے کہ وہ حالات کو ان کی حقیقی صورت میں دیکھیں۔

کثیر اور حکومت میں ان حقیقی لشکر کی
مشقیات پر توجہ دلائی جو اس علی کی
کی پالیسی سے عوام کے دلوں میں پیدا
ہوئے تھے۔ چنانچہ عوام نے جلد گانہ
جھنڈا اٹھا کر آئین اور جلد گانہ ضد
ریاست کے تصور کے متعلق مخالفت
کے جذبات کا مظاہرہ کیا۔ لیکن بد قسمتی
سے ریاستی حکومت اور حکومت ہند
نے ریاستی عوام کی مشکلات اور مشاغل
پر کوئی توجہ نہیں دی۔ یہاں تک کہ
انہوں نے ان امور کے متعلق پرجا پریشد
کے نمائندوں سے تبادلہ خیالات کرنے
سے بھی نہ حرف انکار کر دیا۔ بلکہ
انہوں نے پرجا پریشد اور ان اصحاب
کے خلاف جہنیں نے ان کے رہنے کے
خلاف نکتہ چینی کرنے کی جرات کی۔
سیاسی مہم شخص اس لئے شروع
کر دی کہ انہیں عوام کی نظروں میں
بدنام کیا جائے۔

برجائے پرندہ کی طرح غرقہ دار اسیا میں لڑے۔
 پندرہ روز گرنے اپنے بیان میں اس
 اس پر زور دیا ہے۔ کہ ایران کی سیاسی
 تحریک کے دوران میں اس کی نوعیت
 غرقہ دارانہ رہی ہے۔ اس تحریک
 کو چلانے میں مکمل طور پر جمہوریت کے عناصر
 جیسے مسلمان بھی شامل ہیں۔

عوام کے جائز حقوق اور مطالبات کے حصول کے لئے ہماری ایسی ہی طین حب معمولی جارہی رہی۔ تجھے اس بات کی امید اور بھروسہ ہے۔ کہ ہم نے حالات کو بہتر بنانے کے لئے جو اقدام اٹھایا ہے۔ ریاستی حکومت اس کی قدر کرے گی۔ اور حجاز اور جلد ریاست میں ایسا سیاسی کرہ بنائی پیدا کرے گی جس سے ہم ریاست کو ایک ترقی کن اس اور جمہوری ریاست کی قیم میں حصہ لے کر سندھ ستان میں مکمل طور پر شامل کرنے کے متعلق تعاون کر سکیں۔

سلسلہ بیان کو جاری رکھتے ہوئے پٹنڈ ڈیگرہ نے اپنے بیان میں بتایا کہ سید اور ریاست جموں کے گھمبیر کے لفظ کو گھمبیر کہنے کے سلسلہ میں جو ایسی ارادت اختیار کی گئی تھی۔ اس کی وجہ سے نہ۔ یہ تو ایک ہم پر ہونے لگی۔ جموں کے عوام اس صورت حال کو نا پسند کرتے تھے۔ لیکن شہری آزادی کو مسلسل طور پر یکے کی کشش اور ریاست کی حکومت کی طرف سے اقتصادی زندگی کا دم گھٹنے کی وجہ سے عوام کا یہاں صبر الہیہ ہو گیا۔

خلیلی کی کے جہد بہ کی مخالفت پر جا پرنس نے لکھا تار حکومت

سے تادیب سے
رہے۔
کے شرع
سے ایک
فرقہ دارانہ نوعیت کا ایک بھی واقعہ
زرد نہیں ہوا۔ پیر شہ کا مقصد
نہیں رہا ہے۔ کہ وہ ریاست
ہندوؤں اور مسلمان آبادیوں میں
کلیا جائے۔ اور نہ ہی وہ جوئے اور
عوام میں ناچاغی پیدا کرنے کی
کی ہے۔ ہم یہ محسوس کرنے میں
کثیر کو ریاست کا جزو لائیک
۱۹۶۷ء کے نازک ایام میں ذکر
نے کثیر کے بچاؤ کے لئے لائیک
قرابانیاں کی ہیں۔ ہند کے جزو
سے ریاست جھڑ کثیر کے
متعلق ہمیں اپنا سیاسی عقیدہ
یہی عزیز ہے جسنا کہ کثیر
ہند اور کثیر کا باہمی اتحاد ہے۔
انڈیا سے ہی اس بات کے
نہ ہند ہیں۔ کہ ریاست کے
پیر بھی ملک پاکستان کا
انہیں حیدر از حیدر ریاست میں
کہا جائے۔ اور اس مقصد کے
کے لئے ہم ہر طرح کی قربانیاں
لئے آمادہ ہیں۔

کشمیری عوام کے شعلہ برز بہشتیہ
 جس میں اپنے کشمیری بھائیوں
 کو بڑی جھگڑا نہیں۔ ہم ہر عوام کو
 کہ کشمیری عوام بھی انہیں غلط یا
 ساجین کے خلاف ہم نے تحریک
 کی ہے۔ شکار سب سے ہوئی۔
 سلسلہ میں کشمیری عوام کے تحفظ
 حفاظت کے لئے سپریم کورٹ کی
 ویسی ہی ضروری ہے۔ جیسی کہ ہم
 عوام کے لئے ضروری ہے۔ کہ
 محصل کو اڑانے کی پالیسی
 خلاف ہم جلد جلد کرے
 کشمیری عوام کے لئے ویسی ہی
 ہے۔ جتنی کہ ہر عوام کے عوام کے
 ہے۔ ریاستی حکومت کی
 نہ صرف کشمیری عوام بلکہ
 کے لئے تباہ کن ثابت ہو رہی ہے

ریاست کے موجودہ انتظام کی
ریاست میں مزید بہتر
نظم و نسق میں تحریک و حرکت
صرف کثیر کے عوام بلکہ عورت
عوام کے لئے بھی ضروری
بررسی ہیں۔ سند میں شامل
خواہشیں خاص (تفصیل سے گیارہ)

جے سی سی

الطبعة الأولى: ١٩٥١م - الطبعة الثانية: ١٩٥٢م - الطبعة الثالثة: ١٩٥٣م

سنگاپور

کچھ اس انداز میں جو کتب خانہ کے کچھ
 بے عالم کو یہ باتیں کہیں باوجود

ہوا اور چاہتا ہے ۔ اور یہ بھی یقین
 جسوں کی حمایت میں شری مکر نے اپنی
 گرفتاری دے دے ۔ کئی سب سے ختم ہونے
 وان رہے ۔ لیکن انھوں نے کچھ نہیں ہونے
 اور یہ جاری رہا کہ کچھ نہیں ہونے کی
 سبب سے انھوں نے اپنی بے دخلی سے
 آخر کار یہ غیر موت کی جانک نہیں تھی ۔
 اس نے ہی اور بے بسی کی صورت پر
 جتنے بھی آسویا ہے باقی بھڑکے
 چلے ۔ جہاں بھی یقین کی وجہ سے بند
 کا ایک ہزار لاکھ سچاوش بھڑکے اور
 سیاستدان ، ملاک ، محترمہ ، شری آفاق
 عالم تیز غصہ ، پارلیمنٹ میں اور پورے
 لاکھوں کی نظر بند ہو کر تین اہم
 کی مختصر حالت کے لیے ۔ رگ سحر
 کیا ۔ آپ نے اپنی جان ایک متبرک مشن
 کے لیے دی ہے ۔ آپ نے نہ ان و کثیر
 کو ایک کر کے ایک سمجھنے کے لیے قربانی ہونے
 آپ کی اس عظیم قربانی کو سندھوستان
 بالخصوص دیو گڑ سے رہتی دنیا تک فراموش
 نہیں کر سکیں گے ۔ اور تاریخ میں آپ کا نام
 شری عزت اور تقدس سے آئے والی
 نسبیں بڑھیں گی ۔ اور آپ کے کارناموں
 پر فخر کرتے ہوئے یاد کریں گی ۔ ڈاکٹر
 شہنام پر مشاد مگر جمنا کا بیوان کوئی ...
 مولیٰ بارت نہیں ۔ قدرت کے شاہد بھی
 منظور نشا ۔ تب ہی جا رہی تھی یقین
 دن سے دن میں مولیٰ جا رہی تھی ۔ اور کبھی
 بھی طور کسی بھی طرح سے اس کے بند
 ہونے کے کوئی آثار نظر نہیں آتے تھے ۔
 اس امر پر یقین نے سارے سندھوستان کو
 ہلا دیا تھا ۔ تاہم یہ بتانے سے قاصر
 ہے ۔ کہ کبھی ایک ملک میں ایسی شایعہ
 اور عجیبی طرز کی حکومت کے عبادت اور
 کسی شخصہ یا طائفہ کی طرف سے
 اتنی زوردار تحریک ہوتی ہو جس کی
 ہزاروں آدمیوں نے آگے بڑھ کر جھک جھکوں کی
 تھی ۔ اس کے اور کہیں کو برداشت کیا ۔
 لاکھوں ۔ گولیوں سے شدید ہونے ۔
 اپنا کچھ ۔ شاہ ۔ اور دیا جا رہی تھی
 دیں ۔ آخر وہ قدر فرماں دیں
 کے دوستانہ اور مخالف سبب شمشیر

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

بھاری بدلتی

کرنے کے لئے بھیجے گئے۔
 پھر کوششوں کو
 کوئی بھی کارستانی جو اس
 سہرا ہو گی۔ ملکی مفاد
 پر دھان منتری نے کہا
 عوام کے دلوں میں کپکپ
 نہ پیدا ہوئے اور جو
 کئی اہم معاملات پر اس
 طور پر واضح کر دی۔ اور
 سہانت کو ختم کرنے کے
 لئے۔ اور داخلی آئین کو
 کہ سرکار ریاست کے
 حکومت کو خود مختاری
 چھ رہی ہے۔ لیکن جو
 وہ دہرائی اور تھانہ
 نے۔ اس لئے میں اس
 تم کرنے اور پر امن
 کی اپنی کرتا ہوں۔ ہم
 ہی اختلافات کو ہر
 ہے۔ کہ ہم ملکی مفاد کے
 ہیں گے۔ اس وقت ملکی
 ہے۔ کہ اس آندولن کو
 نہ کرہ ہو ائی پیدا کیا جائے

رواں پس کی باج

برائے۔ بھاری تہ میں سنگ
 بی بند و بست مولیٰ چند
 میں کیا ہے۔ کہ میں نے
 محمد نامی بکھیہ منتری
 فالت کی۔ اور پر جا رہا
 بارے میں ان سے
 نہ جیت کی۔ بند و بست مولیٰ
 بکھیہ غلام محمد سے
 ت جیت کی۔ اس کے بعد
 فرما اور جو پر جا رہا
 زت پر یہ نہ تھے ڈوگر بھر
 سے ہے۔ اور ان میں دو گھنٹہ
 رہی۔ بند و بست مولیٰ چند
 پ آت انڈیا کے نمائندہ
 نیا۔ کہ بکھیہ غلام محمد
 لسان اور دستانہ صاحب
 نہ ختم ہوئی۔ تو بند و بست مولیٰ
 تھ ڈوگر مکران سے تھے اور
 اطمینان ظاہر ہو رہا
 ہے۔

کے میں مانتی جلسہ

سے آمدہ اطلاعات منظر پر
 بڑا بڑا پارک میں زیر صدارت
 ہون لائی جی مو تیل کی ڈاکٹر شام
 کی کی الماناک سر منیو پر ایک جلسہ
 میں حاضری پندرہ ہزار کے قریب
 میں کی ایک موزیہ میں نے تقریریں
 ہر گز ڈاکٹر مکر جی کو شہر جا چکی
 اور ان کی شہری خدمات کے لئے
 رت کا اظہار کیا۔ چوہدری صاحب
 نے اپنی تقریر میں ڈاکٹر کو جی کی
 رفضل تبرہ کیا۔ اور انہیں خراج
 پیش کیا۔

کی اجار نہیں مل سکی

۲۲ جولائی۔ لالہ دوان چند صاحب
 جیمر پور کے رہنے والے ہیں۔ نے
 کے دوران کہا ہے۔ کہ آپ نے
 کی۔ اور کمر بری عقدا اشتوں
 وزیر اعظم کثیر شیخ محمد عبداللہ
 کی اجازت مانگی۔ لیکن میں
 میں یو سکا۔ آخری درخواست میں
 کے برائے سیکرٹری کے۔ جس
 کا تھا۔ کہ بر سلسلہ درخواست
 و است ادب سے التماس
 ڈوگر کے کا حضور محمد محمد
 کو فوت یہاں تک ہے۔ کہ اس
 کے زندہ دو گھنٹہ رہا ہے۔
 (Redeem) حرف شیخ صاحب
 ل مقرر سے یہ سکتا ہے۔ اور
 طرح پر کہ اس حضور پر بند و بست
 اور انہیں اور انہیں وزیر اعظم جیمر
 Full Redeem

اور۔ اور اس کچھ کرنا یا نہ کرنا
 کا ذات پر منحصر ہے۔ میں نے جیمر
 کی کوشش کی۔ اب جیمر سے
 ہر ایک ماہ سے آیا ہوں۔ اور ہر
 زحاف پر ماموں۔ میں حرف
 قی وقت کے آدھ گھنٹہ میں
 اور وفات ختم کر دینا کا دیر
 لالہ دوان چند صاحب انڈیا کی
 کو آپ کو آخری درخواست پر
 سے صاف جواب دی گیا ہے۔
 از احزاب اسی کا موجب ہے۔
 کو عوامی راج میں ایک عوامی
 ہے ایک مصیبت زندہ
 انہیں سنائیں۔ سنائیں
 سے بھی ملنا گوارا نہیں
 ہے۔

بہار جھون و شہر

نہر و عبد اللہ سجادہ پیر کی در آمد چلے شروع کیا جا گیا

جیمر کو خود مختاری دینے کے لئے غور ہو رہا ہے
 نئی دہلی ۲۲ جولائی۔ جیمر کثیر کے نائب وزیر اعظم بکھیہ غلام محمد اور محمد بالی کے منتری
 مرزا افضل بیگ نے ایک بیان میں بھارت کے ہر دھان منتری بند و بست جیمر لالہ نہر کی
 اس میں کا بڑا مقدم کیا ہے۔ جس میں بند و بست جیمر کا جھوٹا ختم اور امن
 اور سہیل کی سیاست کے طریقہ پھر سے اختیار کرنے کو کہا ہے۔ کثیر کے منتری
 نے پیرس ٹرٹ آف انڈیا کے نمائندہ سے ایک انٹرویو میں چند کارڈز کا ذکر
 کیا۔ جو حکومت جیمر کے کچھ لوگوں کے دلوں سے شبہات اور اندیشے دور کرنے کے
 لئے کر رہی ہے۔ اس سلسلہ میں بہ امر قابل ذکر ہے۔ کہ ہر دھان منتری بند و بست جیمر لالہ
 نہر نے اپنے کے بیان میں مذکورہ بالا کارڈز میں کی جانب اشارہ بھی کیا ہے۔ دو دن منتری
 کا بیان ہے۔ کہ حکومت جیمر کے ان علاقوں کی طرف خاص طور پر دھان دے رہی
 ہے۔ جیمر کے آرٹھک حالات خفا بلنا خراب ہیں۔ ریاست میں ترقی کے کاموں پر
 خرچ کرنے کے لئے جو رقم بکھیہ میں رکھی جاتی ہے۔ اس کا ۶۰ فی صدی حصہ جیمر کے ان پسانہ
 علاقوں پر خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ ان علاقوں میں سڑکیں اور ریل ٹریک جاری ہیں۔
 بیڑ ب دیل بنائے جا رہے ہیں۔ اور جیمر کے کئی علاقوں میں پینے کا پانی پیدا کرنے
 کا انتظام کیا جا رہا ہے۔ کیو ٹی پر جیکٹ میں سے بیشتر کے لئے یہ پمانہ علاقے
 ہی منتحب کے لئے ہیں۔ ریاست کی ملازمتوں میں بھی جیمر کے لوگوں کو بہت بڑا حصہ مل رہا
 ہے۔ جیمر میں سابق فوجی کو آباد کرنے کے لئے بھی حکومت نے دس لاکھ روپیہ وقف کر دیا
 ہے۔ بکھیہ صاحب نے مزید کہا۔ کہ بند و بست جیمر کے کثیر کے لوگوں حصوں کو
 خود مختاری دے جانے کے سوال کا جواب لہ رہا ہے۔ اور جیمر میں وہ جیمر کو بھی شامل
 کرتے ہیں۔ وہ ہماری واضح پالیسی کا آئینہ دار ہے۔ اس جو خود مختاری اور ریاست کی
 آئین ساز سبلی کے دائرہ کار کے بارے میں وزیر اعظم شیخ محمد عبداللہ پہلے ہی اعلان
 کر چکے ہیں۔ کہ وہ ریاستی بکھیہ قائم رکھنے کے لئے اس کا فاسٹی ٹوٹو لیشن کو خود مختار
 دینے کے سوال پر غور کریں گے۔ اور اس اصول کی صدر ریاست منتری کون سنگھی کا فی
 و صحت کر چکے ہیں۔ جب کہ اس سبلی کا گذشتہ بجٹ اجلاس شروع ہوا تھا۔ اپنی



مکمل ڈھکی ہوئی شیکے سے ٹھنڈی مینا کے
 ہوئے سکورل کچ
 ۱۲ ہارس پاور سے ۵۰ ہارس پاور تک ٹائپ
 کی۔ کی۔ بی
 ایک میچ اور طاقت ور لائن جو کہ خاص کر کپڑے اور
 ملز جیمر کے سبلی اور گڑھ ایس ایس ایس کے
 کے لئے بنایا گیا ہے۔ ایک ہینری سرس اور
 پیرس آف ٹھنڈی ٹین ان سو ٹوں کی پشت پناہ
 ہے۔
 پوسٹ آفس بکس ۱۲ مدد اس
 پوسٹ آفس بکس ۱۶۲ دہلی
 پوسٹ آفس بکس ۵۸ کلکتہ
 پوسٹ آفس بکس ۵۰۶ بمبئی

اپنی انتہا جہ تہ میں امن و کیا تھا کہ
 ریاست کی آئینی ترتیب میں جو کہ علی میں
 لائی جا رہی ہے۔ ایک گروپ یا قریب کے
 دوسرے گروپ یا قریب پر غلبہ کے لئے قطعاً
 کوئی گہنی پیش نہیں ہوگی۔ اور ہر گروپ
 اور قریب کو نہا کارانہ شرکت کی بنا پر
 ریاست کی سیاسی اور مجلس ترقی کے
 لئے مشترکہ کارکنے پیش نظر کام کرنے کی
 اجازت ہوگی۔ جو خود مختاری سیاست
 کے بعض حصوں کے لئے تجویز کی گئی ہے۔
 اس پر اور دوسری متعلقہ تقاضا صلی پیر
 کی غور کیا جائے گا۔ اور اس مطالب کے
 لئے جیمر کثیر اسبلی نے ایک موزوں کو بھی بنا
 رکھی ہے۔ جب آپ سے پوچھا گیا کہ
 کیا اس مسئلہ جیمر میں کوئی وزن ہے۔ یا
 نہیں۔ جو جیمر کثیر اور بھارت سرکار کے
 درمیان طے پائے۔ معاہدہ دیلی پر عمل
 میں ڈھیل کے بارے میں پوچھی ہے۔ اور
 بکھیہ صاحب نے کہا۔ کہ ہماری آئین ساز
 اسمبلی پہلے ہی اس معاہدہ کی تصدیق کر
 چکی ہے۔ اور کئی کئی شیش کاغذوں
 بھی اس معاہدہ پر ممبر تصدیق ثبت کر
 چکی ہے۔ اور حالی میں بھی اس نے اپنی
 اسمبلی پارٹی کو اس طلب کی ہدایات
 جاری کی ہیں۔ کہ اس معاہدہ کے بعض حصوں
 پر جو غیر معمولی اہمیت رکھتے ہیں۔
 فی الفور عمل درآمد کے لئے ضروری اقدام
 کرے۔ بکھیہ صاحب نے مزید کہا۔ کہ
 ریاست کے آئین کا مسودہ آج کل تیار
 کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اور یہ معاہدہ اس کا اہم
 حصہ ہوگا۔ مزید کہا۔ کہ ڈاکٹر افغان پیر
 مکر جی کی موت سے کثیر کے عوام اور سرکار
 کو بہت دکھ اور افسوس ہوا ہے۔ لیکن
 اس سے زیادہ دکھ اور افسوس اس
 صورت میں ہوگا۔ کہ اس موت کو سیاسی
 اغراض کے لئے اچھالا جائے۔

لیبارٹری بہت دور ہے!

جیمر ۱۱ جولائی۔ جیمر کے لوگوں کو سڑکی لیبارٹری کے
 ہر پہلے جانے سے سخت تکلیف ہو رہی ہے۔ کیونکہ
 یہ جگہ بہت دور ہے۔ ہمارے تمام جنسین پناہون۔
 پیشانیہ مجر معاہدہ کرنا پڑے۔ آتی دور جانے سے
 گھبراتے ہیں۔ لازم ہے۔ حکومت جیمر کی لیبارٹری
 کی مرکزی جگہ پر مشتمل کے عوام کی دعا میں ہیں
 راجپوت امر سبھا کی مانتی قرار داد
 ڈاکٹر شیا پیر کو جیمر کی بحالت نظر انداز
 پیر شری امر راجپوت پرائسک سبھا جیمر کے کثیر نے اپنی
 حکومت کیس میں مانتی قرار داد یاس کی قرار داد
 ہو کر غلط سے مٹا دیا گیا۔ کہ وہ سو گز
 مکر جی کی اجاں موت کے متعلق آزادانہ اور غیر
 جانبدارانہ تحقیقات فوری طور پر کرے۔

ڈاکٹر شیاہ پر شاد مکرچی کا ایسے حالات میں ہم سے جدائے ملک کی بجائی قسمی

مگر میں مانتی جا

نئی دہلی - ۱۱ جولائی - پردھان منتری پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے آج ڈاکٹر شیاہ پر شاد مکرچی کی سرپرستی پر ایک لمبے اور مفصل بیان کے دوران میں جوتن اندولن کو ختم کرنے اور پر امن تعاون کے لئے نارمل فیضا پیدا کرنے کی اپیل کی۔ پردھان منتری پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے کہا کہ ڈاکٹر شیاہ پر شاد مکرچی کی ریتوں ملک کے لئے ایک بہت بڑا حادثہ ہے۔ ہمیں اب خوشگوار اور پر امن فیضا پیدا کرنے کے لئے غور کرنا چاہیے۔ میں جوہس کرتا ہوں۔ کہ اگر آج ڈاکٹر شیاہ پر شاد مکرچی ہمارے درمیان ہوتے تو یقیناً وہ بھی اس کا سفاکش کرتے۔ سورگیکو نے غور کرنا چاہیے۔

پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے مزید کہا کہ اگر آج ڈاکٹر شیاہ پر شاد مکرچی ہوتا تو ہمارے درمیان ہوتا تو یقیناً وہ بھی اس کا سفاکش کرتے۔ سورگیکو نے غور کرنا چاہیے۔

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جوتن کو خود مختاری دیے جانے کے متعلق کشمیر سرکار غور و خوض کر رہی ہے

جوتن کی پیشین گوئی ختم کر کے پر امن ماحول پیدا کیا جائے

پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کی ایسیل

پنڈت نہرو نے کہا کہ ایک سرکردہ شخصیت ہم سے جدا ہو گئی ہے۔ اور ہم تمام پر ایک بھاری بوجھ آن پڑا ہے۔ سلسلہ بیان کو جاری رکھتے ہوئے پردھان منتری نے مزید کہا کہ ایک جمہوری ملک میں پارٹی پارٹیکس ضروری ہے۔ اور کسی کبھی تو یہ مفید ثابت ہوتی ہے۔ لیکن قومی اور بین الاقوامی معاملات میں اس کو دخل نہیں دینا چاہیے۔ اس وقت میں درمیش معاملات پر غور کرنا ہے۔ ہمیں ملک میں اہم مسائل کا سامنا ہے۔ اور بین الاقوامی معاملات پر بھی ہم پر بھاری ذمہ داریاں عائد ہوتی ہیں۔ ان معاملات کو حل کرنے کے لئے ہمیں متفقہ طور پر کام کرنا چاہیے۔ میں اپنی بہترین واقفیت کی بنا پر کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ ڈاکٹر مکرچی کا جانا بھی اس طرف ہو رہا تھا۔ میں یورپ سے واپسی پر مستقبل کی طرف دیکھ رہا تھا۔ لیکن میری واپسی اور سناک حالات میں ہوئی۔ پردھان منتری پنڈت نہرو نے اپنے بیان میں مزید کہا کہ ڈاکٹر مکرچی آخری وقت پر جوتن اندولن سے وابستہ تھے۔ میں اس اندولن کے ذمہ دار لیڈروں سے تجویز کروں گا کہ اس صورت حالات اور دیگر وسیع سوالات پر از سر نو غور کریں۔ میں نے اس سے پہلے کئی مرتبہ کہا ہے کہ یہ اندولن ریاست جوتن و کشمیر اور ہند کے کارکن کے نقصان دہ ہے۔ میں جوہس کرتا ہوں کہ جوتن کے خاتمہ کی بھاری ذمہ داری اس سے نقصان پہنچا ہے۔ کشمیر کا سوال گذشتہ پانچ سال سے ہمارے سامنے ہے۔ یہ کوئی آسان سوال نہیں ہے۔ اور اگر اس کا جیسا کہ ہم نہیں کہے ہوئے ہیں پر امن حل یونانی ہے۔ تو متعلقہ پارٹیوں کو پر امن طریقہ اختیار کرنا ہوگا۔ یہ پارٹیاں ہندیا کرنا ان اور جوتن و کشمیر کے عوام ہیں۔ لیکن اگر جوتن کے لوگ دوسرا راستہ اختیار کریں گے۔ تو اس کا نتیجہ بھی اسی ہوگا۔ اس نے ہمیں اس سوال کا حل

جوتن اندولن پس کی باپ

نئی دہلی - ۱۱ جولائی - بھارتیہ جنت سنگھ کے جنرل سیکرٹری پنڈت مولی چندر نے ایک بیان میں کہا ہے کہ میں نے آج صبح بخشی غلام محمد نامی بھارتیہ جنت سنگھ کے کثیر سے ملاقات کی۔ اور پر اجازت آنندین کے بارے میں ان سے ملکر مفصل بات چیت کی۔ پنڈت مولی چندر نے پچھلے بخشی غلام محمد سے ملکر گھنٹہ تک بات چیت کی۔ اس کے بعد مولی چندر مشرما اور جوتن پر اجازت پردھان پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگر کے ہمراہ ہوم منسٹر سے ملے۔ اور ان میں دیگر بات چیت جاری رہی۔ پنڈت مولی چندر نے پریس ٹرسٹ آف انڈیا کے نمائندہ پریم ناتھ سے ملکر بخشی غلام محمد کی بات چیت مخلصانہ اور دوستانہ طریقہ سے بات چیت ملاقات ختم ہوئی۔ تو پنڈت مولی چندر نے ڈوگر سے ملکر ملے۔

پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے مزید کہا کہ اگر آج ڈاکٹر شیاہ پر شاد مکرچی ہوتا تو ہمارے درمیان ہوتا تو یقیناً وہ بھی اس کا سفاکش کرتے۔ سورگیکو نے غور کرنا چاہیے۔

پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے مزید کہا کہ اگر آج ڈاکٹر شیاہ پر شاد مکرچی ہوتا تو ہمارے درمیان ہوتا تو یقیناً وہ بھی اس کا سفاکش کرتے۔ سورگیکو نے غور کرنا چاہیے۔

ڈاکٹر شایام پشاور مگرچی کی بیماری موت کے متعلق پیدت شام لعل وزیر صحت بیان

جہوں سے سہوار

سریگزیمیک جلالی۔ جو کہ کثیر سرکار کے وزیر صحت و جہاں نجات پیدت شایام لال مراد نے سرگرمی سے شایام پشاور مگرچی کی موت کے متعلق ایک تفصیلی بیان میں کیا ہے۔ کہ اس ضمن میں جو کچھ دیکھنے میں آئی ہے اس سے ۲۳ جون کو ایک پریس کنفرنس میں سرگرمی سے شایام پشاور مگرچی کی بیماری اور علاج کے متعلق بتایا جا چکا ہے۔

مجھے احساس ہے کہ میرے محووظ ڈاکٹر مگرچی کی مریضی کے متعلق مکمل واقفیت جانتے ہیں۔ اور اس سلسلہ میں تشریح کا جو اظہار کیا جا رہا ہے وہ حق بجانب ہے۔ پیدت شایام لال مراد نے اپنے بیان میں مزید فرمایا کہ ہم نے ڈاکٹر شایام پشاور مگرچی کے طبی زندگی کو سمجھنے کے لئے کوئی دقیقہ فروگذاشت نہیں کیا۔ لیکن انوس کے ایڈیٹر کو کچھ اور ہی منظور تھا۔ ہماری کوششوں کی ناکامی سے جو انوس ہمارے محووظ کو برا بھلا کہہ رہے ہیں اس سے ہمیں برا پیدت شام لال نے مزید بتایا کہ ڈاکٹر مگرچی کو اپنے دوسرے طبی زندگی کے ساتھ ساتھ اور شری ٹیک چند شری سمیت امریکی گورنمنٹ کیا گیا۔ اور دوسرے روز یہ سرگرمی پہنچ گئے۔ ان کو نشاط باغ میں ایک پرائیویٹ ہسپتال میں جو صحت افزا مقام ہے رکھا گیا۔ یہ جگہ نہایت ہی صحت افزا صاف اور جدید ترین طریقوں سے مزین ہے۔ ڈاکٹر مگرچی کے آرام اور سہولیت کے پیش نظر ہنگامہ کوئی نہیں ہے۔ ایک سیلفیون کا انتظام بھی کر دیا گیا تھا۔ یہ انتظام کسی قدر رسمی تھا۔ اس کا اندازہ ڈاکٹر مگرچی اور ان کے ساتھیوں کی طرف سے اپنے رشتہ داران کو کسی کی چیزوں سے صاف ظاہر ہے۔

تمام سہولیات حاصل تھیں

ان چیزوں میں ڈاکٹر مگرچی نے صاف لکھا ہے کہ ہمیں ہر طرح سے آرام اور سہولیت حاصل ہے۔ اور کہا گیا کہ کپڑے دھونے لبر کرنے کے لئے کاتھدے نوکر رکھے ہوئے ہیں۔ جب ڈاکٹر مگرچی کو لایا گیا۔ تو سرسٹ کے ہسپتال کے سینٹسٹ ڈاکٹر علی محمد امروہی۔ جی۔ ایڈنبرائے آپ کا معائنہ کیا۔ ڈاکٹر مگرچی

کو ان کی طبیعت اور پیش خیراک میا کی جاتی تھی۔ جب کے سیرٹیفکٹ مریضی سرسٹ کو خاص طور پر ڈاکٹر مگرچی کے آرام کی نگرانی کرنے کے لئے مامور کیا گیا تھا۔ اور اس مقصد کے ایک سپیشل جیب بھی میا کی جاتی تھی۔ سرگرمی اور ان کے ساتھیوں کو انجبرا لٹا میں اور سبشری ویزو میا تھی۔ اور نظر بندی کیپ سے روزانہ ڈاک کو لائے جانے کا پورا پورا بندوبست تھا۔ ڈاکٹر مگرچی کو باغ میں چلنے پھرنے کی اجازت تھی۔ اور زان لہد ان کی خواہش کے مطابق جو سردار حکم سنگھ مہاراجپٹ کی موت گورنمنٹ ٹیک پیجی۔ انہیں نشاط باغ سے باہر بھی سیر کی اجازت دے دی گئی۔ ۱۵ مئی کو ان کے ایکٹو جنرل جہاں نجات کرنل شری رام ناتھ جیڑہ نے ایک سائینٹ کیا اور پورٹ دی کہ ڈاکٹر مگرچی کی صحت عمدہ ہے۔ زان لہد ۱۵ مئی کو ڈاکٹر مگرچی نے اپنی دائیں ٹانگ میں درد کی شکایت کی جس کا خاطر خواہ علاج کیا گیا۔ اور دو دن کے بعد یہ تکلیف دور ہو گئی۔ زان لہد ۵ جون کو انہیں دائیں ہڈی میں کچھ درد کی شکایت ہوئی۔ جس کا ڈاکٹر علی محمد ربیاس کے ہسپتال کے ٹاؤس سرجن ڈاکٹر پریم ناتھ نے معائنہ کیا۔ اور علاج کیا۔ اور چند دن میں یہ تکلیف بھی جاتی رہی۔ ۹ جون کو کمر میں چوڑے لے پھر کیپ کا سائینٹ کیا۔ اور یہ کیا۔ کہ ڈاکٹر مگرچی بائیں خوش وخورم ہیں۔ ۹ جون کے دن کے عصر میں کرنل چوڑے لے جو پورٹ دی۔ اس میں کہا

کہ ان کی صحت خیرا کی صحت بالکل اچھی تھی۔ ان دن شام کے چھ بجے تک جہاں کے سیرٹیفکٹ آپ کے پاس رہے۔ اور ڈاکٹر مگرچی نے کوئی قابل ذکر شکایت نہیں کی۔

سردار حکم سنگھ کی ملاقات

۱۹ جون کو سردار حکم سنگھ مہاراجپٹ نے ڈاکٹر مگرچی سے ملاقات کی۔ اور یہاں پر بیان میں بتایا کہ ڈاکٹر مگرچی کی صحت بالکل اچھی ہے۔ سردار حکم سنگھ جیڑہ اچھی مشین کو ختم کرنے کے لئے ڈاکٹر مگرچی سے سمجھوتہ کرنے کے لئے ملاقاتی ہوئے۔ زان لہد سردار حکم سنگھ شیخ عہدائے ہے۔ اور ان تک ڈاکٹر مگرچی کی یہ خبر پہنچی کہ پیدت پریم ناتھ دو گروہ کو ان سے ملاقات کے لئے سہولیات میا کی جائیں۔ چنانچہ ان کی اس خواہش کے مطابق ۱۹ جون کو پیدت دو گروہ کو ڈاکٹر مگرچی کے پاس پہنچا دیا گیا۔

بیماری کی اطلاع

زان لہد ۲۰ جون کو حکم جیڑہ کی سیلفیون پر ڈاکٹر مگرچی کی بیماری کے متعلق سینا ملان اور ڈاکٹر علی محمد اور جیڑہ کی سیلفیون کے انجراج پیدت اساتذہ انعام نے دیکھنے کے لئے چلے گئے۔ ڈاکٹر صاحب نے جیڑہ کے بائیں طرف ٹیکے کے حصہ میں موتی دردی کی شکایت کی۔ اس وقت ڈاکٹر صاحب کا پیریکیر ۹۹۲ تھا۔ اور تنفس کی رفتار ۹۰ تھی۔ معائنہ کے بعد ڈاکٹر صاحب نے تکلیف کو ختم پورسی یعنی خراب قرار دیا۔ ڈاکٹر مگرچی نے بتایا کہ انہیں ۱۹ اور ۲۰ جون میں خوشک پورسی کا حملہ ہوا۔ اس کا خاطر خواہ

علاج جس میں اینٹی بائیوٹکس بھی تھے سوزنا رہا۔ علاج سے ان کی حالت بہتر ہو گئی۔ لیکن احتیاط کے طور پر ڈاکٹر جیڑہ نے ان میں رہے۔ ۲۲ جون کو شری گورنمنٹ ویزو میا کی سیلفیون سے جہاں کی جیڑہ میں درد کا خبر ملنے پر اس پر سیرٹیفکٹ جیڑہ ڈاکٹر امروہی کے ساتھ نیک معائنہ ڈاکٹر صاحب کے پہنچ گئے۔ اس وقت ڈاکٹر صاحب ہوشی میں تھے۔ یہ جلد و زان لہد فوراً طبی امداد دی گئی۔ اور ان کو لایا گیا۔ انہیں نرسنگ ہوم میں رکھ دیا گیا۔ اور ان کے شریہ دیا جس پر انہیں لے جانے کا فیصلہ کر لیا گیا۔ جو ڈاکٹر علی محمد ڈاکٹر صاحب کے پاس اور جب دیکھا کہ ان کی حالت بہتر تو وہ انتظام کرنے کے لئے نکالے گئے۔ اور جیڑہ کے میڈیکل انجراج کو دیکھ کر انہیں لے چھوڑ دیا گیا۔

نشاط باغ سے نرسنگ ہوم

زان لہد ڈاکٹر مگرچی کو آرام دہ نرسنگ ہوم لے گیا۔ ہسپتال کے سے ڈاکٹر صاحب کو آرام دہ کر سترنگ نکال دیا گیا۔

نرسنگ ہوم میں معائنہ

ہاں ڈاکٹر علی محمد اور ڈاکٹر لال نے ڈاکٹر مگرچی کا معائنہ کیا۔ اور ان کی کہ انہیں دلی کے جلی کی بیماری سے سبب علاج کیا گیا۔ جس پر انہیں ہونے لے گیا۔ جب ڈاکٹر صاحب نے کہا گیا کہ ان کے نرسنگ ہوم میں کرنے کے متعلق ان کے رشتہ داروں کو اطلاع دی جائے۔ تو ڈاکٹر مگرچی نے کہا کہ اطلاع دیں گے۔ اس پر سردار جیڑہ نے بعد دوپہر انہوں نے اپنے میا کی مگرچی کو کھانے میں حب ذوق تارارہ دیکھا۔ اچانک خشک پورسی کی شکایت آج آرام ہے۔ بیمار اور دوا کے سہولیات میں تبدیلی کر دیا گیا ہوں۔ نرسنگ ہوم میں۔ لیکن نشوونما کی نہیں۔ خاص کر نا جی کو تھلی دیا۔ تاہم میں اپنے (ڈاکٹر صاحب) (ایڈیٹر) دس پیریکیر

چون چھائی

پندرہ سیرم نامہ دوگرہ

عروج ہر پانی... پندرہ سیرم نامہ دوگرہ

گیتا صاحب کی آمد

ریاست حق... گیتا صاحب کی آمد

دوگرہ... گیتا صاحب کی آمد

دوگرہ... گیتا صاحب کی آمد

دوگرہ... گیتا صاحب کی آمد

دوگرہ... گیتا صاحب کی آمد

دوگرہ... گیتا صاحب کی آمد

دکتر شایم پیر شاہ و مکتبہ علمی کفری ساری

مس لالی

میں نے اس وقت نہیں آکر
رفت کو بلارکھا ہے۔
ہاں۔

محبوبی گزشتہ

کہ وہی کہی گئی
 ہمارے ہی گھر
 اور ان کے
 ساتھ ہونے
 اس حکم کی
 تعمیل کرنے سے
 انکار کر دیا۔
 اس پر جو
 حکم دیا گیا
 حوالہ دیا
 نے اس کو
 اور اس کے دو
 ساتھیوں کو
 زندہ زندہ
 پھانسی
 دیکھ کر ان کی
 فطرت ہی کا
 حکم دیا گیا۔
 اس حکم کو
 ہر راجہ کی
 کیا تھا۔ کہ
 رہائشہ بھی
 ان لوگوں
 کی موجودگی
 سے رہائشہ
 کے امن یگان
 کے لئے خطرہ
 ہے۔
 ۳۔ جانا
 چاہتے ہیں
 چنا چکر اپنی
 اپنا کرنے
 کی اجازت
 دے دی گئی۔
 جب ان سے
 پوچھا گیا۔
 کہ کیا حکم تھا
 ڈاکو بھی کو
 دل سے بھیج دیں
 تو انھیں رہائشہ
 نے کہا۔ کہ
 فی الحال میں
 سکون دیکھ کر
 کے تحت نظر
 کیا گیا ہے۔ اور
 مزید حالات
 میں اس کو

دوسری کاپی
پہلے نسخہ کے
دوسری کاپی

منہ او پٹا رو سوائے کسی کھوئی کھوئی اے
بھجنے کے اور دے نے ترے پہلو پہرولی اے
منہ کی گلابا کوئی سنا اماندا نہیں
منہ سنائی اے بھی من چھوڑا اند نہیں
جس بھی نہیں منہ نہیں کچھ جھوٹا اے
بھجنے کے اور دے نے ترے پہلو پہرولی اے

و گیس و گاش کی کٹی نہیں مٹوا لدا
و گیش کی دی کندا کی سر کوئی تارا
و گیش کی چاہے ایک کا یا کئی ڈیڑا
و گیش کے اچھے سے بھلا پھر دلی آئے

کیا تھا کہ
 رہا سنہیں
 ان لوگوں
 کی موجودگی
 سے بہت
 کہ اس کی
 کہ لے خطہ

میریں دی پر کچھ سرکہ جو ایسے کی پیچے جاند
گنتی تہ آدے گئے گی گنتی کے پیکھا بندے
الابیس کی قدر چہ پڑے ساگ بیچن تو لے
بھنگو کے اڑوے نے رملو بھیر لیاے

اول رسد می سادھی گنت گتیاں نہون بھیاں
چنے لٹی کیا مٹی دسے چلا تیاں
من بیرا موسیٰ لیا مسٹوں بول بولے
بھنوں کے اڑا دیے ریلو پھرو دی لے

المستامن بنیاد پڑوہ کھوار کھلیس
 بنایا سکے مار کا درے کوئی درے سپجیا مار بنی
 سوار سچا کہ بنیاد ساری سچا کوئی گے کوئی
 سچا کوئی گے کوئی گے کوئی گے کوئی گے کوئی

[illegible]

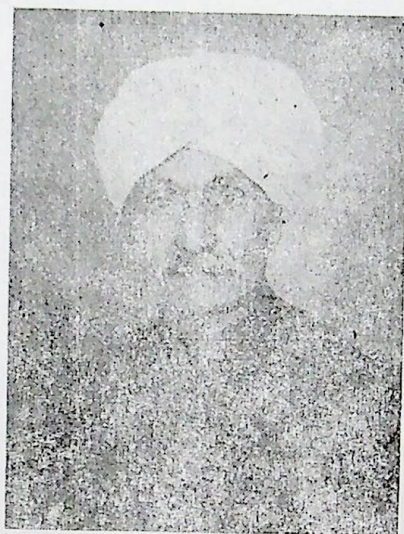
کاکولی ترقی نہیں - آج یہ ایک نیا طبقہ کے سوا ان کے حواری نہیں تھا۔ اس سرپرست میں بڑی بڑی عظیم شیخ محمد علی احمد اور دیگر کئی تہذیبیانہ مسائل اور چھوٹے کے لئے
 ایک مسلمان ہی تھا جس پر ہوتا +

Jammu, Monday 27 July 1953

N. D. Nargis

12 Sawan, 2010

PT. PREMNATH DOGRA
President, All J K Praja Parishad



Who was taken out in a very big procession on his advent from Delhi (full account inside). Shri Dogra had been in Jail since Nov. 23, 1952. He was released at Jullundur on 23rd June 1953 when Shri S. P. Mukerjee's deadbody was being taken to Calcutta in a Military Plane.



L. SHIV RAM GUPTA
Editor The Amar
Member Working Committee
Parja Parishad

Who is back home after his 8 months Mission in India in connection with Parishad movement.



Th. DHANATAR SINGH SALATHAR
President
Shri Amar Rajput Sabha
Vice President

ALL J K PARJA PARSHAD
Who has been released from Jail on 24 July, 1953.

ANNUAL
SUBSCRIPTION
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RUPEES

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Rhodesia, fo
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Annexure - I

Comments on Population Census - 2001

As per recent assembly elections held in Sept - Oct. 2002 the total number of voters in Jammu province were about 28.92 lac with 37 assembly seats as against about 25.46 lac voters (inclusive of migrant voters) with 46 assembly seats in Kashmir region. However, the census conducted in past as well as that conducted in 2001 were manipulated in favour of Kashmir province. In the census 2001 practically no census was conducted in most of the Kashmir region, particularly where there was extreme militancy. A total growth of population vis-à-vis 1981 census in Kashmir province was shown as 73.6 and that in Jammu province as 61.7. This was inspite of the fact that over 4-5 lakh population of Kashmir province which also include muslims along with Kashmiri Pandits and other minority communities, migrated to Jammu province. The astonishing fact of the census report is that the area like Kupwara and Anantnag which were most terrorist affected shown maximum rise of population 94.7 and 78.3 respectively. This clearly reflects the mindset of Kashmiri leadership and their manipulative capability to turn the figure in their favour and deny Jammu region of its judicious claims in all spheres of life. There is a popular demand of the people of Jammu region to scrap this bogus document and hold fresh census under the supervision team of eminent experts of the Govt. of India. The people of the region also demand delimitation of the assembly and parliamentary constituencies

10. About 90% of the tourism budget of the state is being spent in Kashmir every year although tourist coming to Jammu region were 300 times more than those going to valley, prior to 1989. At present about 50 lac pilgrims are visiting Vaishno Devi and other tourist centres in Jammu province, the tourists flow to the valley is hardly two lac. However no change has been made in the allocations of funds to develop tourists spots in Jammu, even though this has resulted in diversion of tourists outside the state. Jammu region has plenty of tourist spots such as Saez Dar, Paddri, Kailash Kunj, Lal Daman and Zai etc. In Doda districts and Chandimargh, Nuri Chhamb, Berahmgala, Nangali Sahba in Poonch and Rajauri districts which have high potential of attracting the tourists, if properly developed. No attention was paid to their development by the state Govt. with a fear that this may effect the tourists visiting the valley.
11. All the single professional and technical institutions of the state are in the Kashmir Valley. These include post Graduate Sher-e-Kashmir institute of Medical College, Dental College, Veterinary College, Artificial Limb centre, Hotel Management, Physical Training Institute and Regional Engineering College etc.
12. A Veterinary College proposed by a team of ICAR experts to be set up at Jammu was established in Kashmir, though recently a college was started after agitations in Jammu region.
13. Agricultural and Ayurvedic Colleges existing in Jammu region were closed down by the State Government. Now when the Agriculture University has been opened in the Jammu region the state govt. is not providing adequate funds for its functioning. At the administrative and clerical level employment in the University, the persons from Kashmir region are being favoured over to those from Jammu region. Even the Vice-Chancellor of the University is a Kashmiri and is a relative of the ex- Chief Minister.
14. Dental College sanctioned for Jammu region was set up at Srinagar.
15. Students of Jammu region are discriminated against in the matter of selection in the professional and technical Institutions. Jammu share in the Regional Engineering College, Srinagar and Sher-e-Kashmir Agriculture University, State Dental College is practically nil. The share of Jammu region in the Govt and private Medical Colleges existing in the state has been tremendously reduced from 45% - 55% to almost 20% during the present regime of Dr. Farooq Abdullah.
16. Three districts of Kupwara, Badgam and Pulwama in Kashmir Province were created by a mere administrative order in 1979. But, in spite of Wazir Commission's (constituted on the demand of the people of Jammu province) recommendations for creating three more districts in Jammu region at Reasi, Kishtwar and Bahu (Samba) and in spite of the agitations in Jammu region, these districts have not been created as yet.
17. The power potential created in the state sector is 350 Megawatts out of which Chenani Hydroelectric project with a capacity of 22 Megawatts has been installed in Jammu region. The rest of the power projects namely Upper Jehlum, Lower Jehlum, Upper Sind Phase-I and Phase-II,

- Mohra and Gandharbal are in the Kashmir province with total capacity of 328 Megawatts. About 10 crores has been spent in the Jammu region as against about 500 crores in the Kashmir region.
18. Jammu region has a total area of 26293 Sq Kms as against 15853 Sq Kms of Kashmir region. From 1965 to 1991 the length of roads in Jammu region has been increased from 2,961 Kms to 4,267 Kms (about 44.11% increase) whereas during the same period the length of roads has been increased from 2,955 Kms to 6,480 Kms (a 119.29 % increase) in Kashmir. The road network in Jammu region covers about 21% of its area whereas in Kashmir region it covers about 52% of its area. The central aided project of providing road link to Bhaderwah through Chamba (a second road link connecting Jammu region with rest of the country) is not being allowed to be completed. The project was initiated 25 years back.
 19. The anti-Jammu attitude of the Kashmiri leadership is reflected from the fact that a interstate agreement between J & K state and Panjab was entered into in 1979 whereby a large chunk of irrigable track between Kathua and Jammu under Ravi Canal Irrigation Scheme, was deferred till completion of Shahpur Kandi Dam. The share of Ravi waters for the irrigation of this large cultivated area was not utilized to the extent of about 1200 cubic feet/sec for more than three decades. Despite lift irrigations schemes executed subsequently the huge area remained uncovered thus causing recurring loss of food grains in Jammu region.
 20. The magnitude of unemployment in percentage in Jammu region is about 75% as against about 25% in Kashmir, of the total strength of unemployed youth. As per information furnished on the floor of the legislative assembly in August 1989 there were only 69,009 educated unemployed youth in J&K state. Out of these 26,784 belong to Kashmir region and over 42,000 belong to Jammu region. The state Government provided employment to 4,161 out of which hardly about 400 were from Jammu region. Since 1996 when the Farooq Govt. was installed government employment to 1.25 lac persons was given out of which hardly 15,000 belong to Jammu region.
 21. The Constitution of India mentions Jammu and Kashmir State as Kashmir state only deleting the name of Jammu and Ladakh at the behest of Kashmiri leaders. The govt of India and the centre leaders have always followed the policy of appeasement towards Kashmir thereby ignoring the identities and aspirations of Jammu and Ladakh regions.
 22. All the accords made between the centre and the state have not taken into consideration the wishes of the people of Jammu and Ladakh regions. Kashmiri leaders were always considered to represent the Jammu and Ladakh regions and people of these regions have been taken for a ride despite their strong resentment and protests.
 23. The Jammu city has been denied the status of Capital city and thus deprived of the facilities available to other capital cities.
 24. Dogri language spoken in the vast area of Jammu region and Himachal Pradesh has been denied the recognition under 8th schedule of Indian

- Constitution even though Kashmiri which is being spoken by lesser population was included in the 8th schedule since long.
25. Jammu region has always been poorly represented in the state cabinet and other committees constituted by the state government from time to time.
 26. 1947 Refugees from POK are not allowed to settle in the Kashmir Valley. Even those belonging to the POK occupied part of the Kashmir Province were pushed to take refuge in Jammu region.
 27. About 3 to 4 lac of refugees migrated from Pakistan from across the International Border to Jammu region till date have not been given the state subject as such they cannot purchase land, construct houses, join state government services, vote for the state legislature and enjoy other facilities provided to the state subjects.
 28. Those residing in the areas adjoining the international borders are not provided the relief that are being provided to those living along the Line Of Actual Control. State Government is in general callous about the condition of those living in the border areas as most of these areas belong to the Jammu region.
 29. Recently as another favour to the valley in June, 2000 Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment opened a Composite Regional Centre for Disabled in Bamina (Srinagar), ignoring the fact that Jammu region is more suitable because of its climatic conditions for the centre to function through out the year and its easy accessibility whole of the year. Centre for Information Technology and Centre for Food Processing were also established in the valley by the Govt. of India.
 30. Jammu region has a great potential for horticulture. The fruits grown in Himachal Pradesh and in Kashmir Valley along with those grown in Punjab, Haryana and U.P can be cultivated in the region. Even, it has a good scope for floriculture. The climate of Jammu region is suitable for flowers grown in cold climatic as well as in hot climatic regions. But till date no due attention has been paid to these.

Prof. Virender Gupta
President JMM.

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Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah-Leadership
Style & Leadership Behaviour-

A HALF CENTURY OF DEDICATED
PUBLIC SERVICE

(1932-1982)

Dr. R. D. SHARMA

ARCHANA PRAKASHAN

17, ASHOKA HOTEL SHIMLA-1, 1983

Rs. 20/-

Dedicated to

*The Common docile meak, gentle
illiterate Kashmiri Musalmans with whom.
I suffered humiliating indifference at the
hands of wretched bureaucrats and cyco-
phancy-loving poorely gifted polticians
during my stay in Kashmir (1965-75)*

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Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah – Leader- ship Style & Leadership Behaviour (*A Half Century of Dedicated Public Service*) (1932–82)

I. Politics of Populism

It is not difficult to say that Sheikh Abdullah did wield considerable influence among the Kashmiri masses. His popularity of pre-1953 days as well as post-1977 Assembly elections proved that he was the doyen of the entire state, not even excluding some districts of Jammu Province. Speculation and unaccountable doubts (some of these unacceptable) were attributed to the circumstances in which he was arbitrarily arrested and dismissed from Prime Ministership of the state in 1953. These facts had adverse effects on his popularity, more particularly in the Hindu dominated province of Jammu. The only people in Jammu who regarded him as a potential voice of the state were those who had faith in his secular views.

In the valley, only Abdullah's writ used to be carried even if an impartial observer of state politics has to comment upon his popularity in the Kashmir Valley, (precluding the extra-ordinary attendances on Fridays at Hazratbal Shrine—the main platform of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah to communicate his political views to the masses), apart from the press statements which are primarily meant for external consumption, one would unhesitatingly say that Sheikh was the one voice of the valley—a voice pre-eminent. He had been

Sheikh Abdullah

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dictated by his own convictions in the past. He led people with his own upright conscience. His politics was of pre-eminence. He had unquestioned faith in popular support for him and immense self-confidence. These were rare qualities, not commonly available in any political leader.

An exemplary change of views was an essence of politics of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. His declaration at the opening session of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly in 1951 was recorded thus: "You are the sovereign authority in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. What you decide has the irrevocable force of law". This is not the only example when Sheikh had emphatically and unconditionally reiterated his governments' as well as Assembly's acceptance of accession of the state to India. The Preamble to the Constitution of J&K State Constituent Assembly 1956 read: "We the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, having solemnly resolved in pursuance of the accession of this state to India which took on the twenty sixth day of October, 1947, to further define the existing relationship of the state with the union of India as an integral part thereof"

Despite these historical utterances and commitments, some observers are keen in changing these historical evidences and facts about accession, with their own interpretations. To quote one Mr. Noorani, "The Assembly should have the power to finalize the issue of accession to India and a plebs-cite".¹

The finality of accession had been decided once for all. Mr. Noorani tried to reopen the issue with the change of mind on the part of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah after 1953. Sheikh Abdullah perhaps got annoyed because of the way he was ousted out of power in 1953 and replaced by purely an undemocratic "substitute-government" (a puppet government) which was to be kept in power through undemocratic

unwanted methods. Still Sheikh Abdullah retained his glorious past and continued to aspire to rebuild a prosperous state.

2—Sheikh Abdullah As a Prime Minister-Ideological Coherence :

Sheikh Abdullah was basically a Kashmiri nationalist. He had highest regards for the Indian nationalists of pre-fifties. His ideological training speaks for his lack of consistent inherent ideological training and background. He had failed to exhibit so far any doctrinaire qualities. His politics revolved round Kashmiri Nationalism constrained by two dominating currents of nationalism-Indian and Pakistani. Pakistan as a nation can survive longer but as a separate civilization it lacks identifiable ingredients more peculiarly unnoticeable from that of Indian Muslim's civilization. Pakistan is an outcome of mistrust on the part of those Muslim leaders who disbelieved the so called Hindu congressmen particularly the leadership of A.I.C.C. The Indian political elite created two nations out of one. On the same premise India can woe-fully be divided into many nations if at all, it could be afforded to be created on the basis of mistrust. The psychologically fatigued political elite bothered about their own interests rather than the interests of the common Hindu and Musalman. The political elite betrayed Indians in 1947 but not Sheikh Abdullah who remained Kashmiri nationalist and so he was at the time of his death. His 'cause' of politics was the **expulsion** of dogra ruler and its replacement with the rule of the Kashmiri people. He did not believe in communalism or even in two nation theory of M.A. Jinnah.

Sheikh Monammad Abdullah, the first Prime Minister of J&K State was bron 'posthumously' on fifth of December 1905 in Soura village, on the outskirts of Srinagar city. He was brought, up by his widowed mother. Sheikh Mohammad Ibrahim had died two month's before his birth, leaving behind five sons

Sheikh Abdullah

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and one daughter. All his brothers were engaged in pashmina and shawl trade. Perhaps his brothers had taken a vow to educate him to the extent possible. Abdullah got his education in Sri Pratap College Srinagar. He had also passed his intermediate (Arts) from Jammu College⁵. Sheikh Abdullah did his graduation from Lahore in 1927. Quest for education was an inborn urge of Abdullah. Perhaps it was the only instrument according to Abdullah's mind to defeat domination of Pundits intelligentsia and dogra rule over Kashmiris⁶. From Islamia College Lahore after his degree from Panjab University in 1928 he joined Aligarh Muslim University and qualified for M. Sc. degree in 1930. Sheikh Abdullah came back to Kashmir with the determination to rescue illiterate, poverty-stricken Kashmiri Muslims from the feudal persecution, tyranny and humiliation.

Sheikh Abdullah was one of the prominent members of the Reading Room party of Fateh Kadal.⁷ These were about a dozen muslim graduates who used to take part in discussions in a room at Fateh Kadal. B.P.L. Bedi and Fredda Bedi say that, "the young leader carried them (articles and papers etc.) about tucked under his arm, well wrapped up under his shawl"⁸. Sheikh Abdullah hard-pressed economically had to take up job as a science teacher with eighty rupees salary per month.

3 Political Initiation

Sheikh Abdullah himself described his initiation into politics in these words: "It goes back many years now in Srinagar on July 13, 1931, a serious incident occurred in which government officials resorted to firing to quell some disturbances caused by a public demonstration. I felt as if the bullets were penetrating my heart. My political life in the real sense starts with this firing on the people. A number of Kashmiris were killed or wounded and as I was helping a wounded man, he cried, "Abdullah, I have done my duty, Now it is for you to go on

with our mission". I was greatly influenced by this incident.. ..
On January 23, 1932 I was arrested again. By then I had
already organized a team of workers to carry on struggle
in my place.⁹

Sheikh Abdullah was imprisoned by Maharaja Hari Singh for leading an anti-Maharaja agitation known as "Quit Kashmir Movement". Sheikh was sentenced in 1946 for nine year's imprisonment. On 29th September 1947, Sheikh was released, perhaps with the intervention of late Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru." In Oct.-Nov, 1947 an invasion of Kabailees, inspired, instigated and trained by Pakistani Army made Abdullah hero in the valley, and in his party. He mobilized a National Militia¹⁰. Maharaja Hari Singh in his letter of accession of 26th October 1947, wrote to Lord Mountbatten that he is setting up an interim government and asking "Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities" in the emergency as his Prime Minister¹¹. On October 30th 1947, Maharaja appointed Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the head of the Emergency Administration. On March 1948 the Maharaja as advised by the Union of India, ended Emergency nature of administration in J&K State and nominated Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as Prime Minister of Kashmir.

From March 1948 to August 9, 1953 Sheikh Abdullah ruled the state of J&K as its Prime Minister. During these five years of his leadership he thought of converting the state into a second paradise on earth—equal only to Switzerland. His dream failed him and so his close associates in the cabinet with the exception of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg. Sheikh Abdullah was deposed by Sadar-i-Riyasat and put in jail for alleged anti-national activities. Bakshi Gulam Mohammad was installed as the Prime Minister of the State after the arrest of Sher-i- Kashmir. Korbil summarizes Abdullah's fall in these words :

Sheikh Abdullah

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"Thus ended, at least temporarily, the meteoric political career of the man who began as a national revolutionary, 'the Lion of Kashmir', who thought as a socialist, acted as a dictator, manoeuvred as a petty Machiavellist and finally scummed at the hands of his life long associates at arms which he had often used himself".

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's achievements during the first three years of his Prime Ministership were as follows :-

1. Establishment of J&K University.
2. Adoption of Kashmiri as medium of instructions in primary education.
3. Publication of new text books.
4. Setting up of two Radio stations.
5. Setting up of Planning Committee.
6. Setting up of Trade Agencies at Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Simla, Delhi and Amritsar.

Under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, his cabinet Ministers also did remarkable work. The above mentioned achievements were under the direct supervision of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his Deputy Minister for Planning and Franchise Mr. D.P. Dhar, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's achievements as Deputy Prime Minister were as follows:—

1. Raising of Volunteer Organization of Peace Brigades.
2. Setting up of Labour Organization to provide work for the unemployed.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg as Minister of Revenue did commendable work under the guidance of S.M. Abdullah. His contribution to the state was as given below.

1. Abolition of Jagirs, Mukarraries and Muafis.
2. Introduction of Tenancy Legislation which:—
 - (a) gives the tenant a permanent right in the farm

- (b) entitles him to keep 3/4th land of the land-lord, and protect tenancy
- (c) bans indiscriminate ejectment of tenants.
- 3. Making of Zaildari and Lambardari Offices elective.
- 4. Stay of realization of debts.
- 5. Land to the tiller.

The achievements made by Sh. G.M. Sadiq as Minister for Development and Sh. G.L. Dogra, Minister for Finance were also praiseworthy. Similarly Col. Pir Mohammad Khan, Minister of Forests and National Militia had done mentionable work in the following manner.

- 1. Raising of National Militia.
- 2. Setting up of National Cadet Corps Organization.
- 3. Grant of trees free of charge, to refugees.
to rebuild their destroyed homes.

G.L. Kaul writes that "greatest achievement of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was the convening of the sovereign Constituent Assembly for the state which met in October 1951; seventy five members of which returned on the basis of adult suffrage and joint electorate¹⁵. Majority of the members were elected unopposed.

4—Assesment of Political Leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah:

Pandit Prem Nath Dogra- one time staunch political opponent of Sheikh Abdullah called him as "a communalist in Kashmir, a communist in Jammu, and a nationalist in India¹⁶". Thus, Pt. Pram Nath Dogra projected his party's (Jan Singh) bitterest vehemance against a true leader of majority community in Kashmir. Joseph Corbel, too had not very good words for Abdullah. He says "**The story of Sheikh Abdullah is a sad**

Sheikh Abdullah

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and sorry one. It is the story of a patriot, once passionately devoted to his people's welfare, but one whose patriotism was too shallow to reject the temptations of power. Once a fighter, he turned into an opportunist and, worse, a dictator who at the end found himself entangled in the web of his own methods and policy."¹⁷ Such vehement criticism of Abdullah was also seen in a national paper: "The cause of the continuing Kashmir imbroglio is Sheikh Abdullah. And the real clue to his shocking transformation from patriot to partisan, from the well beloved Sher-e-Kashmir to inspirer of the pro-Pak Plebiscite Front is his innate communalism "¹⁸

5—Inconsistencies Multiplied:—

One of the most striking traits of Sheikh's personality was his unpredictable behaviour. Is it not the evidence of his mercurial behaviour that after almost fourteen years of imprisonment in Indian jails, the great leader behaved contrary to the expectations when he signed the Accord with Mrs. Indra Gandhi in 1974 ? The Accord was not an act of trust but an act of mistrust against conscience and convictions reposed in Indian leadership by Sheikh.

Inder Malhotra says : "most important factor is Abdullah's mercurial personality. Blessed with the rare gift of charisma greyed in the service of the people, the Sheikh is among the more attractive leaders of men in the entire sub continent. But he can also be over bearing and infuriatively unpredictable." Sheikh's unpredictability was most typical of his traits. His conflicting statements can be inter-linked to provide some meaning to Indians, Indian Muslims, Indian Government and Kashmiri Hindus as well as Muslims. All get satisfaction from different statements given on different occasions at different places.

B.P.L. Bedi and Freda Bedi wrote about Abdullah in these words, **"the spirit of man's speeches may be one whatever the phases of the movement changing circumstances, new policies, developing ideas** Such a test illumines, Gandhi it reveals the true Jawahar Lal. **That test too brings out the simplicity and greatness of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, of the youngest,** the least intimately known, of the Great Three, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah-Sher-i-Kashmir." But alas ! the spirit of Sheikh Abdullah's, speeches did not reveal that 'oneness' which Bedi's had described. Abdullah's skill as a great political leader and manipulator is acknowledged by even his political opponents. "A rare combination of skilful manipulator .."²¹

Sheikh Abdullah combined in him rare qualities of **democratic humanism. Universal Islamism and liberal radicalism.** His qualities as a leader were unquestionable. His personality traits were uncomparable to any Muslim leader of post-independence India.

- 6 **Charisma, Enigma and Contradiction:** Sheikh Abdullah can be described in length but precisely and exactly very little. What was he? Even he would not possibly be able to describe himself. He was plain simple man, working for the good of the Kashmiri people. Russell Brine tried to depict what meant Sheikh to him in these words: "Sheikh Abdullah, in some ways **most enigmatic. From somewhere, he had inherited the charismatic appeal that is so important in Asia.** He used it so effectively that he remains the dominant political figure in Kashmir despite years of imprisonment and eclipse. An imposing man who stands 6 feet 4 inches tall, he can attract and move audiences of thousands with his oratory. **What he tells his people and the world is sometimes confusing and contradictory, but the central theme was independence and Kashmiri nationalism²².**" Sheikh's proverbial inconsistency was due to dramatic

Sheikh Abdullah

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political changes which Government of India had brought about in J&K State by removing him from power and establishing Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as the Prime-Minister. The undemocratic removal of Sheikh from Prime-Minister-ship by an authoritarian method by the Sadar-i-Riyasat compelled Abdullah to retreat from his earlier commitment and statements causing more embarasment to Indian leaders much less to the political analysts of J & K state politics. **The author of this research monograph believes that the proverbial inconsistency and contradictions in the political roles of Abdullah were irrelevant to a rational Kashmir-watcher. Abdullah was right to change—India was right to safeguard as nation its interests even if her actions are judged from any acknowledged international standards of political morality.**

The enigmatic trait of Abdullah spoke for his statesmanlike use of political phrases and terminology to suit his interests and above all the interest of the Kashmiris. A. Hariharan has rated Abdullah as enigma in these words: "Sheikh Abdullah has been talking in riddles and no one, least of all Mrs. Gandhi, knows what he wants or what he is doing."²³

7—Political Behaviour :

One of the Kashmiri politicians of old days, an ex-M.P. speaks about Abdullah in these words:—"In 1930 this tyrannical rule reached its peak and at the slightest provocation, force and violence were used by the officials. During this tyrannical period, a tall thin youngman with some companions and an immense faith in God, came like an explosion of a bomb of freedom - When the youngmen who led this revolt against the ruler was put in jail, the whole valley resounded with slogan "long live the lion of Kashmir".²⁴

Sheikh Abdullah became the talk of very household in Kashmir for his love for freedom of the motherland against oppression and tyranny. Sheikh did not like treatment meted to a Kashmiri who were called a "Hatto"—to be harshly dealt and treated like dumb driven cattle. Sheikh was the first to raise the slogan : "It is the right of Kashmiri people to form their own government."²⁵

Sheikh Abdullah was assessed by a competent journalist who worked in a reputed English daily (Ian Stephens) in these words: "On April 21, I spent three hours with Sheikh Abdullah, one of modern Asia's most controversial figures ... His clothing and apparent way of life surprised me. Said to be the son of a poor shawl-maker, he had been publicized in India as a man of the people, the blue lounge suit, the conventional necktie, The petdog the well-kept garden, the large dwelling in the background-indicated a westernized politician established in comfortable upper-middle-class type"²⁶

Stephens says Abdullah was "courageous, forthright, vigorous man' intelligent, though without great intellectual range, gifted with strong personality, therefore, an inspiring leader of the down-trodden obviously non-communal, wholeheartedly so .. pre-eminently he appeared to me a Kashmiri patriot, full of zeal to improve his countrymen's plight; preoccupied with the vale "

Perhaps no better assessment of Abdullah has so far been made by any person than this reported author of "Horned Moon", despite of the fact that the basic, theme of the book was biased in favour of Pakistan than towards India and Kashmir.

8—Extra-Ordinary Sheikh:

Widened Political Outlook And Gracious Living:

The Sheikh was no ordinary a man to be assessed in so little words. Even if his political outlook had not widened as a

Sheikh Abdullah

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result of studies during the long spell of enforced leisure in jail, he had acquired the airs of gracious living such as "love of flowers and gardening which nobody who knew him as school master and Kashmir's head of Government" remembered to have seen in him.²⁷

Sheikh Abdullah was really a leader incarnate with an absolute desire to see Kashmir prosper economically keeping together the culturally much different parts of the state. He would have wished to see that all the three regions of the state develop simultaneously notwithstanding the abundant raw materials and richness of soil of the valley to which he primarily belonged.

9—Abdullah And "New Kashmir"—Programme;

The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah started a new programme of building "Naya Kashmir". The new programme envisaged "to fight the immemorial poverty of the peasant and the artisan, and the unmitigated helplessness of worker." The programme consisted of two parts; the first part related to constitutional aspects of citizenship, the National Assembly and electoral system because the National Conference believed that the political freedom is not enough, that to make it durable and effective means of peace and progress in a country, it must be founded on socio-economic freedom". In order to achieve socio-economic along with political freedom, the National Conference formulated Naya Kashmir programme of economic planning and through it the upliftment of the Kisan and the Mazdoor.

The Abdullah ministry had proclaimed its priorities of action in these words: we realize that political freedom is not enough; that to make it durable and an effective means of peace and progress in a country, it

must be found on socio-economic freedom.”²⁸ Sheikh Abdullah always **propagated the three main ideals of his party; socialism, democracy and secularism.** Sheikh had loved Kashmir usher into an era of social order based upon economic justice and freedom.

10. – Abdullah Idolized-the Lenin of Kashmir:

The most satisfying admirable epithet conferred on Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was his role as a Lenin of Kashmir. Thus wrote C L. Kaul about Abdullah:

“Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Lenin of Kashmir, was born in December 1905 in the family of a shawl-makers at Soura first a communalist (1931), than a nationalist (1939) and later a socialist (1944)’

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah rode a highhorse.”²⁹ Mr. G L. Kaul may not be wholly correct to say that Sheikh was a communalist in 1931. This aspect of Sheikh’s personality has not been correctly analysed by Mr. Gia Lal Kaul

11—A Kashmiri Nationalist: Sheikh Abdullah, as we have already described him, was called a true Kashmiri nationalist or a champion of Kashmiri Sub-Nationalism. K R. Sundar Rajan repeats this assessment in his article about future set up of Kashmir: “In this set up: Hindus, Budhists, Sikhs and other minorities will be given all possible protection, **but the levers of political, administrative and economic power will be in the hands of Kashmiri Muslims; Even the Muslims of Jammu and Ladakh will have to play a secondary role. This is the reality.**”³⁰ Sheikh Abdullah’s assessment as a true Kashmiri cannot be taken as his **over-whelming bias toward valley with zealous disregard for the other two regions.** The latest developments disapproved the apprehensions widely held in India. Sheikh Abdullah had tried to keep Ladakhis

and Jammu-wallahs with him in a very wisely selected united team of Sh. Sonam Norbu from Ladakh and Sh. Devi Dass Thakur from Jammu. Sheikh Abdullah was keen not to ignore the regional aspirations of these two areas, in an attempt to efface his earlier tarnished image of a valley-wallah. It is commonly believed in J&K State that in near future no Jammu-wala can dream to become Chief-Minister. This speaks for the dominance of the state politics by the people of Kashmir Valley particularly the Muslims.

II—Ambition Absolute: One of the Sheikh's fascinating personality traits was his quest for unchecked power. Power-nay absolute power-yes. Lord Action had advised politicians and students of politics as well as the citizens that "power corrupts and absolute power 'absolutely'". But "ambition" plays important role for attempts for access to power. S. Vashistha writes; "Sheikh Abdullah, being very ambitious, had one dominating ambition to absolute power. He was prepared to go to any extent and use any means to achieve it"³¹. It was his ambition that had brought him to power second time. It was highly unexpected and unbelievable. It was a mere dream to have ever thought that Sheikh Abdullah would come to terms with India and with Mrs. Indira Gandhi by ousting a duly established Congress Chief Minister Sayed Mir Qasim. It was a miraculous political feat of Abdullah to have utilized his cards with rarest diplomatic style. Shri Rajagopalachari had called Sheikh as an unquestioned leader"³². Acharya Vinoba Bhave beautifully described Sheikh in the following words: "The Sheikh was like a person, unable to swim, caught in a flooded-river. Only those who could not swim, flung their arms and legs desperately about and shouted themselves hoarse and ultimately they sank."³³

Shri Vinoba Bhave the saint proved a bad futurologist. It is difficult to analyse and assess Sheikh Abdullah. It was not easy to read his mind. What Vinoba Bhave said about Abdullah was

only true for a short period. Sheikh did not sink any time. Instead Sheikh had startled people all over the world by restarting swimming as a Chief Minister of J&K State after remaining out of power for nearly twenty two years.

12— Sheikh the Realist: Above all it was the realism³⁴ in Sheikh which had paid him to his last day. He was confident that victory of secular democratic forces over communal, narrow, parochial elements in Kashmir, was certain. His realism and unshakable faith in ideals of democracy, socialism and secularism were the virtuous traits of his not-so-well analysed personality.

**13—Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah
Leadership Analysis:—**

1. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was a charismatic leader,
2. He had master-minded the psychology of the poverty-stricken masses of the valley. He had in the past successfully hypnotised the speechless, the simpleton "hattoos" living in abject poverty. Thus Sheikh was a mass-leader with a strong mass-base in the villages of Kashmir.
3. Sheikh had belief in personal contact with his followers. He had no "go-betweens" to depend for vote collection. There was no other linkage between the political leader and the voter, except that of his own personal acquaintances which he had successfully developed for the last fifty years.
4. Sheikh had become symbol of representation of the majority of the Muslims of the valley who were either farm-labourers or small farmers before 1947. He provided material benefits to majority of the Muslims through his radical land reform measures. This single revolutionary step gave Abdullah a strong support base in the villages. His radical land measures projected in the slogan—"Land to the Tiller" and his most revolutionary step to salvage thousands of poor farmers from

Sheikh Abdullah

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the clutches of ruling Pandit-Dogra oligarchy provided him yet another occasion to be endeared by the masses working under near-slave conditions as bonded-labourers of Kashmiri Pandit money-lenders and land-lords. No other Chief Minister so far, in the whole of the country had provided so much of economic benefits to such a larger percentage of population in such a short period i.e. within five years of independence (between 1947-1953) as Sheikh Abdullah had done.

5. Sheikh Abdullah stood for basic political values e.g democracy and secularism. His faith in these basic values had compelled him to allow Kashmir to accede with India.
6. Sheikh Abdullah was a visionary who had dreamt of a "Naya Kashmir" Some of his old dreams were gradually realized after his assumption of political power again in 1975 till 1983 there had been tremendous development all round in the state in almost all sectors with the exception of industries and power-generation. Sheikh had successfully transformed the Kashmiri society into a progressive forward looking maturer community.
7. Sheikh was protagonist of self-reliance and believer in self-respect of not only his own self or the leaders of his party but all the Kashmiris. Any inroad to self-respect was considered by him as grave challenge to the spirit of Kashmiri life and he did not hesitate to stake anything in his attempt to defend honour, integrity and the "Spirit" of Kashmiri population.
8. Sheikh had successfully tried to build a team of honest, humble looking, simple, sincere and dedicated party workers so that another generation of young leaders get adequate experience and opportunity to develop their leadership qualities during his own life time. His attempt to provide clean administration was visible from his single act of inducting judges, magistrates, engineers and doctors of good reputation into his cabinet. His attempt to save National Conference from "tough" individuals was seen in his attempt to encourage Dr. Farooq Abdullah to share with his father burdens of the political party.

9. Sheikh was not only a source of strength to the people of Kashmir but a monument of restraint on people sitting away from Srinagar, thinking to decide things for Kashmiris without taking into consideration their popular sentiments, Thus Sheikh was a leader of exceptional qualities and abilities next to none else than Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru among the new generation leaders of thirties and forties in India.
10. Sheikh was an administrator par excellence. His concept of "Single Line Administration" is unique. His attempt to take Government staff and officials to district headquarters to listen and to decide problems on the spot was a marvellous innovation in modern Public Administration.

EPILOGUE

The present research monograph was written before April 1982 when the author was teaching in the Post Graduate department of Political Science, University of Jammu and Sher-i-Kashmir was alive as Chief Minister of J&K State. After his death we had to change the script to fit it to the account of leadership behaviour of leader that was.

As the present manuscript is being published I must admit that I had been an uncommitted impartial observer of a political person. I have tried to portray a kashmiri leader as an outside observer with inside knowledge. It has not been written with any fear of suffering retaliation at the hands of Sher-i-kashmir's successor nor with an intention to appease any one for personal benefits. It is not like an incharge of a political science department who guided a ph.d monograph and entirely got it changed when Sher-i- Kashmir again came to power in 1975. I leave it to impartial critics minus above-mentioned opportunist cycophants to evaluate it. God help the opportunist cycophancy—Amin.

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Sher-e-Kashmir

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भारत मां के चरणों में अन्तिम प्रणाम



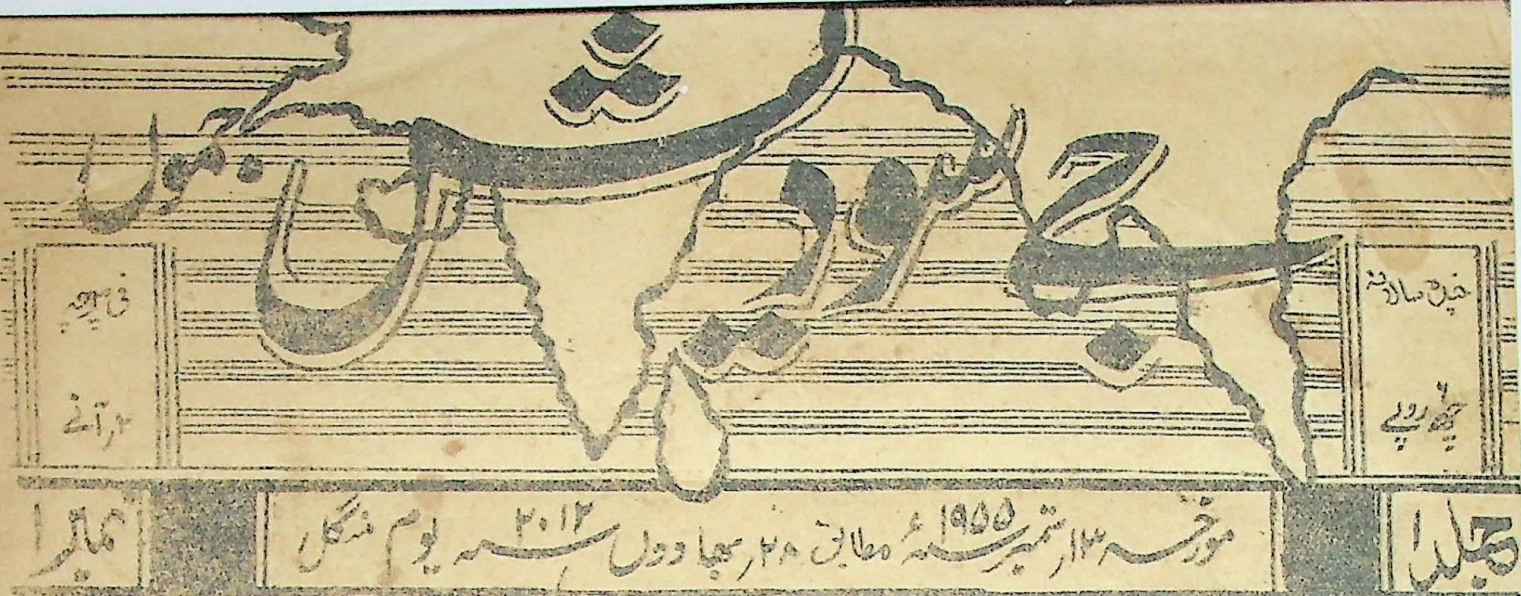
हुतात्मा डा० श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी

श्र
द्धा
ञ्ज
लि

"देश के महान् नेता डाक्टर श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी का बलिदान नज़र बन्दी की जिस विवश अवस्था में हुआ, वह स्वतन्त्र भारत के राजनीतिक जीवन में अत्यन्त शोकजनक घटना है। इसकी स्मृति उस समय तक ताज़ा रहेगी जब तक "बलिदान" शब्द संसार में अमर है और देश पर मर मिटने वालों के कारनामों इतिहास के सुवर्ण अक्षरों में अंकित हैं।

डाक्टर मुखर्जी ने सच्ची राष्ट्रीयता के निर्माण और भारत की एकता के जिस पवित्र उद्देश्य को लेकर अपने जीवन का बलिदान दिया है उसे पूरा करना हम सब का कर्तव्य है। उस महान् आत्मा को यही सच्ची श्रद्धाञ्जलि हो सकती है।"

प्रेसनाथ डोगरा



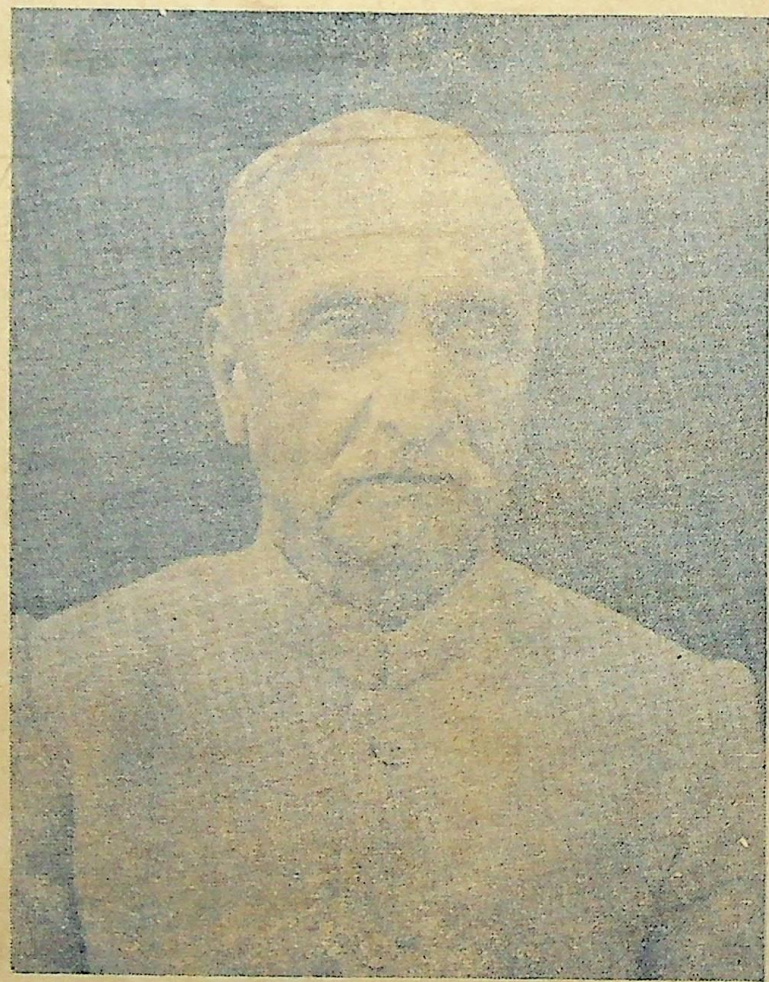
जय स्वदेश, जय स्वदेश
जय स्वदेश, जय संस्कृति माता ।
.....जय स्वदेश ॥

जनता के हृदय सम्राट

जिन का कहना है :—

(१)

“हम जनता को राम और शेरी दोनों दिलवाना चाहते हैं। अर्थात् हमारा देश जहाँ आर्थिक तौर पर उन्नति करे वहाँ लोग अपने धर्म और चरित्र को भी न भूलें। इस के लिये हम सदा तत्पर रहेंगे।”



(२)

“शुद्ध और सच्ची राष्ट्रीयता की भावनाओं को लेकर देश को आगे ले जाने का मार्ग हम ने जो अपनाया है, वह कठिन और लम्बा जरूर है लेकिन आखिर जीत हमारी होगी। यह हमारा एक दृढ़ विश्वास है ॥”

पंडित प्रेम नाथ जी जोगरा

“रियासत जम्मू कश्मीर के सर्वप्रिय नेता जिन की सादगी सत्यप्रियता और देश भक्ति ने उन्हें स्टेट-केसरी से भारत-केसरी के पद पर बिठा कर इस डुंगर देश की शान को चार चांद लगाए हैं।”

“रियासत जम्मू कश्मीर के लोगों का सौभाग्य है कि एक ऐसा नेता मिला है जिस की व्येय निष्ठा, दृढ़ता और की प्रशंसा भारत के विरोधी दलों के नेता भी करते हैं।”

बलराज मधे

श्याम लाल शर्मा

Saturday, 28 January, 1956

जनता के हृदय सम्राट



पं प्रेम नाथ डोगरा

सन्देश

२६ जनवरी का दिवस भारतीय जनता के लिये बड़े हर्ष और उत्साह का दिन है। इस दिन भारतीय इतिहास में विशेष महत्व का स्थान रखता है। इस दिन के साथ स्वतन्त्रता का उज्ज्वल इतिहास सम्बंधित है। आज से ६ साल पहले भारत ने सदियों के ज़ुलमों को पूर्णरूप से तोड़ डाला। देश में गणतन्त्र राज्य स्थापित हुआ और प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा बनाया हुआ संविधान [जिस के बनाने में हमारी रियासत के प्रतिनिधियों का भी भाग लिया था] भारत में लागू हुआ, जिस के उपलक्ष्य में यह दिन सारे भारतवासियों के धूम धाम से मनाया जाता है।

जम्मू कश्मीर भारत का एक अटूट हिस्सा होने के नाते रियासत वासी इस शुभ दिन के अन्य भागों की जनता के साथ साथ बड़े जोश और उत्साह से मनाते हैं। परन्तु यह बात है कि यहां रियासत में वह विधान लागू नहीं और रियासत वासी भारतीय विधान से मिलने वाले मौलिक तथा नागरिक अधिकारों से वञ्चित रखे गये हैं न्याय दिलाने के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय (सुप्रीम कोर्ट) का अधिकार क्षेत्र सीमित रखा गया है। शासक वर्ग के हाथों जनता की कृषि, कमाई के व्यवस्थापन सम्बन्धी हिसाब की जांच पड़ताल करने वाले आडिटर जनता की रियासत में दखल देने का अधिकार नहीं। जनता को जम्हूरी अधिकार दिलाने और उन्हें स्वतन्त्र रूप से प्रयोग कराने वाले मेहकमा भारतीय इलैक्शन कमीशन के अधिकार जिस से रियासत वासियों को वञ्चित रखना लोकतन्त्र के लिये किन सङ्कटों का आह्वान करता है इस खुशी के बावजूद पर उन कठिनाइयों और संकटों का वर्णन करना उचित नहीं। इसी तरह और भी बहुत सारे विषय हैं जिन में रियासत वासी अपने आप को भारतीय जनता से अलग पाकर बड़ा कष्ट अनुभव करते हैं।

अतएव २६ जनवरी के इस शुभ दिन को खुशी और पूर्ण उत्साह के साथ मनाते हैं। इस बात का प्रण करते हैं कि जब तक भारत का विधान रियासत पर पूरे रूप से लागू नहीं होता तब तक रियासत की वर्तमान विशेष और अनिश्चित स्थिति का अन्त नहीं कर देता हम जनता के आराम से नहीं बैठेंगे।

इस अवसर पर जहां मैं भारत के स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम में बलिदान देने वाले शहीदों की श्रद्धांजलि भेंट करता हूं वहां हम भारत की महान आत्मा डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी और उनके अनुयायियों के प्रति कृतज्ञता प्रकट करता हूं जिन्होंने अपना खून देकर रियासत का हिन्दुत्व का साथ सम्बन्ध पक्का किया है। हमें भारत की एकता के उस पवित्र उद्देश्य को सत्र से उत्तम रूप से ध्यान में रखना है जिस के लिये उन्होंने जीवनाहुति दी है।

इस शुभ अवसर पर देश वासियों से मेरी यही प्रार्थना है कि वे डा० मुखर्जी के “देश की अखण्डता और एकीकरण” के महान लक्ष्य को ध्यान में रखें। उसकी पूर्ति के रास्ते में बाधाओं और जनता में मत भेद पैदा करने वाली शक्तियों से सतर्क रहें। जात-पात और मतभेदों से सचेत रहते हुए देश के कल्याण के लिये बड़ी दृढ़ता और हिम्मत के साथ आगे बढ़ें। यह ठीक है कि हमारा रास्ता कठिन और लंबा है। हमें इन कठिनाइयों से घबराना नहीं। हमें अपने राष्ट्रीय आदर्शों को हर कीमत पर जीवित रखना है और वक्त की आन्वीषियों के साथ लड़ना नहीं बल्कि एक चट्टान के रूप में खड़े हो कर उस लक्ष्य की पूर्ति के लिये अग्रसर होना है। जय भारत।

प्रेम नाथ डोगरा

२६-१-५६

Unilateral Ceasefire

The first test for the Indian armed forces came immediately after independence with the first Indo-Pakistani conflict (1947-48). The military was called upon to defend the borders of the state of Jammu and Kashmir when tribals—principally Pathans—attacked from the northwest reaches of Kashmir on October 22, 1947. India's 161st Infantry Brigade was deployed and thwarted the advance of the tribal forces. In early November 1947, the 161st counter-attacked and successfully broke through the enemy defenses. Despite early successes, the Indian army suffered a setback in December because of logistical problems. The problems enabled the forces of POK to retreat. In the spring of 1948, the Indian side mounted another offensive to retake some of the ground that it had lost. No doubt fearing that the war might move into Pakistan proper, regular units of the Pakistani army became actively involved. As the conflict escalated, the Indian leadership was quick to recognize that the war could not be brought to a close unless Pakistani support to the raiders was stopped. Accordingly, on the advice of Governor General Earl Louis Mountbatten (Britain's last viceroy in India in 1947 and Governor General of India, 1947-48). The Indian government sought United Nations (UN) mediation of the conflict on December 31, 1947. There was some opposition to this move within the cabinet by those who did not agree with referring the Kashmir dispute to the UN. The UN mediation process brought the war to a close on January 1, 1949. In all, 1,500 soldiers died on each side during the war. General Cariappa of the Indian Army sought clearance from Delhi to liberate occupied areas. Nehru Govt. refused and Delhi declared unilateral ceasefire before the UN asked for it. Even the Maharaja offered to lead Indian in to areas. India's decision to go to United Nations seeking its intervention was another blunder rather a disaster

The echelons of power in Delhi deliberately chose to command General Cariappa to stop liberation campaign after the Indian Army forced out the Pakistan Army from Uri town. They were stopped to proceed further and stop their liberation campaign at Teetwal with the result the Indian Army had to abandon their campaign to liberate highly sensitive zones in Uri as well as in Karnah, parts of which lie under Pak control between Uri and Karnah between Teetwal and Keran also between Poonch and Uri, the other hand the Govt. of India allowed fall of entire Mirpur District including Kotli in sector and entire Baltistan and Gilgit regions in the after presence of Indian Army. The serving Governor of J&K, Brig. Ghansara Singh was kidnapped and detained from November 1 to 16 (1947) by half a dozen Muslim Scouts at Astore, Gilgit. The Maharaja's repeated reminders to the Govt. of India on the issue went to the dustbin of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru who was monitoring the Sheikh's mission in Kashmir. They betrayed. Sheikh did not want annexation of Punjabi Kashmir into the Valley General Cariappa and the brave fighting Indian soldiers were turned into mute, stony, sculptures standing along the so-called ceasefire line as Delhi had announced unilateral ceasefire. This author when called on ailing General Cariappa in Mysore Military Guest Hospital in 1981, the General told this author, **"You should have better asked these questions from Pandit Ji.** You are son of a soldier and you must know that Army implemented orders and did not question. It is for the politicians to answer your questions because they are answerable to their electorates." The hint was clear that it were Nehru-Abdullah dictates to keep out the non-Kashmiris for J&K to enable Abdullah family to rule forever.

No sooner has this been done, the Army was called upon to defend J&K against an armed invasion first from Phatan rebels in October 1947 and then in 1948 from the Pakistan Army. Military operations in Jammu and Kashmir, in the most difficult terrain and at enormous heights raged from October 1947 to January 1949, ended in ceasefire. However, a ceasefire declared by India enabled Pakistan to hold nearly One-third of Jammu and Kashmir State. These areas under Pakistan's occupation are called Pak occupied Kashmir (POK) and Gilgit- Baltistan.

This was a blunder that showed that the Govt. of India was interested to establish Sheikh Abdullah as Sultan of J&K minus non- Kashmiris, Gilgit-Baltistan, Mirpur, Kotli, Muzaffrabad etc. were deliberately axed out of the geographical and political boundaries of J&K to ensure that the Sheikh dynasty ruled comfortably. Sheikh

never wanted Ladakh and Jammu which he took as headache. Delhi could not go that far.

Nehru's Lal Chowk Speech, 1948

Immediately after the accession, Nehru went to Srinagar and addressed Kashmir crowd. It was an unforgivable blunder of the Indian Prime Minister, a Kashmiri himself³³ when he declared in 'Lal Chowk' that the Maharaja was nobody to decide about the future of Kashmir. He asserted that the future of the state shall be decided by a referendum by the people of J&K- Pakistan as well as the agencies inimical to India have kept harping on the 'blunder speech' of Nehru though this speech had neither any legal nor political authenticity. Nehru's anger reflects his vengeance against Ram Chander Kak in 1946 for having arrested Nehru. While he was addressing a massive gathering in Ajaib Ghar, Jammu in 1948 some people shouted from the crowd Nehru demanding return of Maharaja. Nehru shouted back in his microphone, "**Hari Singh kabhi wapis nahin ayega, wapis nahin ayega.**" Nehru, perhaps, never visited Dogra land again, sowing the seedlings of hatred and conflict between the Kashmiris. The Kashmiri Pundits remained victims of this hatred for half a century till they were humiliated, disgraced and forced to vacate their homes in the Valley. This may need half a century to heal the wounds of hatred that Nehru and Sheikh had created.

PRE-INDEPENDENCE OF POLITICS OF JAMMU AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL VIEW

By Gopal Dutt Mengi

The First regular political stir which ultimately became violent, is known to have started in a Jammu Kashmir State in 1931, mainly instigated by the British Government following their strained, in relations with the Maharaja of the State.

Thereafter a of Enquiry headed by the British Political Officer and named Glancy Commission after him was set up. Hindus of Jammu boycotted it on account of its communal terms of reference. Their nominee on the Commission i Pandit Lok Nath Sharma, Advocate resigned from it.

As apprehended, the glancy report recommended communal representation in service and separate communal electorate for the newly proposed State Legislature. This was a signal of the first protest movement by the Hindus of the State against the government headed by a Hindu Maharaja.

Among those who led the protest in Srinagar and were arrested included Pandit Keshab Bandhu (later a colleague of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah) an Pt. Jia Lal Kilam advocate (later a judge of the State High Court.)

I made my doubt in public life by joining a protest procession against the report the third week of May 1932 as a youth leader and defying section 144. I was sentenced to four months rigorous Imprisonment. Sardar Mohinder Singh who was dictator of the movement however got a sentence of six months and other were sentenced to two months imprisonment.

I had then taken the intermediate examination of the college. The movement fizzled out was released after completing ray full term, when I resumed my studies. The next as Go-Raksha (Cow protection) agitation. In 1936 a sinister attempt was made to dilute the provisions of Cow protection act, which prescribed maximum punishment of ten years imprisonment for killing a cow or its progeny.

In one case, the state High Court ruled that as the act of cow slaughter was committed at night and secretly, the sentence be reduced to one year. The ruling offended the religious sentiments of the Hindus of the State. But the High Court Bench comprising Justice Abdul Kayam and Justice Wazir Jankinath rejected a revision petition against it. Thereupon, an organisation called Hindu Sikh Naujawan Sabha was formed in June 1936 with Sardar Dildar Singh as the President and myself as its General Secretary, to fight out the issue. The agitation spreaded like a fire throughout the Jammu region. People from every part of it offered Satyagraha. Soon all jails sub-jails of the Jammu region were full. All office bearers the organisation were arrested and sent to far off jails. A general strike, first in the history of the State, continue for 36 days. The agitation was withdrawn -on the interventions Pt.Krishan kant Malvia, a nephew of Pt. Mohan Malvia and a member of the central assembly. Maharaja of the State who was in Europe at that time returned and issued a royal proclamation declaring that the controversial judgement of the High Court would not be treated as a ruling and the concerned law in its original form shall continue as such.

Jammu and Kashmir State has passed through many political upheavels and changes since then but on account of this agitation, no State government has ever to challenge, amend or dilute this standing law Cow slaughter. I was elected President of Jammu and Kashmir Rajya Hindu Sabha in the first Hindu conference called after the agitation for Cow protection.

In 1943 there was a spurt in fool grain prices due to war time scarcities. Political parties protest meetings against this rise in prices. But the government response was negative. Thereupon, a big public meeting of all communities was organised which was addressed by leaders all political parties of the State and followed a big procession in city e Leaders of all parties including Muslim Conference and Akali Dal choose me to lead the agitation in an Organised manner. Inspite of the provocation by the local administration growing anger of the people, who managed to keep the agitation peaceful.

However, in the same evening I along with a colleague Kaviraj Vishnu Gupta was arrested for organising this protest after I had resigned my membership of the State advisory Board, for hold it price line of essential commodities which

had been formed under Chairmanship of the Revenue Minister of the State Shri Hukam Sing Maheswari.

This further provoked the people and a police jeep and a truck were burnt down by the agitated mob. On the next day Government- resorted to unprovoked firing when volunteers were going in procession to court arrest who were followed by a big procession of all communities. Seven people, five Hindus and two Muslims were killed in this firing besides causing injuries to many. Firing was so indiscriminate that people were fired at and killed even in nearby Lanes. This raised a great furore not only in the entire State but also in the adjoining areas of Punjab. The Government was forced to institute a three Member Enquiry Commission headed Justice Madgaonkar, a retired Chief Justice of the High Court, Justice Sen a retired Judge of High Court and also a sitting judge of the State High Court Justice Qazi Masud Hassan. Public demand my release from Jail as I had been unanimously elected Chairman of the public defence Committee with Mr. Allah Rakha Sagar, the General Secretary of the State Muslim Conference as its General Secret This Committee was formed to place before the Commission all facts and evidence in connection with the police firings The State Govt. after great hesitation released us. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchloo, bar-at out the case. Of Course prominent Members of the local bar association including Ch. Ghulam Abbass Advocate, President Muslim Conference and others assisted Dr. kitchloo in presenting our case before the Commission.

After prolonged enquiry, the public Stand was vindicated and the concerned Officers were found guilty of excesses and unprovoked firing e The District Magistrate the Police Chief of the were censured for providing poor leadership magistrate on duty was prematurely retired Mr. Raghunath Kaul A.S.P. concerned police staff were dismissed from service a relief of Rs. 5000/— was given to the families of each of those killed.

Soon after this to take part in another, local agitation. There was a jagir consisting of about 50 villages in Jammu Tehsil where Rajput Jagirdars of Jindrah used to get their share of produce in kind from cultivators as revenue. This system was much abused as jagirdars would enter the houses of cultivators unannounced and search their houses demanding oven half of the

vegetables they were growing for their own use in a marla or two near their kitchen.

Peasantry was awfully poor and exploited. Indeed they were the poorest in Jammu district. I visited these villages several times and organised them in a Kisan Conference. Pt. Pt. Nek Ram, a Local worker was always with me in this Conference it was decided to ask the jagirdars and the to accept their share of revenue in the form of cash, as was being done in the rest of the State. It was also decided that they no longer pay their revenue to jagirdars in kind.

Jagirdars refused to accept their share in cash, They insisted on getting half of the agricultural produce, Revenue authorities tried to help the jagirdars and threatened dire consequence if the peasantry refused to give the jagirdars their revenue in kind. All the fifty or so numberdars of the jagir completely non-cooperated with the revenue authorities. This struggle continued for two years during which the peasants not pay any produce in kind no revenue. In cash was from them; ultimately the case was decided in favour of the peasants. This was perhaps the first successful kisan movement on the State.

During this period I had to visit "CHENANI" a bigger jagir, in connection with my political work. This jagir was ruled by hereditary Raja Ram Chand who enjoyed the powers of District Magistrate Sessions Judge, Superintendent of Police, Chief Conservator of forests Forests and Chief Revenue Officer, all in one. He was a great tyrant and had forcibly taken possession of many good agricultural land holdings cremation grounds. He allowed no political activity in jagir. He would implicate people in wrong cases whenever they tried to organise themselves.

On my return from Chenani I learnt that he had instituted false cases against people who received me and helped in organising a public meeting, This naturally upset me and my colleagues. Therefore we decided to awaken and organise people in the Jagir. Jyotshi Ram Krishan, editor "Desh Sevak" a local weekly who was also a great organiser toured through every village of the jagir. He had to negotiate high mountains during his extensive tours of the jagir. Not only he collected political data of Raja's misdeeds but also succeeded in inspiring certain local cadre for the future struggle. Th. Maiya Ram and Th. Jodhu Ram and Ch. Daya Ram, Abdul Rahim and mistri Mohd Shafi were most

outstanding among them. Then I also toured through-out jagir and addressed public meetings at different places.

An intensive publicity campaign was also organised against Raja and his misdeeds. Then a political Conference was held in Chenani town in which many political leaders from whole of Jammu region participated, processions were also organised and the movement acquire great tempo. The Raja tried to curb this movement by arresting and publically parading the arrested local leaders in bazars over—awe the public but this further popular anger against him.

Eventually the Raja yielded and invited me for talks. I alongwith Local leaders of Chenani and few press representatives from Jammu went to the meeting. We discussed for two days and he agreed to many of our demands. But soon he turned back and refused to honour the agreement.

The agitation was started again. We organised many demonstrations. Ultimately Jammu and Kashmir government sent its Revenue Commissioner, Wazir Feroz Chand, to find out and report the facts. We met him at Batote where he had arrange for revenue report of Chenani to be made available. Sh. Jagan Nath, Advocate of Udhampur was of immense help to us. The revenue records were found to be tampered with many pieces of land were shown to be in possession of Raja incorrectly. A piece of land which was a cremation ground according to original records was also shown as Raja's property.

The Revenue Commissioner reported back to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir which elected the intransigence of the Raja. The Jagir was ultimately abolished after independence.

I contested for legislature Assembly in 1946 from Jammu city was opposed, by the establishment. I was elected Inspite of the strong opposition by the then Government headed by Rai Bahadur Ram Chander kak who was in favour of independent Kashmir under Maharaja.

In 1947, during State assembly session in Srinagar all Hindu members of the State assembly, elected as well as nominated, of Jammu region / province met my instance to diiscuss political situation in the State. That meeting was also attended by Sh. Ram Lal Kapoor of Muzafrabad in Kashmir province. He informed the Members that there were reports of smuggling of arms into

Muzafabad area from across the border with Punjab, Thereupon a memorandum was sent to the Maharaja apprising him of the situation in the border district of Muzafabad and requesting for an interview with him. I got a message to meet Th. Nischint Chand brother-in-law of the Maharaja and also Swami Sant Dev, a spiritual guru the royal family who alloy our fears. They to assure us that the State administration Maharaja himself were fully alive to the developing situation and were fully prepared to meet it. They also justified the Maharaja efforts to keep the State independent of the two new dominions of India and Pakistan. I was then asked to write a letter to his highness informing him that I was fully satisfied meeting Swami Dev and Th. Nischent Chand which I flatly refused.

Maharaja never cared to grant an interview to us although It had been jointly by all the Hindu legislators of Jammu province. He completely shut himself off from all public men and was completely surrounded by short sighted selfish people.

The Jammu and Kashmir Rajya Hindu Sabha was divided into Two camps. The pre-maharaja a group which included Sh. Shiv Nath Nanda, Kavi Raj Vishnu Gupta and others supported his ambitions make Jammu and Kashmir State an independent state whereas I and my colleagues like Jyotshi Ram Krishan, Dhanpat Rai advocate an Raizada Amarchand and others demanded accession of the State to the Union as soon as the country became independent.

Despite resolute opposition of our group the working Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir Rajya Hindu Sabha passed a resolution in may 1947 reiterating its faith in the Maharaja and extended its support to whatever he was doing or might on the issue of accession.

However we mobilised popular pressure against this stand and forced the pre—Maharaja dominant group to adopt compromise resolution in a meeting presided over by Pandit Prem Nath Dogra leaving it to the Maharaja to decide the issue of accession to In India at appropriate time.

After the State's eventual accession to India communal parties became an anachronism. We therefore decided to merge our group with the National Conference to strength secular base of the politics of the State.

However, differences soon grow between us and the National Conference leader and the State Prime Minister Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah on a number of issues, including his policy towards Jammu and his insistence that I should have no links with national leaders.

I suspended my political activities after that but resumed them when Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. Invited me to rejoin the National Conference in 1957. Later I had the privileged of representing my state in the Lok Sabha 1962 to 1967.

Recalling my political career of eventful years before independence I might clarify that Jammu region's politics was almost neatly divided in those days on communal lines and the leadership of the Hindus of the region was, in a way thrust upon me. But, while the first movement—cow protection—was a religious one and not communal, the rest of the movement had a definite secular and socialistic content in them.

Moreover, I was instrumental in bringing politics out of the Darbar to the people and insisted during the crucial controversy on the accession issue that loyalty to India more important then loyalty to the ruler.

Statement issued by Pt. Prem Nath Dogra

President All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

On 12th April 1952 after his release from

the jail.

The Jammu College boys' hunger strike has come and gone, but the trail it has left behind has been rather acmmonious, The Government issued a Press Communique on 8th Feb. last, justifying the extraordinary measures to suppress the students' agitation wherein the Praja Parishad was implicated and accused of "subverting authority" a not uncommon shibbiloth copied from the British Masters in India, and "inspiring the student to violence", an unwarranted an unsubstantiated charge. I at once contradicted the Govt's allegations and demanded an open, impartial and independent commission of enquiry to punish the guilty, but inStead I was arrested with my colleagues that very night under the dark cover of 79 hrs. curfew clamping the city. After full two months detention in the icy cold celly of Srinagai. Jail, I have now been released, but still I find that not all the aimrestea commrodes have been set at' liberty.

The present arrests have, however, confirmed the impression that the Govt. claiming to be bhe representative of democracy arrests people, detains them in jails, for undefinecl period without, trials and resorts the: undesireable restrictions on the liberty of the people. This is no democracy, Everyone in the State holding a political opinion different from that of the party in power but in no way antinational is unsafe in the present regime, o state of affairs which does not add the fair name of the Government.

My arrest was made at time when I was in correspondence with the President of the Indian Union in the matter of choosing members for the Indian Parliament from the State of Jam nu and Kashmir by election like other part B States of Hyderabad, Mysore, etc., and not by nomination as has now been done. Persons of unrepresentative character have been elected in defiance of the people's genuine demand. The general feeling among the public has been that these unjustified arrests were simply reorted to gag the popular voice and suppress opposition constitutionally started by the Praja Parishad. It is no tall talk that Praja Parishadl for unequivocal and complete acession to Iridiay with full application of the Indian Constitution and the of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India to the State. Everyone in the state has been simply disappointed and shocked at the speeches of Sheikh Abdullah and his Revenue Minister: Mr. Beg declaring that the State is independent in all respects and that the Constituent Assembly their party is sovereign for all purposes even to the extent of making the State a "Republic within a Republic". The position taken by these two leaders of the National Conference is not only unpatriotic but a challenge to the very Governmentnt of India of uncertainty from the economic starvation on the other hand and to the Union of India to which we claim from the housesetops to have acceded. It bespeaks ingratitude which no citizen of Kashmir would endorse. I and my party want to reiterate in clear terms that our State has acceded to India for all matters and if any attetmpt is made to restrict or limit the full accession by continuing the unwanted Art. 370 in the Indian Constitution, we shall not hesitate to offer any sacrifice to resist It.

In the interest of India and the State, I would respectfully urge the President of the Indian Union.

(i) To appoint an independent commission to enquire into the recent College Boys' hunger strike and the Government's charge of Praja Parishad's hand therein, as also the unwarranted and vindictive measure taken by the Govt.

(ii) To have the unwanted Art 370 delete from the Constitution of India so as to extend the full benefits of the said Constitution to the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir together with the jurisdiction of the supreme court.

(iii) To cancel the nomination of 10 members from the State to the Indian Parliament and order their election like other part B States.

(iv) To undo the disintegration of the Jammu Province into unwanted administrative units of Doda and Poonch Rajauri, to restrain the Govt. from the intended move of breaking of Ladakh Province.

(v) To issue a directive to the Govt. of the state that all talk of a "Republic within a Republic" is unconstitutional and that no member of Government party, or individual should indulge in such irresponsible declarations which are calculated to strengthen the enemy's hands when the fate of the state is hanging in the balance and

(vi) To order appropriate measures being taken by the Govt. of India to grant an equal status to the people of the state with the people of India, and remove unwanted and restricted barriers of customs.

In the end, I want to thank my country men who despite of grave and extreme character have given proofs of their tolerance and patience, by silently bearing the vagaries of the Govt. in power. I assure them that the Praja Parishad will not rest content until it attains the cherished goal for which it considers no cost too high and no sacrifice too great and expect every true citizen of the state to offer and lend it his or her support unstinted and sincere.

Before closing I would like to sound a note of friendly warning to the Govt. that they should behave as true servants of the people and not get puffed up with power to suppress their legitimate aspirations by resorting to tactics once employed by foreign Govt. of India.

Jammu

Prem Nath Dogra

12 April 1952

President

All J&K Praja Parishad Jammu

REPORT OF REPRESSIONS IN JAMMU UPTO 20TH FEBRUARY, 1953

Praja Parishad *satyagraha* has now been going on in Jammu for the last three months. It has spread to the farthest villages and has assumed the form of a mass-movement. It is being carried on peacefully and non-violently inspite of the gravest provocations from the side of the Government. Not a single incident of putting any Government servant to death or setting fire to any Government building has taken place so far inspite of the fact that most of the leaders of the movement have been arrested and put in Jail. But the repression on the side of the Government to suppress this legitimate and peaceful movement has crossed all limits. It has let loose brute force of Police and Militia on the people of Jammu who are being subjected to most inhuman treatment inside and outside the Jails.

The following report gives more idea of the repression now going on in Jammu :

About two thousand persons have offered *satyagraha* so far but only about 12 hundred of them have been sent behind the bars. The treatment meted out to the rest of the *satyagrahis* was that they were kept in the Police lock-up for the whole day and then loaded on trucks and lorries during the night to be let off at distant and desolate places after giving them a thorough beating. Some of them were thrown in Ranbir Canal as a result of which 4 persons caught pneumonia one of whom, belonging to Jammu Tahsil, has since died.

In the severest cold of December, when the temperature in Kashmir falls below the freezing point a batch of about 100 prominent persons amongst those arrested was transferred to Srinagar Jail from Jammu Central Jail. They could not bear the severe cold of Kashmir to which they were not accustomed, and so have been undergoing terrible suffering since then.

A few days later, another batch of prisoners was loaded for Srinagar via Banihal Cart Road. On refusal of permission to cross the Pass by the Military authorities as it had become snow bound the prisoners were kept at Banihal on the foot of Pir Panchal although no Sub-Jail exists there. In the benumbing cold and heavy rains the *satyagrahis* were not allowed for 48 hours to ease themselves or move out to attend the calls of nature. During the first 10 days they were given very meagre food for 8 times only, instead of 20. To protest against this inhuman treatment the prisoners had to go on hunger strike. Seventy four of them were kept in Sericulture Insect Breeding House. As a result, a number of them fell ill out of whom the condition of Shri Masat Ram and Shri Charan Dass became critical.

Some of the *satyagrahis* were subjected to barbarous torture in the Police lines of Jammu after their arrest. The examples of this sort of torture can be cited in the case of Shri Bhagwat Swaroop, B. A., Thakur Nanak Singh, Secretary of the Rajput Sabha, Shri Shiv Ram—a prominent worker of the Harijan Mandal and Shri

Vishwapal. They were not only given shoe-beating but also the hair of the private parts of the body were pulled out. Shri Rishendas from Rishnal (R.S. Pura Tehsil) was so mercilessly beaten in the local Thana that he fell unconscious several times. In a number of cases the *satyagrahis* were forcibly pulled out from the procession, caned in open and dragged by legs to the Police Station.

Fire has been opened on peaceful processions eleven times and lathi-charge has been made at 31 places. There have resulted in the death of a number of persons of whom the remains of 19 persons have been traced so far. The chronological report of these *lathi-charges* and killings is given below :—

On the 26th of November, immediately after the arrest of Pt. Premnath Dogra, Police lathi-charged the people who had assembled to listen Pt. Dogra, so severely and indiscriminately that an Inspector of Indian Intelligence was also severely injured. The lathi-charge at Udhampur on the 29th of November resulted in severe injury to a number of women. The most severe lathi-charge was made at Badhrawah on the 17th of January on a peaceful procession led by Chaudhuri Kushi Mohammad, the Tehsil President. He and scores of other were severely injured. The *satyagrahis* were stripped naked and humiliated in many ways. At Jaurian a severe lathi-charge was made on a peaceful procession on the 28th of January as a result of which one woman died.

Firings— The first shot was fired by the Police on a peaceful procession at Sambha on 27th of November. But it did not result in any fatal casualty.

The first to die of police bullets was Shri Mela Ram at Chhamb on the 15th December. The Government at first denied any casualty but when his body was brought to Jammu the Government had to admit the fact.

On the 29th of December, 3 persons were shot dead when police opened fire on a peaceful procession at Sunderband, a village about 25 miles from Jammu. Their dead bodies were burnt at dead of night and even their remains were not given to their next of kin. Here too the Government first denied any casualty but had to admit the fact after three days when the names and the addresses of the dead became known to the people.

On the 11th of January worst firing took place at Hira Nagar, a Tehsil place about forty miles from Jammu on the Pathankot-Jammu Road in the presence of two Ministers of the State. The number of the dead as a result of this firing has not yet been ascertained. The dead bodies of two of them— M/s. Bihari Lal and Bhikam Singh— were found half burnt in a nallah near the Indian border the next morning. But according to the report of the Fact Finding Mission sent by the People's Party, 13 are still missing and twenty were injured as a result of this firing, which appeared to be more in nature of display of might, rather than to deal with any particular situation real or imagined according to that report.

The last firing took place at Jaurian village about 30 miles to the west of Jammu on the 30th of January. A procession of three thousand villagers from the surrounding villages was first tear-gassed and then fired upon while it was carrying the dead body of the woman who had succumbed to the injuries received as a result of police lathi-charge on the previous day, to the cremation ground. According to the authorities 5 were killed and one was injured. But according to the report of Sardar Bechan Singh Panchi, who was deputed by the State Akali Dal to visit the place to ascertain the true facts, a much larger number of persons was missing. The names and addresses of nine of them have so far been traced. The number of the injured according to his report runs of over two hundred, twenty of whom were seen by him in one village alone. Not a single dead body was restored to the guardians of the deceased.

Crimes perpetrated on women— The worst part of this campaign of repression is the cruelties and crimes being perpetrated against women who have sympathy for the movement.

A women's procession in Jammu on the 11th of December, was repeatedly tear-gassed and lathi-charged as a result of which many ladies including small girls, received severe injuries. One girl remained unconscious for full 12 hours. Another was refused admittance in the hospital because of her precarious condition. Two lady *satyagrahis*, who were leading the procession, also

became unconscious and were taken to jail in that very condition.

On the 6th of January police arrested four *satyagrahi* ladies who were leading a procession in Jammu city. They were kept in the police lock-up the whole day long. At 11 o'clock in the night they were taken out of the lock-up and thrown on the roads.

On the 26th of January, 10 *Satyagrahi* ladies who were picketing at the bus stand were mal-handled by the police. A police officer abused them in the most filthy language. Their leader Kumari Sharda was arrested. As a result of the ill-treatment in the jail, she fell ill. After seven days when it was found that her condition had become precarious, she was thrown out of the jail in unconscious condition.

On 17th January, 3 girl students of Mahila College were abused, mal-handled and assaulted by an Inspector of Police while they were dragged by their hair.

On the 27th of January, the police raided the house of a Numberdar in the village Rothusa at 2-00 a. m. in the night. He was not at home. They asked about him from the two young ladies who were there at the time. On their inability to tell the whereabouts of the Numberdar they were stripped of their clothes, criminally assaulted and then carried to jail. They were maltreated in the jail as well.

Search and Loot— On the 3rd of February, police raided the village Gho Manhasen in Jammu Tehsil. It forcibly entered the house of Thakur Rachapal Singh who

is in jail and looted 12 tolas of gold and 500 rupees from his safe.

His wife was mal-treated and the maid-servant in the house was stripped naked and criminally assaulted by the Police.

Ten ladies at Udhampur had to go on hunger strike as a protest against this ill-treatment to the *satyagrahis*, particularly women, inside and outside the jails.

The worst feature of these crimes against women is that the Police is being sent after giving spirituous drinks to them, so that they might handle the *satyagrahis* particularly in a cruel and senseless manner to strike terror in the people.

Since the beginning of Non-co-operation and Civil disobedience, the second phase of the *satyagraha*, Kashmir Militia and Police have let loose a reign of terror in the countryside.

Jammu, Akhnoor and Riasi Tehsils have been first chosen for this campaign of terror. They have been completely thrown on the mercy of Police and Militia who have been raiding villages in batches to terrorise the people. A few glaring cases are given below :

In the village Gho Manhasen Santoo Mahajan was threatened in his own house and pair of 3 ear-rings along with rupees 200 were looted.

In Kulkarian thorough search of many houses was carried out and the household belongings of Shri Mewa Singh, who was later arrested, thrown out.

Severe beating of Kartar Singh of Gho Manhasen resulted in the fracture of his knees and heavy wound in the interior of his mouth. Sansar Singh Chibb and Santoo were severely injured.

On 18th Magh— the house of Pt. Abhey Ram in the village Ganjoo was searched and his whole female household terrorised.

On this very day, at 4-00 p.m. in village Sahaan, house of Messrs Baldev Singh and Fakir Chand Mahajan were raided. After search six Harijans were beaten. The same day at 5 p.m. in village Karlop houses of Messrs Shri Ram and Nand Lal, were raided and keys were forcibly obtained from the womenfolk by threatening them with beatings. At 7-00 p.m. in village Plora Harmukandpura house of Mr. Ram Chand was searched and about 2 tolas gold along with rupees 13/- in cash was taken away. Here two persons were injured by the police beatings. On the 17th Magh, house of Shri Chhaju Ram in Garota was searched and the inmates immorally harrassed. Getting disappointed in not having found anything in the house of Pt. Sita Ram of village Shri Pondtan the whole household was abused and terrorised. A neighbour was arrested and then let off.

In this immoral hunt for workers and terrorising people, Police Party reached Palwal and searched Shri Ram Chand's house. Having found nothing there, made its way to Koat. Here the houses of Messrs Munshi Lalchmandas and Pt. Dehroo Ram were searched. But nothing was

found. This irritated the unscrupulous Police officers, who lost all balance and arrested a minor aged ten along with the Post Master. Both of them were released in Domana the following day after severe beating.

On 19th Magh— in village Paryal house of Mr. Budhi Singh was raided. His son Keor Singh and sister were beaten in his presence. When he raised hue and cry, he too was beaten. Since then he is lying in bed. The house was thoroughly searched and Rs. 800/- in cash were taken away. Shri Keor Singh was also arrested. Shri Vakil Singh's house was raided and all the sweets and other things which he had collected for the marriage of his daughter were confiscated. Rs. 300 in cash also were taken away. After raiding the house of Indir Singh and confiscating some of his belonging, the "Victorious Party" returned.

In village Laddoar house of Shri Dewan Chand was raided and his brother was beaten. A local Harijan, who stood nearby, was ordered to give him a further shoe-beating. On his hesitation to comply with such a stronger order, he too was beaten. On their return journey, the Police Party brought one tin of kerosene oil and one full truck of fuel.

On 23rd Magh— at ten in the morning house of Shri Shatrugun of village Marh was raided. A chair and ornaments of the women were confiscated. Moustaches of Mr. Ghaju Ram Harijan were cut off along with a part of his head hair. Durga Das Harijan was beaten and

arrested but on a bribe of Rs. 40/- was released. During the day while perpetrating these criminal atrocities houses of all of the four villagers were raided. At nightfall when the Police began to return, the villagers heaved a sigh of relief.

On 24th— Police marched towards Garohta through Agaur. Reaching there the attack was made at the house of Kaviraj Chhaju Ram which proved fruitless and the Police had to return empty handed.

Being irritated by the applications made in the Court by the inhabitant of Sangrampur against the inhuman treatment meted out to them on Magh 22, the Police again sieged the whole village on Magh 24. The helpless and innocent people, both young and aged, men and women, fled out of the village terror stricken. But many of them including Dhani, a Mahajan, realised the scene of the Pakistani invasion. Dhani, a Harijan, was beaten while running. Shib Ram Longu, Chhatro Dass and Ram Dass were severely malhandled. The blood rushed out from the head of Chhatro Dass. At Domana, a village about eight miles from Jammu on the bank of a canal, a sweat-meat-seller was plundered of all the sweatmeats, the only source of family income.

On Magh 21, the police again raided the villages of Gho-Manahs and Rathoa. The son of Kaka Ram was severely beaten and they searched his house but could not recover Ram Piari. At Ratnue, the keys were recovered from a ten years old daughter of Ch. Ram Lal Tempo and again searched his house. Bajura

Yogi of Rathoa was severely beaten. The Police announced there that anybody found giving water to his bullocks will be severely punished. The Police ordered for kerosene oil so that his house may be set on fire.

On Phagun 28, 2009— 28 persons arrested in a procession at Bilwar, were cruelly beaten at mid-night. In this extremely cold part of Jammu, they were not provided with beddings and were forced to pass full three days without water and food. Some of the *satyagrahis* having been beaten at the icy hands of the Police and Militia, have resulted in swelling.

In village Bilwar of Basoli Tehsil, a Militaryman, who was heavily beaten succumbed to death on Phagun 27, 2009.

Some villagers on their way to a shop in the nearby village and another group of the villagers going for worship in a temple in the adjoining village were cruelly beaten.

In the Ramkot area, the same Tehsil, Kashmir Militia and Police in hundreds entered the villages, beat the menfolk and terrorised and malhandled the ladies and looted their property. The people of the *illaqa* consequently, have left their homes and have taken recourse to living in jungles to avoid Police atrocities.

A maid cook of Rachpall Singh of Jammu Tehsil was totally made naked by the Police in course of search of his house.

How brutally the Police lathi-charged the people can well be imagined from the fact that the skulls of two villagers, Bhagat Singh and Teja Singh, were broken out.

Two Military soldiers Baikunth Singh and Pritam Singh of Akhnoor who were on leave, were arrested by the Police while on their way to canteen and kept under custody for full 13 days.

Hundreds of Militia soldiers and Policemen with the help of the Muslims of the *illaqa* raided and looted the village Kawana of Tehsil Nowshera.

About 100 Kashmiri Militia soldiers raided the village Koat Mehra near Pakistan border in Tehsil Akhnoor and looted property worth Rs. 4,000/- after having severely beaten the residents of the village.

The Govt. has taken away the arms distributed in the villages like Bokar, Dabora, Bhagwan Chak, Sajana and Sanial on the Pakistan Border. This had resulted in an increase of Pakistani raids into these areas.

ذریعہ بنے گا تو ہم اس کو خوش آمدید کہیں گے۔

ہوائی جہاز کو حادثہ

ہندو پاک کے مابین جنگ بندی اور فضا ہمت کے پیش نظر جو پہلا قدم اٹھایا گیا وہ ایسے ریاستی باشندوں کا تبادلہ تھا جو متضاد نظریات کے جرم میں ہر دو ممالک میں مشکوک سمجھ کر قیدی بنائے گئے تھے، اس سلسلے میں دونوں حکومتوں کے درمیان ۱۵ جنوری ۱۹۴۹ء کو ایک سمجھوتہ طے پایا جس کے تحت پاکستان نے سترہ ریاستی سیاسی قیدی سوچیت گڈھ میں ہندوستانی حکام کے حوالے کئے جن میں سابق گورنر گلگت، جنرل گمناسرائی سنگھ اور پونچھ کے مقامی لیڈر غلام قادر بانڈے سر فہرست تھے، ہندوستان نے ایسے ہی چھتیس سیاسی قیدی پاکستان کے حوالے کئے جن میں قریشی محمد یوسف قابل ذکر ہیں۔ پاکستان سے رہائی پانے والے قیدی جنہیں ۲۱ جنوری ۱۹۴۹ء کو جہوں سے ڈالمیاں چین، انڈونیزیا، کوسٹا ریکا، لارہا، ہانگ کانگ کے اوپر پرواز کر کے گری، اس حادثہ میں جہاز کے حملہ سمیت سترہ افراد جہاں بحق ہوئے، ان میں مولانا محمد سعید سعیدی کے داماد مولوی محمد یوسف بھائی مولوی غلام مصطفیٰ جن کی منفرد شخصیت کی چھاپ تحریک حریت کے انتہائی پیچیدہ موزوں پر نقش نظر آتی ہے اور مولوی عزیز الرحمن شامل تھے۔ ان کا جنازہ قومی اعزاز و اہتمام کے ساتھ کشمیر میں کی عسکری سلامی کے بعد ایک جلوس کی صورت میں نکالا گیا اور خانقاہ معلیٰ کے قبرستان میں دفنائے گئے۔ اسی دوران لکھنؤ یونیورسٹی نے شیخ محمد عبداللہ کو ڈاکٹر آف لاء کی اعزازی ڈگری عطا کی اس موقع پر صوبائی متحدہ کی گورنر سن سرجن نیڈون نے شیخ محمد عبداللہ کی سیاسی بصیرت کا اعتراف کرتے کہا، ان کی بدولت کشمیر کو دنیا میں ایک ہمگیر اور بے مثال شہر حاصل ہوئی ہے۔ یہ کہنے سے جانتے ہو گا کہ اسی حوالے اور نسبت سے کشمیریوں کو بے انتہا آلام و مصائب اور مشکلات نے

گھیر لیا ہے اور کون جانے ان کا ازالہ کب اور کیسے ہوگا؟

پرجا پریشد کی ایچی ٹیشن

پرجا پریشد کا تعارف تحریک حریت کشمیر جلد سوم صفحہ ۴۲۲ تا ۴۲۸ پر کیا گیا ہے، کشمیری خمدار سیاست میں ہندو مسلم تناؤ، جوں اور کشمیر کے مابین ذہنی الجھاؤ قوم پرست اور دوقومی نظریہ کے حامی مسلمانوں میں نظریاتی اختلاف جیسے بنیادی مسائل نے جہاں اپنی جڑیں مضبوط کی تھیں وہاں جہوں کے ہندو کو ہمارا جہ ہری سنگھ کی بے بسی نے اس کی حمایت اور وفاداری پر مجتمع کیا اس کا بھرپور استفادہ اٹھانے میں پریشد نے کوئی دقیقہ فروگذاشت نہیں رکھا۔ اس پر طرہ یہ کہ کشمیری قوم پرست لیڈر شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے سیاسی دور بے مہنی سے بے نیاز ہو کر جابجا ہمارا جہ ہری سنگھ پر ذاتی حملوں اپنی بے پناہ چڑاؤ نفرت کے اظہار میں جس سخاوت سے کام لیا وہ انکی قوم پرستانہ سیاست کو شائبہ بنانے میں بنیادی عنصر بنی۔ لیکن اقتدار کے نشہ نے اسے نیچے پھینک کر دیکھنے کی ہمت اور نہ مستقبل کے تاریک حقایق پر غور کرنے کی فرصت دی۔ قبائلی حملہ کے آغاز میں جب ہمارا جہ واڈی سے فرار ہوئے تو نیشنل کانفرنسی زعماءوں کا یہ گمان یقین میں بدلا کہ انہیں اقتدار ہمارا جہ نے حکومت ہند کی سفارش اور مشورے پر نہیں سونپا بلکہ یہ ان کی دانشمندی اور تدبیر سے خود بخود پکے پھل کی طرح ان کی جھولی میں گرنا، وہ بانگ دہل یہ کہنے لگے حکومت ہمیں شہر سرنگر کے لال چوک میں اس بیوہ کی اگوتی بیٹی کی طرح ملی جو کمینسر کی عارضہ میں مبتلا ہو کر دم توڑ رہی تھی گھمنڈ و غرور اور لغویات پر مبنی اس دعوے سے ہمارا جہ ہری سنگھ کا رنجیدہ ہونا بعید از امکان نہیں تھا۔ اس سے جہوں کے فرقہ پرستوں اور ہمارا جہ کے وفاداروں کے جذبات برگشتہ ہوئے اور یہ انداز بیان ہندوستان کے فرقہ پرستوں کو جو شیریں تاریں چرائیں کی مسافت کا نگرین میں داخل ہو چکے تھے ایک آنکھ نہیں بھایا وہ بھی

اس بات پر متفق تھے کہ ایک ہندو راجہ کا ہندوستان سے الحاق کرنا ہی اس کے محب وطن ہونے کی واضح گواہی ہے۔ ان لوگوں کے سامنے ریاست کی غالب اکثریت کی رائے کوئی معنی نہیں رکھتی تھی وہ ہر حال میں اپنے تسکین قلب کے لئے ہندو ہندی اور ہندوستان کی کسی گردان کر رہے تھے ہادی انظر سے اگر دیکھا جائے تو ہندوستان اور شیخ عبداللہ کے تعلق بگاڑنے میں ایسے لوگوں نے جو کردار ادا کیا اس نے نہ صرف کشمیر میں ہندوستان کے لئے ناموافق حالات پیدا کئے بلکہ ہندوستان کی پیشانی پر بدعنوانی بھی لگا۔ اس زمرہ مخالفین میں آئی رپورٹ آن کشمیر کا مصنف ہے اے کے بیڑجی اس لحاظ سے چند قدم آگے ہے جس نے سب سے پہلے اپنی کتاب میں شیخ محمد عبداللہ کو محترم کامذہبی آدمی کہہ کر ان پر طرح طرح کے الزامات عائد کئے، جنوں کے خوف پرستیوں کے طریقہ کار کو سراہتے، شیخ وزارت کا تجزیہ کرتے اس نے لکھا ہے کہ جنوں پر کشمیر کی نسبت اس کی حکومت کی گرفت کمزور ہے اور مہاراجہ سے شیخ عبداللہ اور اس کے ساتھیوں کی نفرت و حقارت کے وجوہات اور اس سے حاصل فوائد بیان کرتے جنوں کے سکینوں سے مہاراجہ ہری سنگھ کی قلبی بیگانگی اور قہارت پر اظہار اعلیٰ کرتے اس نے ان لوگوں کو مہاراجہ ہری سنگھ کے حوالے سے یقین دلایا کہ مہاراجہ شیخ عبداللہ کے نافذ کردہ قوانین پر سختی نہیں کرتا ہے۔ حتیٰ تو یہ ہے کہ یہ تمام اعمامیں ہی اسلامیان ریاست کے خلاف آراء رکھتے۔ اب کے شیخ عبداللہ کے خلاف جو صد افزائی پاکر متوجہ ہوئے، پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ جو انٹریم سیمینٹر کے سنگ کے سنگ چالک تھے نے جنوں میں ہڑتالیں اور ہڑتالوں کا سلسلہ شروع کر دیا چنانچہ جنوں پر جاپریشد نے فروری ۱۹۴۹ء میں اپنی ہم کام آغاز دیواری استہاروں سے شروع کیا جن میں قبائلی میٹار کے دوران پریشدی ورکروں کے خود ساختہ کارناموں کو اجاگر کرنے کے علاوہ صوبہ جنوں کے ہندوؤں سے شیخ وزارت کی عدم توجہی کو اپنا موضوع بنا کر اچھالنے کے ساتھ تقاریر کا نہ تھکنے والا سلسلہ شروع کیا۔ شیخ عبداللہ کو

مسلمان قرار دے کر کہا جانے لگا کہ یہ شخص بناوٹی قوم پرست ہے اور ہندو جنیتا کو دھوکے دے رہا ہے، مہاراجہ ہری سنگھ کی حکومت کو ختم کر کے غیر مسلموں کو فائدہ کرنے کے منصوبے باندھ رہا ہے۔ اس خطرناک منصوبے سے بچنے کے لئے نہ صرف شیخ وزارت کو نابود کرنا لازمی ہے بلکہ یہ اس لئے بھی لازمی ہے کہ اگر اس کے ہوتے ہوئے ریاست میں رائیتماری عمل میں لائی گئی تو یہ اپنے ساتھ ہیں بھی لے ڈوبے گا۔ پر جب پریشد نے اپنے مطالبات میں جنوں اور لداخ کو براہ راست ہندوستان میں مدغم کرنے کے مطالبے کو شامل کر کے ننگے فساد کی طرح ڈالی جس سے انتظامیہ کے کام کاج میں خلل پڑنے لگا صورت حال کو قابو میں لانے کے لئے حکومت نے جنوں کو کشمیر تحفظ عامہ کی دفعہ (۳) کے تحت پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ، لالہ روپ چندرندہ، لالہ شوبرام گپتا، ٹھاکر دھنوت سنگھ اور ٹھاکر چندر دیو سنگھ کو گرفتار کر لیا۔ لالہ روپ چندرندہ صدر پریشارپشندنے لالہ سوداگل کو قائم مقام صدر نامزد کیا جس نے اس عہدے پر کام کرنے سے انکار کر کے اس جماعت کی قوت بازو کی بے بسائی اور بے جراتی کا بھر م کھول دیا لیکن پریشارپشندنے فوراً ہی اس کی جگہ پنڈت لالہ مرنی سنگھ کو صدارت کے فرائض تفویض کر کے صورت حال کو قابو میں کر لیا۔

ان گرفتاریوں سے پریشد کی سرگرمیاں قدسے ماند پڑ گئیں لیکن نئی ۱۹۴۹ء میں دربارہ روکے موقع پر آریس ایس نے پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کی گرفتاری کی آڑ میں باضابطہ اپنی پیشین گوئی کا اعلان کیا جو پندرہ دن تک جاری رہنے کے بعد حکومت ہند کی مداخلت اور اس یقین دہانی کے بعد ملتوی کی گئی کہ ریاستی حکومت جلد ہی پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کو رہا کر دے گی، لیکن ریاستی حکومت ایسا کرنے پر قناعت نہیں ہوئی اور یہ دلیل پیش کی کہ اگر حکومت ہند کے کہنے پر گرفتار شدگان کو رہا کرنے لے کی سفارش پر عمل کیا جائے تو صوبہ کشمیر میں احتیاطی نظر بندی کے ۱۰۰۰ پر جو سینکڑوں

افراد صوبہ جہول کی جیلوں میں بند پڑے ہیں انہیں تین میں رکھنے کا وجہ جواز یک ہو سکتا ہے۔ ریاستی حکومت کے اس سخت لیکن برحق رویہ سے پیش کش کھانچا ۱۹۶۹ میں صوبہ جہول میں پہلے سے زیادہ شدید اور منظم طور پر دوبارہ شورش برپا کی گئی، بقول پرچا پریشد جہول سے رواکھی گئی نا انصافی کو بھی اب کے اس میں شامل کیا گیا۔ پریشد نے اتنے ہی پر قناعت نہیں کی بلکہ دہلی زبان میں تمام ریاست کے ہندوستان کے ساتھ مکمل الحاق اور ناقابل تسخیر کا نعرہ بھی لگایا۔ اس طرح پرچا پریشد کے مقصد اور منصوبہ بند مطالبوں نے باضابطہ تحریک کی صورت اختیار کی۔ ایچ بی ٹیشن تقریباً چھ ماہ تک جاری رہی اور پانچ سو کے قریب افراد گرفتار کئے گئے جن میں سے نصف سے زیادہ غیر ریاستی ہندو جوان اور طلباء تھے۔ اس دوران ہندوستان کی متعدد فتنہ پرست جماعتوں نے جہاں شیخ عبداللہ پرکڑی نمائندہ جینی کی وہاں جیسے بھیجنے کے عمل میں خاموشی پیش رفت کی، ان جماعتوں نے دہلی، اتر پردیش، گوجر، گورداپور میں گرفتاریاں دیں۔ ایچ بی ٹیوں کا حوصلہ بلند رکھنے کے لئے حکومت ہند کے وزیر داخلہ نے ریاستی حکومت کو پرچا پریشد سے براہ راست گفت و شنید کرنے پر دباؤ ڈالا اور کئی دوسری تدبیریں اختیار کیں۔

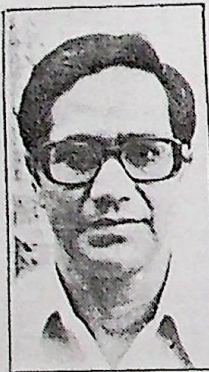
ڈاکٹر گھوڑیا

ہندوستان کی مجلس دستور سازی کے ممبر ڈاکٹر گھوڑیا نے سردار پٹیل کے اشارہ پر ماہ اگست ۱۹۶۹ میں جہول کا ایک وزہ دورہ کیا اور شیخ عبداللہ سے پریشد کی تحریک پر تبادلہ خیال کے بعد واپسی پر دہلی میں ایک بیان جاری کیا جس میں کہا گیا کہ شیخ عبداللہ پریشد کو قوم پرست اور محب وطنوں کی جماعت تسلیم کرتا ہے۔ بیان میں مزید کہا گیا :-

”جہول کی رستہ گز کو روکنے کے لئے سرنگر سے سلم پولیس لائی گئی ہے“



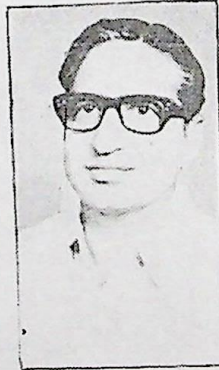
مدیر آفتاب خواجہ شہار الدہ بٹ، مدیر میا فظ، رشید تاثیر



جناب علی محمد خان



جناب صوفی غلام محمد



شری بلراج پوری

حکومت ریاست میں رونما ہونے والے حالات کی پردہ پوشی کر رہی ہے اور
مجھ سے جن ممبران اسمبلی نے ملاقات کی 'ریاستی حکومت نے انہیں گرفتار کر لیا اس
طرح ریاستی حکومت جوں باسیوں پر سختی کر رہی ہے۔'

ڈاکٹر گھوڑیا کے بیان پر ریاستی حکومت عمل اٹھی۔ اس بیان کو لغویات کا پلندہ یکطرفہ اور جانبدارانہ
قرار دے کر اس پر پانچ ترغیل ظاہر کر کے ایک جوابی بیان جاری کیا۔ اقتباسات ملاحظہ کیجئے۔

سرگھوڑیا یقیناً شیخ محمد عبداللہ سے ملاتی ہوا، لیکن انہوں نے یہ کبھی
نہیں کہا کہ پرجا پریشد قوم پرست جماعت ہے، جب کہ سنگھیوں نے ہاجرین کو لوٹا
اور نہتے گرجروں کو قتل کیا۔ جوں میں ہندو مسلم فساد کے ناک پر لاکھوں مسلمانوں
کو قتل تباہ و برباد کیا، وزیر عظم متعدد بار اعلان کیے ہیں 'پرجا پریشد ہی وہ
جماعت ہے جس نے ہمارا گاندھی کے قتل پر ہتھیائیاں بانیں اور جب مافقی جسوس
پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ کے کان کے سامنے گزرا تو اس پر پتھر اڑا دیا گیا۔ جس کا
ذکر پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو نے بھی اپنی تقریر میں کیا ہے۔ ریاست میں کوئی اسمبلی
ہی نہیں ہے اس لئے ممبران اسمبلی کہاں سے آئے۔'

ریاستی حکومت کو ڈاکٹر گھوڑیا کا اس بات پر شکریہ ادا کرنا چاہیئے کہ اس
نے فرد جرم عائد کرتے سرینگر سے درآمد کئے مسلم پولیس کا نام لیا ورنہ چاہیئے تو
یہ تنہا کہ وہ اپنے بیان کو رنگین اور شیرینانے کے لئے اسے پاکستانی پولیس کہتا
جوابی ہم

یہ حقیقت شک و شبہ سے بالاتر ہے کہ ڈاکٹر گھوڑیا کے بیان نے ان ایوان
حکومت میں مجلسی بھائی وہاں پریشدیوں کی تحریک کا بے جان رگوں میں زندگی
کی نئی رت پیدا کی۔ نئی صورت حال کا سامنا کرنے کیلئے ریاستی حکومت کو مجبوراً غیر مسلموں
کے حمایتی بیانیوں کی ضرورت محسوس ہوئی اور اس سلسلے میں پنڈت شیونرائن فوطیدار



جناب موزا محمد افضل بیگ



جناب شیخ محمد عبداللہ



خواجہ غلام محمد صادق



شری گردھاری لال ڈوگرہ

پینڈت شیام لال لراف وزیرِ صحت جو پیشہ خرابہ اس قدر کہ غفلتوں کا جواب دینے میں بڑی چابکدستی سے کام لیا کرتے تھے، نے اس کے کل طویل خانوشی کے بعد اپنی صحت و سلاقی اور سیاسی بنفعا کیلئے یہ مفید سمجھا کہ اگر چہ پریشد کی تحریک کے خلاف ایک نیا گول بیانِ دلفافا کے چھانچہ انہوں نے جوں کے سر کردہ احباب کی ایک ٹینگ میں کہا:

پرجا پریشد کے کارکن! اس کو لول کے پچول کو گر بڑ پرانی نے کی کوشش کرتے

ہیں اور جب پچول سے دریانت کیا جاتا ہے تو وہ اپنے بزرگوں کی احمقانہ حرکتوں کی مذمت کرتے ہیں جبکہ اس قسم کی تحریک غولی مفاد اور صک و قوم سے غدار ہے۔

بہت دنوں سے یہ شغل ہے اہل سیاست کا
کہ نیچے جواں ہوں اور قتل کئے جائیں

تو اس کے سر کردہ شہریوں کی اس ٹینگ میں پیر محمد خان نے قریباً نصف سے وابستہ لوگوں کو انبیا کرتے کہا: اگر وہ پچھلے فادات کی تباہی کو نہیں بھولے اور ایسے شرمناک واقعات کا اعادہ کرتے رہے تو وہ یقیناً اپنی قبر آپ کھودنے کا سامان پیدا کرے ہیں: ہندوستانی فرقہ پرست جماعتوں کی جانب سے گناہ پریشداریوں کی حمایت کے نتائج کے تصور سے بدگماں ہو کر ۱۵ اگست ۱۹۴۹ء کو شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے تریا پلارک

تعب کا مقام ہے کہ ایک طرف پاکستانی ریڈیو اور پاکستانی اخبارات یہ
بردیگندہ کر رہے ہیں کہ شیریں مسانوں کی عزت و آبرو محفوظ نہیں اور ہندوؤں کو
ہر قسم کی رعایت دی جا رہی ہے اس کے مقابلے میں جتوں کے کچھ تنگ نظر ہندو کہہ
رہے ہیں یہاں ہندو پر ظلم ہو رہا ہے — جتوں کے فرقہ پرستوں نے یہ تنگ
کلمہ کہ جتوں کا الگ صوبہ بنایا جائے جو بے خود ایک منہمک خیر رضا البند ہے۔ ہند
کی تقسیم سے جو تلخ تجربہ ہوا ہے اس کے ہوتے ہوئے ہم کس طرح یہ قبول کر سکتے ہیں؟
جتوں کے فرقہ پرستوں کو یہ سوچنا چاہیے کہ جب وہ دو گروہ دیش بندے کا مطالبہ کر رہے
ہیں تو اس میں اصول کی ٹٹی پیلی ہو رہی ہے جس کے تعقظ کئے ہند فوجی جہاں
اٹک ہے اور جس پر ہند کا نظام اتوا قائم کیا جا رہا ہے اس سے گاندھی جی کے اس اصول
کی توہین ہوتی ہے جس کی خاطر انہوں نے اپنی جان قربان کی الخضر اس صورت
میں پاکستان کے خلاف ہماری لڑائی کے بارے میں؟

چرا کارے کند عامل کہ یاد آید شپمانی نہ شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے بیان کی حماست میں تیشل کانفرنس کے دوسرے زعمائے ریجی کم دیشی ہی لب دلہجہ اپنی تقریروں میں اضافت کیا بخشی غلام محمد نے کھوے کے جلسہ عاملین تقریر کرتے کہا، ”ہم ریاست کے تقسیم کے کسی نامور لوگوں کی صورت میں قبول کرنے پر تیار نہیں ہیں۔“

لالہ وپ چندر چندہ کامعانی نامہ

ایچی ٹیٹرول کو دیانہ کے لئے ریاستی حکومت نے لالہ روپ چندرنہ کے خلاف قانون تحفظ عامہ کی دفعہ (۲) کے تحت مقدمہ دائر کیا جس کے تحت انہیں تیس^{۱۲} ماہ قید اور پانچ سو روپے جرمانے کی سزا سنائی گئی۔ اس سے سمجھا کہ انہوں نے تحریری طور حکومت سے معافی مانگی اور دکھا _____ "ریاست کے اندر اور باہر غرض مند لوگوں نے معاونانہ اور بے بنیاد دیر و گینڈا کیا میں ان سرگرمیوں کی سخت مذمت"

کرتا ہوں ایک ایسے مرحلے پر جب ہمیں بے شمار مسائل کو حل کرنے کے لئے متحدہ کوششیں کرنے کی ضرورت ہے، کوئی بھی دینا نڈارا انسان ایسی حرکتوں کو پاگل پن اور قوم کشی قرار دینے لیتا نہیں رہ سکتا، میں نے صورت حال پر پوری طرح غور و خوض کیا ہے اور بہت دکھ کے ساتھ اس بات کو محسوس کیا ہے بدقسمتی سے حالات کو ٹھیک طرح سے نہ سمجھنے کے نتیجے میں ہم ان حرکتوں میں شریک کار ہوئے ہیں۔ پس اگر حکومت امن اور خوشحالی کے لئے مجھے اپنے ملک اور حکومت کی تین ایک محبوب وطن کا رول ادا کرنے کا موقع دینا مناسب سمجھے تو میں اس کے لئے ممنون رہوں گا۔

"بدقسمتی سے قوم کشی کے حالات غیر شعوری طور نہ سمجھنے والے صدر ریٹڈ کوریاتی حکومت نے امن اور خوشحالی کے لئے "محب وطن" کا رول ادا کرنے کا موقع ہم پہونچانے کی غرض سے رہا کیا۔ یہ درست ہے کہ پارٹی صدر کے معافی نامہ اور حکومت کے اس عمل سے پرجا پریشد کی ساکھ کو شدید دھکا لگا جس کے نتیجے میں اکتوبر ۱۹۶۹ء میں اس جماعت کے لیڈروں نے غیر مشروط طور پر اپنی تحریک واپس لینے کا اعلان کیا اور ڈسٹرکٹ ٹیسٹریٹ جموں لالہ بندرا بن نے حکومت کی ہدایت پر پریشد کے تمام کارکنوں کے خلاف مقدمات واپس لینے کا حکم جاری کیا۔ اس تحریک کے دوران رشی ٹھاکر کوئل پریتم شرما اور شیخ عبدالرحمان نے نمایاں کردار ادا کر کے جموں کے سیاسی افق پر اپنی نشانی ثبت کی۔ ایچ ٹیشن کے اختتام پر پرجا پریشد کی جنرل کونسل کی پہلی میٹنگ میں پنڈت پریم ناتھ ڈوگرہ صدر منتخب ہوئے جو اس سے قبل پارٹی کے چپین ہیں۔ ان کے بنیادی ممبر بھی نہ تھے۔ درگاداس ورما سیکریٹری چنے گئے۔

اقبال بڑا پیدیشک ہے

پرجا پریشد کی اس ایچ ٹیشن سے صوبہ جموں میں جو کشیدگی اور تناؤ پیدا ہوا تھا اسے زائل کرنے کے لئے شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے سانہ کے ایک پبلک جلسہ میں

گاندھی جی کے اہنسا اور عدم تشدد کے فلسفے کی وضاحت کی آڑ میں پاکستان پر بیکر پوچر حملہ کرتے کہا:

"ہم گاندھی جی کی محبت اور عدم تشدد کے راستے پر چل رہے ہیں، پاکستان نے ہمیں غلام بنانے کو جونا پاک ارادہ کیا تھا وہ ہم نے ہندوستانی افواج کی مدد سے خاک میں ملا دیا ہے۔ اب پاکستان نے ہماری بات مان لی ہے جو ہم نے آج سے پندرہ (۱۵) سال پہلے کہی تھی۔ اس دریا نی عرصے میں پاکستان نے کوئی کوشش کی کہ کثیر کوثر و شیر مال کو سہ، چنانچہ یہاں کے بے گناہ عوام کا خون بہا یا گیا، لوگوں کے گھروں اور کھیتوں کی فصلوں کو نذر آتش کیا، آخر اس خون خرابہ اور ممان کا ذرہ اڑا کر رہا ہے، وہی پاکستان جس نے پندرہ سالہ کی لوط کھوٹ کے بعد ہمارے اصولوں کے سامنے تسلیم نہیں کیا، پاکستان کا استغوبہ رائے عاتکہ اصول تسلیم کرنے سے ہماری فتح ہوئی ہے۔"

لیکن شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے اس چالو ساز اور پاکستان مخالف تقریر نے جموں والوں پر کوئی خوشگوار اثر نہیں چھوڑا اور نہ ان میں کوئی تبدیلی آئی بلکہ وہ انہیں بہروپی کہنے لگے۔

سانپ کا ڈس

پرجا پریشد کی اس تحریک کا اگر وادی کشمیر میں کہیں شدید رد عمل ہوا، وہ ضلع اسلام آباد کا حاکم علاقہ ہے جہاں احتجاجی جلسے ہوئے اور جلسوں نکالے گئے جن میں سے پرجا پریشد لیول کو سانپوں سے تشبیہ دیتے ہوئے حکومت سے مطالبہ ہونے لگا کہ ۱۹۶۷ء میں ان لوگوں نے تین سو کے قریب کوچ بانوں جن کی اکثریت اس ضلع سے عبارت تھی اور جو نگر موٹہ میں بے دردی سے قتل کئے گئے تھے انہیں قانون کے حوالے کر کے ان پر باضابطہ مقدمہ چلایا جائے ان جلسوں میں شیخ عبداللہ کی حکومت پر یہ الزام لگایا گیا کہ وہ اس احتمال سے کہ کہیں حکومت ہند ناراض نہ ہو جائے مصلحت اندیشی

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اور چشم پوشی سے کام لے کر ان کے خلاف ایکشن لینے سے ڈرتی ہے۔ برعکس اس کے وادی میں جو چاہتی ہے کر گزرتی ہے اور اسے کوئی پوچھنے والا نہیں حکومت کی یہ دورچی پالیسی اسے جلد یا بدیر لے ڈوبے گی۔

بیر جا پریشد کے مخالف ہندو

بیر جا پریشد تحریک کے خلاف صوبہ جموں میں ہندو ایکٹ بکھ اور ڈولیسے ہندو نظر آئے جنہوں نے اس کے خلاف بیانات دیئے ہیں۔ ان میں سر فہرست لالہ ملک راج صاحب ہیں جنہوں نے اپنے بیان میں اس تحریک کی مذمت کرتے کہا — "جموں کے بعض نا عاقبت اندیش اشخاص نے جو طرہ اختیار کیا ہے اس سے صاف ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ وہ پاکستان کا کھیل کھیل رہے ہیں۔ یہ قبائلیوں سے زیادہ خطرناک اور ظن دشمن ہیں۔" یونہی کانگریس کے صدر بلراج پوری اور سیکریٹری گورنر جن سنگھ نے اپنے مشترکہ بیان میں ہندو ٹوڈنٹس فیڈریشن کے سابق صدر ہر چند روہن، بلراج مدھوک اور ان کے ساتھیوں کی اس سوز حرکات سے باخبر کراتے حکومت سے مطالبہ کیا کہ انہیں ریاست کی حدوں میں داخل ہونے نہ دیا جائے کیونکہ ان کے یہاں آنے سے فرقہ وارانہ امن بگڑنے کا شدید احتمال ہے۔ بیان کا یہ اقتباس قابل غور ہے۔

"جو لوگ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ریاست کے ہندوؤں کا فائدہ صرف ہمارا ہے اور وہی ان کی حفاظت اور رہنمائی کر سکتا ہے وہ حقائق سے کافی دور ہیں۔ ہمارا جہ کا لگاؤ تاریخی جدوجہد کو کچن، اینڈ تہر کو گڑ فار کرنا، مناسب وقت پر ہندو کے الحاق نہ کرنا، کال کی حکومت کا پاکستان سے سازش کرنا اور کشمیر پر جگہ کے وقت بزدلانہ طریقہ سے بھاگ آنا، جموں میں ہندو مسلمات کو داکر اور پور پوچھ اور راجپوتی کے ہندوؤں کی موت کا سبب بننا، جموں کے ہندو ذاتی جلد نہیں بھولے اور انکی اکثریت آج بھی یہ چاہتی ہے کہ کوئی راج کے سب سے بڑے دشمن اور ان کے مصائب

کے ذمہ دار ہری سنگھ کو اس کی کڑوت کی سزا دی جائے ریاست کے قوم پرست ہندو ہمارا جہ اور ان کے حواریوں کو صلیب پر لٹا دیں اگر ہمارا جہ کی دستبرداری کے سوال پر صرف ہندوؤں میں ہی استعجاب رائے کیا جائے تو اکثریت ہمارا جہ کے خلاف ہوگی کشمیر کے تعلق ہندوستانی عوام کو بھی اپنا فرض پورا کرنا ہوگا۔ ہمیں یہ فیصلہ کرنا ہوگا کہ چاہیں لاکھ جیتا اور ہمارا جہ ہری سنگھ میں دھس کی حیثیت کرتے ہیں۔"

مذکورہ بالا بیان سے جہاں صوبہ جموں کے دانشوروں اور ماہرین سیاست کو فکر کا نیا اور صحت بخش مواد ہوتا ہوا، وہاں جموں کے فرقہ پرست بلراج پوری کے بیان سے بھگچلا کے رہ گئے اور انہیں دھمکیاں دینے سے باز نہ آئے۔

ہمارا جہ پر پہلا وار

اسی دوران مرکزی وزیر داخلہ سردار پٹیل نے پارلیمنٹ میں کشمیر کی اقتصادی پربیان دیتے کہا، حکومت ہند نے ۱۹۴۷-۴۸ میں حکومت کشمیر کو ڈو کروڑ روپے کا قرضہ دیا ہے اور سال ۱۹۴۹ کے لئے ایک کروڑ بیس لاکھ روپے کا ایک اور قرضہ فراہم کیا ہے جو پانچ سال تک واجب الادا ہوگا۔ وزیر داخلہ کے بیان کے جواب میں چودھری غلام عباس خان نے منظر آباد، آزاد کشمیر سے ایک اعلان جاری کیا جس میں کہا گیا کہ حکومت ہند نے کشمیر کو جو قرضہ دیا ہے یا آئندہ دے گا اس سے کشمیری عوام کو کوئی سروکار نہیں ہے اور نہ کشمیری اس کے ذمہ دار ہیں۔ بخشی غلام محمد نے بیانات کی اس گرم باناری کو سپر بنا کر ایک قدم آگے بڑھ کر ریاستی حکومت کی اقتصادی اور معاشی بد حالی کے پین پین سرکاری اخراجات کو اعتدال پر لانے کے تحت ہمارا جہ ہری سنگھ کی ذات پر ریاست سے ہونے والے خرچہ کی تمام مددوں کو بیک جنبش قلم مجدد کرنے کا اعلان کیا۔ اس حکم کے تحت ہمارا جہ اور شہی خاندان کی کٹھاٹ بھاٹ قائم رکھنے کے لئے سالانہ دس لاکھ روپے کی رقم بند کرتے کے

علاوہ پولو گراؤنڈ پر سالانہ تین لاکھ روپے کا خرچہ اور کیسٹ ہاؤسوں پر بے پناہ دولت لٹائے جانے کے عمل کو بھی کالعدم کرنے کا حکم دیا۔

اس حکم نامے کی سیما ہی ابھی سوکھنے نہ پائی تھی، مولانا محمد سعید سعودی نے ریاست میں اندرونی شخصی آزادی کے موضوع پر مہاراجہ ہری سنگھ کو آٹے ہاتھوں لیتے اسل خواہش کا بڑے ہی اعتماد اور وقار کے ساتھ اظہار کیا کہ جب تک مہاراجہ ہری سنگھ کے حقوق یہاں کے ادنیٰ ترین باشندے کے برابر نہ ہوں گے اور اس کا کوئی امتیازی حق باقی نہیں رہے گا نہ آئینی نہ انتظامی، اس صورت میں ہی ہم اپنے تئیں آزاد تصور کریں گے۔ جوں میں ان بیانات پر خالصاں رد عمل ہوا، اور پر جا پریشد کی تنظیم نے اس کی کھل کر مخالفت شروع کی۔ پر جا پریشد کے تیور دیکھ کر وسط فروری ۱۹۶۹ء میں مولانا محمد سعید سعودی نے مجاہد منترل سرنگریں تقریر کرتے دل کی بات زبان پر لائی اور کہا:-

”نیشنل کانفرنس کا اہتمام سے یہ قاعدہ رہا ہے کہ وہ عوام کو جس راہ پر چلنے کو کہے اس کے اوپر پنج اور نیشیب و فرانسے بھی باخبر کرتے ہیں۔ آج بھی جس وقت میں کہوں گا کہ ہند سے الحاق کرنا ہے تو میں آپ کو اس کی تمام اوپر پنج سے آگاہ کر دوں گا۔ یہ صورت دو دو مینوں میں سے ایک کے ساتھ الحاق کے بارے میں ہے، اگر الحاق کا سوال نہ ہوتا تو ہم اپنی جگہ آزاد اور خود مختار رہنے کو ترجیح دیتے۔ قبائلی علاقہ کے دوران ہم اپنی آزادی کا سوال ملتوی کر کے جنگ جیتنے کی طرف توجہ دینی پڑی، مگر اب جب کہ جنگ بند ہو گئی ہے ہم پھر پہلے آزادی اور اس کے بعد الحاق کے اصول کو سامنے رکھیں گے، غلامی کی موجودہ صورت حال اس اگر آپ الحاق کے اصول کو سامنے رکھیں گے یا اگر آپ الحاق کریں تو وہ آزاد الحاق نہیں بلکہ پھنسے ہوئے مجبورانوں کا الحاق ہوگا

اس لئے ہمارا یہ ایمان ہونا چاہیے کہ اول آزادی بعد میں الحاق۔
مولانا محمد سعید سعودی نے اپنی تقریر میں دل میں جھپی ہوئی خواہش اور ارمان کا اظہار کرنے میں کسی لگی بٹٹی سے کام نہیں لیا اور الحاق کے ضمن میں یہ شرط بڑی وفاحت سے عائد کی کہ مہاراجہ ہری سنگھ بحیثیت منترل نہیں قبول نہیں آزادی کا شرمناک خواب آیا۔

جہاں کشمیری قائدین کے گاہے ماسٹہ گاہے تولہ والی سیاست نے حکومت ہند کو پریشان کر دیا وہاں آج بے کمی سیاست کے باعث جوں میں پر جا پریشد کی انکی مخالفت پر کمر بستہ ہوئے کشمیری لیڈروں کی اس گرگٹ نمنا سیاست نے ایک جانب حکومت ہند کی راہ میں مشکلات کھڑی کیں اور دوسری طرف بقول پریشد ”یہ تو ڈوبیں گے پر ہمیں بھی لے ڈوبیں گے“ انہوں نے اپنی ذہنی ایجنڈیشن کھڑی کر کے بھائی شروع کی۔ بظاہر وہ سیدھے سادے لوگوں کی حمایت حاصل کرنے کے لئے براہ راست ڈوبتے ہوئے جاگیر دارانہ نظام کی پالکی کے کھار بن کر سامنے آئے لیکن درحقیقت وہ ہندو اچیا پرستی اور ہندو راج کے جنون کی ہوس میں ہندو عوام کے نمائندوں کی حیثیت میں اپنے منصوبے کو عملی جامہ پہنانا چاہتے تھے۔

سہی ۱۹۶۹ء میں جب پریشد ایجنڈیشن بام عروج پر تھی شیخ محمد عبداللہ کے ایک غیر معمولی انٹرویو نے پوسے ہندوستان کو لرزہ بر اندام کیا اور کشمیر کی سیاست سے دلچسپی رکھنے والوں کو حیرت میں ڈال دیا۔ قبل اس کے کہ ہم انٹرویو کی پونہیں یہ بتانا بر عمل ہوگا کہ جنوری ۱۹۶۸ء میں مسئلہ کشمیر کو سلامتی کونسل میں پیش کرنے کے دوران شیخ عبداللہ ہندوستانی وفد کے ممبر کی حیثیت میں ایک سیکس گئے اور نیویارک کے ایک ہوٹل میں انہوں نے پاکستانی وفد کے دو ممبروں چودھری محمد علی اور نند دین تاثیر سے ایک خفیہ ملاقات کی اور ان کے سامنے مسئلہ کشمیر کا

WHY NOT CELEBRATE ACCESSION DAY OFFICIALLY?

In an interview with a national daily, Governor Satya Pal Malik has admitted that "India has made mistakes..." in Kashmir. No one can dispute it. One of the "mistakes" is the confusion created on J&K's Accession for which the nation is paying heavily till date. Accession is integral to Kashmir solution.

Constitutionally and politically, there is absolutely no confusion on the finality of Accession but the pampered Kashmir based mainstream politicians continue to harp on conditional' Accession as if it can be revoked at their whims which privilege even the Maharaja didn't have. Maharaja Hari Singh signed the same Instrument of Accession (IOA) acceding J&K to Indian Dominion which other 565 Rulers had as required under India Independence Act, 1947 and Govt. of India Act, 1935. The sovereignty of Rulers of Princely States was restored with the lapse of British Paramountcy under section of the Act of 1947 on the "appointed date" (August 15, 1947). It was the sovereign Ruler alone who had to decide the issue of Accession without reference to anything and that's what Maharaja Hari Singh did. The Act provided no third option.

Going by post 15th August events in J&K, Maharaja Hari Singh had delayed his decision on Accession and instead signed Standstill Agreement with Pakistan which betrayed him by tribesmen into J&K on 22nd October, 1947. With marching columns of marauding tribesmen moving towards Srinagar, Maharaja sought India's help but it was not sent as J&K had not acceded to India yet. On 25th October, V. P. Menon, Secretary of State's landed at Srinagar and discussed with the Maharaja his security and Accession. On wee hours of 26th October, 1947 before leaving for Jammu, the Maharaja signed the IOA.

Carrying the signed IOA, Maharaja's PM M C Mahajan accompanied by Menon rushed to Delhi for its acceptance by Governor General and military aid to push back invaders. They called on Pt. Nehru. Mahajan recorded this crucial meeting in his book, 'Kashmir's Accession to India, "I requested immediate military aid on any terms. Give us the military force we need. Take the accession and give whatever power you (India) desire to the popular party. The [Indian] army must fly to save Srinagar or else I will go to Lahore and negotiate terms with Mr. Jinnah." It enraged Nehru who asked him to go to Jinnah. But he relented when Kashmir's most popular leader, Sheikh Abdullah, sitting in the adjoining room, indicated his party's full support to Accession with India and thus IOA was accepted. In his autobiography, "Aitesh-e- Chinar" Sheikh also recounted this incident and quoted from Mahajan's book "I shall always be grateful to Sheikh Abdullah for his help at that crucial juncture. His timely consent saved Kashmir from acceding to Pakistan".

As required under the Act, Governor General Mountbatten accepted IOA in routine manner as printed on it, "I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession. Dated this twenty- seventh day of October, Nineteen Hundred and forty-seven" and

signed it. This was the only legal requirement and with this, J&K became a part of the Dominion of India.

However, Mountbatten wrote back a letter to Maharaja, not part of prescribed IOA, advising the people when peace returns to the State". Legally speaking, Accession had to be unconditional, voluntary and absolute. Mountbatten's questionable letter is beyond the purview of India Independence Act but since it was the desire of Pt Nehru no one challenged it. This unwarranted and ill-advised letter had become a pain in the neck of India which many jurists had criticised.

Late Mehr Chand Mahajan, who later became India's third Chief Justice, had observed in his book: *Kashmir's Accession to India*, that "Indian Independence Act did not envisage conditional accession. It could not envisage such a situation as it would be outside the Parliament's policy. It did not want to keep Indian State in a state of suspense. It conferred on the Rulers of the Indian States absolute powers in their discretions to accede to either of Dominions. The Dominion's Governor General had the power to accept or reject the offer but he had no powers to keep the question open or attach conditions". He further opined that, "finality which is statutory cannot be made contingent on conditions imposed outside the powers of the statute. Any rider which militates against the finality is clearly ultra vires and has to be rejected".

Another former CJI, late Justice Dr. A. S Anand had opined in his book: *'Constitutional Development of J&K'* that "this statement (Mountbatten's letter) does not and cannot affect the legality of Accession which was sealed by India's official acceptance. This letter was not a part of the Instrument of Accession". He further said, "The only documents relevant to the Accession were the Instrument of Accession and the India Independence Act, 1947. These constitutional documents did not contemplate any such condition. There can be no question of the Accession being conditional".

Yet another legal luminary and former Judge of Calcutta High Court, Dr. Justice (Retd) D. D. Basu too echoed similar views. He had said that 'the legal basis as well as the form of Accession was the same in the case of those States which had acceded to Pakistan or India. There is, therefore, no doubt that by the act of Accession the state of J&K became legally and irrevocably a part of the territory of India... "

A British politician who was on the staff of Mountbatten in 1947-1948, Alan Campbell- Johnson in his book *'Mission with Mountbatten'* touched J&K Accession and wrote, "The legality of the Accession is beyond doubt. It should be stressed that a Accession has complete validity both in terms of British Govt. and Jinnah's expressed policy statement".

Mountbatten's desire of "ascertaining the people's will" too was fulfilled with the ratification of the Accession by J&K Constituent Assembly, representing the

collective will of the people, on 6th February, 1954. The finality of Accession and J&K being an "integral part" of India is unambiguously recorded in J&K Constitution. Its Preamble reads, "We, the people of State of Jammu & Kashmir, having solemnly resolved, in pursuance of the Accession of this state to India which took place on the 26th day of October, 1947, to further define the existing relationship of the State with the Union of India as an integral part thereof..." Its Section 3 puts a seal on this relationship with India forever,

"The State of Jammu & Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India." And section 147 totally bars amendment of Section 3 and thus settled Accession issue forever. The Governor, CM and every Minister and even contesting candidates for election take oath of this Constitution and none can express reservation on finality of Accession.

Pt Nehru took Pakistan's aggression on J&K, territory of India, to UNO seeking vacation of the aggression but finally agreed to a Resolution for plebiscite. This Resolution too had become redundant as Pakistan didn't fulfil its man dated obligations in withdrawing its army and other unauthorized settlers from POK. Pakistan was fully conscious of little support for it as Kashmiris were staunch followers of the Sheikh who had rejected Jinnah's two-nation theory based on religion. Moreover, the Resolution was adopted under chapter VI of UN Charter which is not mandatory for the parties.

After State's Constituent Assembly ratified the Accession on 6th February, 1954, the then PM, Bakshi Ghulam Mohd, started celebrating 6th February as Yuma-e- Ilhaq in Jammu, seat of power in winter. Every year, impressive procession used to be taken out culminating with public rally addressed by Bakshi himself. But after his ignominious exit, this practice was quietly buried for reasons best known to leaders who came to power after him.

It is sad that the nationalist forces and mainstream parties too displayed lack of commitment to Accession Day all these years and allowed the separatists and their likes to convert the historic day into a 'black day'. It is not that the Accession Day had been observed as 'black day' right from days of Independence. As precursor to MUF creation, some anti- India "converts" gave the call for 'black day' in Srinagar in 1985. Since then, the situation had been drifting with ruling parties almost giving these elements a walk-over and 'black day' became annual feature in Kashmir which was never politically countered.

State and Central Governments had preferred to look the other way, giving a confused signal to people of Kashmir and the world about the status of J&K. Confusion on Kashmir multiplied with occasional statements of political leaders describing the Accession as "conditional" while others seek resolution of Kashmir "dispute", meaning that J&K's Accession is yet to be settled. Even a Dogra icon and veteran Congress leader in a way conceded Accession for three subjects & proposed

"Hong Kong model" in Rajya Sabha Accession and restricting the legislative powers of the Federal Legislature (now Parliament) to three subjects of the Union List are two different issues. It cannot be confused with "revocability" of Instrument of Accession that some top leaders keep threatening. The Accession could not be restricted to three subjects; more over Article 370 itself provides a mechanism to extend other subjects of Union list to J&K. On separatists' call, Kashmir observes shut down on 27th October every year, protesting against landing of same Indian forces in Srinagar on that day in 1947, conveniently overlooking the fact that Kashmiris had welcomed them as saviors who pushed back marauders accuse committing mayhems on way to Srinagar.

Jammu which is emotionally more integrated with India than Kashmir had too ignored the Accession Day in the past as non-event but, of late, started celebrating it with some fervor. Accession Day is a day of fulfilment and jubilation but inexplicably it was never observed as such. be the celebrations, its absence or hut downs; nothing can abate the importance and finality of constitutional and historical Day.

While 13th July is officially Observed as Martyrs' day with Holiday, being the major catalyst Of the Struggle for democracy and end of feudal rule, why the same Status is not accorded Accession Day that marks the culmination of the same struggle. This Martyrs' Day has no acceptance in Jammu as the people take•j. It as anti-Dogra (Jammu). But the, Governor, CM, Ministers, main, Stream leaders issue statements, paying tributes to those killed in firing outside the Central jail where the trial for sedition against a non-Kashmiri cook of a British Major, was being conducted.

J&K must observe 26th October as Accession Day, with or without holiday, with gaiety. People and political parties will obverse it but confusion on the finality of Accession would only end when the State celebrates the day as Festivals like I-Day, R-Day etc. Since Governor Malik is desirous of correcting the past "mistakes", he should grab this opportunity. This is not Jammu's cause but of the nation. Celebrate Accession Day officially, conveying a clear Signal on finality of Accession. PM Modi too should felicitate people on Accession Day, commending their momentous decision to link their destiny with a secular and progressive nation' which is now a world power.

ASFAQ ULLAH KHAN (22 OCT 1900 - 19 DEC 1927)

Ashfaqullah Khan, a great freedom fighter, was born in Shahjahanpur, Uttar Pradesh in 1900. He was the son of Shafiqullah Khan. He was great revolutionary and martyr who sacrificed for the independence of the country. His name is written in golden letters in the history of Ashfaqullah was the member of the revolutionary group whose leader was Ramparsad Bismil. He was best friend Ramprasad Bismil who also belonged to Shahjahanpur. Ramprasad was Aryasamaji and Ashfaq was a devout Muslim but their aim was one and same that was to get motherland liberated from the bonds of foreign rule. They were so devoted to their cause that they chose to be rather than bow down before the foreigners.

The friendship between Ashfaq and Bismil was so deep that once Ashfaq fell ill and had severe fever and under high perature he was muttering Ram, Ram and my Ram. Ashfaq's parents thought that Ashfaq is over-powered by some evil spirits since he was muttering the name of Ram a Hindu Lord.

His parents called a neighbour who told them that Ashfaq is not muttering name of Hindu Lord Ram but in fact Ashfaqwas remembering his best friend Ram Prasad Bismil who he used to address as Ram. Bismil was called and then Ashfaq stopped muttering Ram. Both each other. Alongwith Sachindra Nath Sanyal Ram Prasad Bismil Ashfaqullah founded The Hindustan Republican Association.

The Association published a manifesto called Krantikari in 1925. Both Ramprasad and Ashfaqullah conceived the famous Kakori Train robbery with the objective of getting money for carrying out their revolutionary activities. On August 9, 1925, the train from Shalياهوpur to Lucknow was approaching Kakori, Ashfaq boarded the second class compartment with his friends Sachindra Bakshi and Rajendra Laheri.

Ashfaq noticed money bags being taken into guard's van and being dropped into iron safe. Ashfaq alone together with his friends Sachindra Bakshi, Rajendra Lahiri and Bismil broke the lock of iron safe, took the money and fled. For about a month none of the revolutionaries could be arrested but British Government was determined to arrest the culprits.

On 26th September 1925 Bismil was arrested Ashfaq escaped. Any-how he reached Delhi where he met a Pathan friend who also hailed from Shahjahanpur. Pathan fell on the greed of money which the Britishers had announced on Ashfaq's head and sounded the police which arrested Ashfaq next morning.

When Ashfaq was in jail, the Superintendent of Police who was Muslim came to Ashfaq and said to him, "Ashfaq I am also Muslim. I can get you released

if you become government approver and give testimony against Bismil. He is Hindu and wants to established the rule of Hindus in India; you should part ways with him. "

Ashfaq got enraged and replied "I warn you, never utter such words Ramprasad is my brother. I would rather die under the rule of Hindus than to live under British rule.

A committee consisting Jawahar Lal Nehru and G. B Pant was formed to defend Ashfaq and Bismil in Kakori train robbery case but its efforts to save revolutionaries in the Court of Justice failed. Appeals were made to Viceroy to convert his death sentence into life sentence.

Privacy Council was approached. But all efforts went in vain. Britishers did not relent. Ashfaqullah, Bismil, Rajendra Lahiri and Roshan Singh were given death sentences.

Others were given life sentences. The entire country protested against death sentences. On 19th December 1927 Ashfaqullah Khan was hanged to death at a jail in Faizabad. Ashfaqs last words were "My hands are not soiled with the murder of men. God will give me justice."

"Shaheedon ki Chitaon par lagaingay har Baras mailey, Watan par Marne walon ka yahee baqui nishan hoga" (Every year fairs will held at the tombs of martyrs, this will be the only surviving sign of those who died for the nation.) Gandhiji launched Non Cooperation Movement in 1921 and asked the people not to pay taxes, the revolutionaries like Ashfaq and Bismil actively participated in that move ment and whole heartedly supported Gandhiji's efforts to liberate India from foreign rule.

Sheikh Abdullah after Jail

Comments by Justice G.D. Sharma as contained in his book –The Plight of Kashmir:

The National Conference leaders frequently described 23 years (from August 9, 1953 to February 25, 1975) as a "dark patch in the history of Kashmir." Sheikh Abdullah immediately started picking his Plebiscite Front workers in the State Administration including in the police department in a systematic and calculated manner, as he already had done of course more openly during his first tenure up to 1953. In the Parliamentary elections of March 1977, the Congress Party was routed in northern India. The Congress Party sensed that Sheikh Abdullah would join hands with Janata Party. The Congress had strength of 45 members in the house of 75 and on March 25, 1977, it withdrew the support and put up a claim to form the Ministry. Sheikh Abdullah got the house dissolved from Governor LK Jha. The Congressmen decried the decision as "undemocratic, morally indefensible and constitutionally questionable." At that time, there was Janata wave in the country. Party unit was set up in the State with Maulana Masoodi as its Convener. Maulvi Farooq of Awami Action Committee also joined it. This made Sheikh panicky and he started raising parochial feelings. He also raised false propaganda for the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. The propaganda included that the State would cede from India if Kashmiris were not given the place of honour and dignity. In the Muslim-dominated rural areas, the leaders of National Conference administered oaths to the electorates by holding Koran in one hand and Pakistani salt in the other to cast votes in their favour (See My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir by Jagmohan). During the period of elections, he fell sick and his detractors say that this was a ploy to win the sympathy of the masses. This semi-fascist propaganda yielded the results as in the elections of June 30, 1977; he won 39 seats in Valley out of 42, seven seats from Muslim majority area of Jammu region out of total 32 seats and both seats from Ladakh. The Janata Party got two seats in the Valley and eleven in the Jammu. Congress was routed in the Valley but it won 14 seats in Jammu region and that too because of infighting between the members of Janata Party.

In the history of elections so far held in the State this was the fairest election because Prime Minister Morarji Desai and other important leaders in his cabinet including Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee of the Janata did not allow any rigging of the elections which could easily be party done by them because the State was under the spell of Governor's Rule. However, from the above stated facts it is established that the tallest leader from Kashmir Valley, i.e. Sheikh Abdullah despite his last days of life did not desist from the old habit of playing a religious card in order to win a victory in the elections. These tactics adopted by him could be termed as unfair practice under the Election Law but because of the paucity of available evidence and in fighting and disunity in other political parties, the matter could not be taken up in the Election Tribunal by way of filing election petitions.

Sheikh Abdullah was sworn in as Chief Minister on July 9, 1977.

Small caucuses in political and administrative arena ascended around him and this generated corruption and regional discrimination. He withdrew criminal cases against 30 hardcore activists of Al-Fatah (a militant organization). The Sessions Judge who was designated as Special Judge at that time to try this case was known for his honesty and possessed accommodating disposition of mind towards lawyers as well as litigants. He had been trying this case in the premises of Central Jail Srinagar where a small separate portion of the jail building had been converted as a court complex for the trial of anti-nationals. This had been done for security reasons as important and dreaded anti-nationals normally could not be taken on every date of hearing in the court complex of Srinagar which was situated in the heart of the city. In 1980, the writer of this book was promoted as District and Sessions Judge and posted as First Additional District and Sessions Judge Anti-Corruption for Kashmir Division (including Ladakh region) with additional powers to try the anti-nationals under the Enemy Agents Ordinance of the Samvat year 2007 (AD 1950) promulgated by the then Sadar-i-Riyasat (Dr Karan Singh). At least twice or thrice in a month, the court proceedings were held in Central Jail premises. The staff members had told the writer of this book that the accused of this notorious anti-national organization were

over manipulations and is finding it difficult to return to power without the support of Hurriyat and that is the reason of their bonhomie.

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being treated as State guests the court on every date of hearing. They were being served sumptuous tea along with fried chicken and 'Kashmiri kebabs'. The accused were getting long adjournments according to their wishes and Convenience. At this stage, it will amount to do injustice to the Patriotic zeal and fervour of late Peer Ghulam Hassan Shah, ex- Director-General of Police (J&K) in case his professional ethics Performed with sense of duty as a patriot police officer is not given a space in this book. This heroic deed of Police officer of rare competence and moral courage with full dedication to safe guard the disintegration of the state from Union of India, unfortunately faded away after passage of time.

The successor political bosses at the helm of the affairs inclusive of administrators and concerned members of the judiciary had succumbed to some hidden pressure to prolong the legal process set afoot by him. He had done so without caring for the future risk to his life and family member's safety. With utmost professional competence he had unearthed the underground network of the above said anti-national organization.

The result was that all the accused got an opportunity to avail the pre-planned escape route and were away from the clutches of law. Had the case been tried in a fair manner with all promptitude it could be possible the result would have been otherwise. MY Saraf of POJK in his book has tremendously praised the network of the above stated organization from his own Pro-Pakistan point of views. After the end of this one of the sensitive anti-national case, Sheikh Abdullah accommodated some of the accused at vantage political and administrative positions including in the judiciary. In order to ensure the successful accession of Chief Ministership in favour of his son Dr Farooq Abdullah, he asked the potent contender Mirza Afzal Beg to resign. He did so on September 25, 1978 and four days later was expelled from the party. Throughout his life, Baig had stood like a rock with Sheikh Abdullah and advanced his mission of life. He was recognized as number two leader in the hierarchy of leadership. After his unceremonious expulsion, he fell sick and remained on death bed for a pretty long time. Late DD Thakur on Baig's exit occupied his senior position in the government as a minister and in his autobiography he has recorded that when he (Thakur) suggested Sheikh Abdullah to pay a courtesy call jointly at the house of Afzal Beg, Sheikh Abdullah opposed this idea but with great persuasion he made him to agree to see the ailing ex-minister along with his other colleagues. It is not sure whether Sheikh Abdullah himself had accompanied them or not. Anti-defection law was enacted to strengthen his coterie. In order to keep the emotional fervour of the Kashmiri masses boiling he passed the controversial Resettlement Bill which discriminates ' the inhabitants of the State on the ground of religion. At the time of partition of India in 1947, many Muslims having Muslim League's leanings had migrated from the state to the territory of Pakistan. The Bill envisaged their safe return including their successors in the State of J&K but Hindus and Sikhs who became refugees from the Pakistan occupied areas had not been given any compensatory relief. Rather, they had to surrender their properties occupied as allottees of the evacuee properties on the claims of proprietary rights of those anticipated returnees from Pakistan. In other words, again for the second time they had to become refugees on the basis of being Hindus/ Sikhs. Even hardcore descendant militants of those migrated families could return to the State under the protection of that proposed Bill as Real Migrants, Sheikh Abdullah passed away on September 8, 1982. He got a mammoth funeral. Dr Farooq Abdullah as expected succeeded him as Chief Minister. This was a smooth affair there was nobody in the National Conference to challenge Sheikh Abdullah's last wish. Mrs Indira Gandhi (Prime Minister of India) and Governor of the State BK Nehru had also participated in the funeral procession. The writer of this book who at that time was in Kargil Headquarters as District Judge Ladakh also came to witness the funeral procession which was a sea of human beings. Undoubtedly, people of Kashmir gave him great love and affection in the last journey of his life.

The Resettlement Bill had raised fierce controversy as the Central Government and the Governor received hundreds of representations. The Governor sent the Bill back to the Legislative Assembly pointing out the constitutional infirmities. At this time, Dr Farooq Abdullah had become the Chief Minister. He persisted and got the Bill passed second time on October 4, 1982. The Governor was left with no option but to give his assent. From here, the Central Government held discussions with new Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah and

made a Presidential reference to the Supreme Court for its advice. In 2002, the Supreme Court dismissed the reference by holding that it had already become an Act so the reference was not maintainable. Two Public Interest Writ Petitions were filed in the Supreme Court. (Writ Petition of 2001 titled 'Shiv Sagar Tiwari and another vs State of J&K' and others; writ Petition of 2001 titled 'J&K National Panthers Party vs Union of India and others'). The Apex Court has granted the interim relief by staying the Operation of the Act and the writs stand admitted for hearing. The thinking of the protagonists of the Resettlement Act and the thinking of the J&K Liberation Front spring from the same root, i.e. separatist Psyche. The passing of the Autonomy resolution in the J&K Assembly in 2001 by Dr Farooq Abdullah gives credence to this view. The solution also speaks of discrimination and communalism. It divides State into eight Divisions out of which only one Division would be Hindu-dominated. It dissects the Jammu region on communal lines. The central Government headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee out rightly rejected this resolution though Dr Farooq Abdullah and his party men were most unhappy being the partners in the coalition NDA Government.

SHARPENING OF REGIONAL IDENTITIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON KASHMIR POLITICS

As already pointed out the geo-political profile of the State of Jammu and Kashmir clearly depicts its heterogeneity. The multiplicity of its ethnic- religio- lingio-regiono-cultural character as well as over the years growing politico emotional divergence among the regions not only sharpened the regional identities in the three regions- Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh but also has deep impact on the overall politics of the State. It is also pointed out that the distinctive characteristics of Kashmir politics and identity have automatically carved out two regional identities on its either side separating it from Jammu by the geographical barrier of Pir Panchal and from Ladakh by Zojila.

I may point out once again that, during freedom struggle in Kashmir, the Dogras of Jammu particularly non-Muslims identified themselves with loyalty towards Dogra ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh. They considered that their rights and interests would be more protected at the hands of Hindu ruler against the chauvinistic politics of the majority community. But in post-independence period, when monarchy was abolished, the Dogras of Jammu looked towards India for the protection of their interests and social security against the domination of Kashmiri's chauvinisms.

As mentioned earlier, Hindu dominated belt of Jammu found its effective expression in the Hindu dominated party known as Praja Parishad which first sought for the security of the Dogras in the retention of Maharaja as a constitutional head of the state and then favoured full accession of the State with the Indian Union. It is pointed out that such an attitude of the people of Jammu was the result of a protest against the aggressive trends of Kashmiri nationalism. But the Praja Parishad led Jammu to a blind alley. Its politics splintered Jammu on communal lines. Its slogan for the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution as well as its demand for the complete merger of the State in the Indian Union alienated not only the autonomous forces in the State but also non-Muslims. Even the liberal and secular forces in the State opposed its politics simply because of its association with the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) and other communal organisations in the country as well as its final merger with the Jana Sangh. Moreover, the chauvinistic attitude of the Kashmiris' also led to the emergence not only the preservation of Jammu identity but also giving its people a fair share in socio-politico-economic development of the State. Despite this Jammu has served as a vital geopolitical link between Kashmiri aspirations and liberal Indian Public opinion from 1947 until now.

The Kashmir identity, on the other hand, marked by the political movement which started in July, 1931 against the Dogra monarchy. The entire course of this movement and its vicissitudes can broadly be interpreted in terms of the urge of the Kashmiri nationalists to seek avenues of self-awareness, self-expression, self-assertion and self-determination through varying manifestations and relationships.

In addition to this, linguistic and cultural homogeneity, historical continuity and geographical compactness sharpened its regional identity. As a result of this, political awakening in Kashmir expressed itself in the form of Muslim consciousness through an informal political form as the Muslim Conference in 1932 under the leadership of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah. Such Muslim consciousness demanded more government jobs for Muslims, democratic rights, freedom of expression and association and political power through responsible government. As the ruler was a Dogra Hindu, a non-Kashmiri and non-Muslim, the demand of democracy satisfied regional and religious urges of the Kashmiri masses.

The change of the Muslim Conference to The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in 1939 not only secularised the Kashmir politics but also invited non-Muslims' valuable support to the democratic government in the State under the charismatic leadership of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah in 1948-49. Moreover, it abolished monarchy and landlordism also. As a result of this, most of the people of Jammu looked upon the party as a manifestation of militant Kashmiri nationalism. With this, the Kashmiri leadership perceived threat to their identity when movement for full integration of the state with the Indian Union by scrapping Article 370, which confers a special status to the state under Indian political system, was started by the Praja Parishad

in 1952 and was supported by Jana Sangh. Despite the opposition from Jammu and also difference, government of India since 1953, the Kashmiri Leaders neither merged Kashmiri identity with the Indian nationalism nor with that of Pakistan. Thus, the dominant Kashmiri sentiment, with varying phases, has been in clash with the integrationist forces inside and outside the State.

As far as Ladakh is concerned, its discontent is against discrimination by Kashmiri leadership. Since independence Kashmir has come to be viewed as oppressor primarily by Ladakh Buddhists. Their demands were three fold: Divisional (or regional) status to Ladakh (with Leh and Kargil as two districts) at par with Kashmir and Jammu; regional autonomy within the state; and scheduled tribe status to the people of Ladakh. Recently, Ladakhi Buddhists and Ladakhi (Shia) Muslims have been granted scheduled tribe status. Side by side, the peace loving and Ladakhi Buddhists population demand that Ladakh be declared as Union Territory in order to accelerate its socio-political and economic development. In order to precipitate their efforts to achieve Union Territory status, the Ladakhi Buddhists formed a political organisation namely, the Ladakhi Buddhists Association in recent past. The organisation has been pressing hard for getting its demand accepted by the state as well as the Central Government.

The Ladakh Buddhist Association while pointing out some roots of the crisis in Ladakh such as identity crisis, ethnic conflict and socio-economic imbalances has now launched a prolonged agitation for securing a Union territory status for Ladakh.

Thus Central Government seems to be concerned about the movement launched by the Ladakhi people so that people of this sensitive geo-political region touching newly formed Central Asian Republics, China and Pakistan may not become restive. That is why Central leaders particularly Home Minister repeatedly visited Ladakh region to have a firsthand knowledge about the problems being faced by the people of this sensitive region and report to the Central Government for finding out some amicable solution of the problem.

It may also be pointed out that the climate as well as ethnic composition has greatly affected the state politics. Except Jammu, both Kashmir and Ladakh are the coldest regions. In the past no political movement was started in Kashmir in winter. But for the last few years, Kashmir is under turbulence continuously regardless of its climatic conditions. The same scene has been witnessed in Ladakh region also. The various ethnic groups belonging to various regions of the state do not react uniformly to political pulls from outside the state which adversely affect their relation with one another. The ethnic groups feel involved in all the affairs of the state and take the interest in elections, administration and development. Above all, the question of sense of participation and equitable share in political power has started agitating the minds of various ethnic groups.

Linguistically also, the state is heterogeneous in character. As already pointed out, most of the people of Jammu region are Dogras and speak Dogri; of Kashmir are Kashmiri and speak Kashmiri and of Ladakh are Ladakhi and speak Ladakhi. Therefore, Dogri and Kashmiri are Greek to Ladakhies as Dogri to Kashmiries and Kashmiri to Dogras. All this has created a barrier to understand each other's viewpoints and appreciate their divergent approach to the politico-socio-economic problems being faced by the people of three regions.

The above mentioned factors to a great extent contributed much in sharpening the regional identities of all the three regions and helped in developing, in each of the region, its distinct and aggressive political entity and also its divergent political aspirations without caring for the interests of other two regions. As a result, no inter-regional, intercommunal political party could come up in the state which had legitimacy from all the three regions of the state. Though regional and political groups were activated in their respective geo-political regions, and also some futile attempts have been made in the past by a few progressive and secular elements to form political parties either through alliance or mergers, yet these experiments were either short-lived or such political parties could not get any popularity. Since geo-political position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is so strategic and delicate that above mentioned kinds of diversities on different aspects led to fragmentations

implications of politics thereby strengthening the adversaries within the state and also across the borders
ing it.

THE FORMATION OF THE ALL JAMMU AND KASHMIR PLEBISCITE FRONT AND POLITICS

As already pointed out that the motivational variations arising out of varied political considerations and failure of the centre-state leadership at various levels to reconcile the various claims and aspirations led to the constitutional crisis of August 1953. As a result the first popularly elected Ministry of Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed. He and his prominent supporter Mr. M.A. Beg and few others were arrested under the Public Security Act and Bakshi Gulam Mohd. took over as the new premier of the state. All this was termed an attack on the sub-nationalism of Kashmir by the Indian government and murder of democracy in Kashmir. It, therefore, evoked a violent reaction in the valley in which about ten thousand persons including one hundred women were also arrested. The movement though was crushed by the new regime yet it caused feelings of hatred against India.

Mr. M.A. Beg who was later on released from detention in November 1954 because of ill health, however, conceived an idea for floating a new party, not only to meet the new challenge against Kashmir's right of self-determination but also to mobilise public opinion against Bakshi government. The decision to set up this front said to have been taken by Mr. Beg when he was inside the Jail after consultations with his colleagues and this move had also been discussed by him with his outside associates after his release.

Thus M.A. Beg along with six sitting members of the state legislature and one member of Parliament from the state left the All J&K National Conference and founded the All J&K Plebiscite Front on August 9, 1955 i.e., two years after the crisis of August 1953. On the same day a special session of the party was convened in the lawns of the residential house of Khwaja Ali Shah, which was attended by thousands of supporters of the party and Mr. Beg and Mr. G.H. Hamdani were unanimously elected as president and secretary of the party respectively. An Executive Committee consisting of sixteen members was also elected. The following were the members elected to the Executive Committee

1. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg (President);
2. Sofi Mohammad Akbar (Vice President);
3. Kh. Abdul Gani Goni (Vice President);
4. Kh. Mohi-ud-Oin Hamadani (General Secretary);
5. Khe Sadar-Ud-Oin Mujahid (Secretary);
- 7 Hajj Mohammad Ishaq (Treasure);
- 8, Kh. Ali Shah, Srinagar (Member);
9. Sheikh Mohammad Mansoor, Kulgam (Member);
10. Mohammad Subhan Bhatt, Pulwama (Member);
11. Pir Mohammed Afzal Makdoomi, Srinagar (Member);
12. Hakim Habib-Ullah, Sopore (Member);
13. Gulam Nabi Wani, Budgam (Member);
14. Pir Mohammad Magbool Yelgami (Member);
- 15, Gulam Oadir Hawabaz, Baramullah (Member);

after the formation of the Executive Committee, the elections of the district and tehsil committees were

while declaring that "No power on the Earth can deprive the people of Kashmir the right of Self-determination", Mr. M.A. Beg read out the manifesto of the party which signed by M.A. Beg; Sofi Mohd Akbar (M.P.); Hakim Habib-Ullah (M.L.A.); Peer Mohd Maqbool Yelgini (Ex.M.L.A.); Sadar-ud-Oin Mujahid (Editor Khidmat); Haji Mohammad Ishaq (Vice- Chairman, All India Shia Conference); and Kh. Abdul Gani Goni (M.L.A.).II

The Plebiscite Front also said to have the blessings of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah. Although he never formally joined the party yet he helped the party to become a popular organisation in Kashmir. As the time passed on, it became the most effective and influential party in the valley as well as in Muslim belt of Jammu region. In view of its popularity the party was banned in the beginning, but subsequently the ban was lifted.

The next party convention was convened at Islamabad on September 10, 1955 in which Mr. M.A. Beg, the President of the party, issued the policy statement. On 6th October, 1955 the Front convened a two-days convention at Sopore which was attended by thousands of people and confirm Mr. Beg's statement of 10th September, 1955 which

"The Plebiscite Front is sure that the world opinion cannot be misled for long. Those people who love freedom inspired and democracy and struggle for human rights will stand by us and give moral support to four hundred thousand people of Kashmir in the attainment of their objectives. The only crime of Kashmiris is that they demand the right to express their opinion. Since their beloved leader has been in prison for three years without any trial, the Sheikh's release is a must because in this period Of darkness marked by troubles and afflictions, hardships and oppression; tyranny and despotism, he is the only hope of light for them. It is the selfless sacrifices of the Sheikh which aspired the people with valour, courage and determination to fight their enemy without any fear," The statement added that the conditions in the state had been so crucially created for the votaries of the Plebiscite Front that it almost became criminal for them to raise any voice against the oppression exercised by the Government. Even then the people were determined to face the hardships with full strength and march forward to their destination,"

Basically the Plebiscite Front was organised by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was in prison. The Front was organised, however, by experienced politicians who had a remarkable role and record of their political life during the freedom struggle in the state. The important personalities involved in the Plebiscite Front politics were "Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Sofi Mahammad Akbar of Sopore, Kh.Abdull Gani Goni, Kh.Mohi-un-Din Hamadani, Kh. Gulam Rasool Kachok, Haji Mohammad Subban Bhatt, Pir Mohammad Afzal Makdooi, Habibullah Hakim, Sopore, Gulam Nabi Wani, Pir Maqbool Yelgami, Hadwara, Gulam Qadir Hawabaz, Gulam Mahammad Dar, Banihal, Mirza Gulam Mohammad Beg. Gulam Nabi Kachok, Doctor Majid (Islamabad), Pir Abdul Gani, Khw Gulam Mahammad Ramzan Kami, Kh. Abdul Ahad (Advocate Sopre), Gulam Hassam Inqilabi, Gulam Ahmed Sofi, Gulam Mohammed Bhat and Gulam Mahammed Sheikh (Doda, Jammu). With these and many other politicians and political workers, the Plebiscite Front had declared itself to be a non-communal, secular and non-violent organisation".

Party organisational structure

On the basis of the Plebiscite Front Constitution 1955, which was subsequently amended in 1965, the party organisational structure comprised

1. The Primary Committee or Mohalla or Gam (Village) Committee. Its activities were confined to the Village. The members to this committee were directive elected by the residents of that locality.

2 Next Primary Committee was called Halqa Committee and its activities and functions were confined to the area covered by a patwar Halqa. Its members were indirectly elected by all the elected members and bearers of all the primary units within the Halqa. Halqa committees existed also in town municipal areas. The members and office bearers of the committees operating in a Halqa were empowered to elect delegates and these delegates elected the Tehsil President, District and Provincial Committees. The party had one General Council whose members were elected delegates, one fourth from every tehsil from all over the state.

Besides, there were one President; two Vice-Presidents; one General Secretary; two Secretaries; a Treasurer; an Accountant; members of the working committee; who formed the party's central council; delegates; the Tehsil, the District, the Provincial and the state level committees; and the primary or basic members of the party.

The party had a centralized organisational structure. All the committees used to function under the discipline and general control of the working committee.

However, the Front's Finance Committee, comprising the President, two Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer, used to control the receipt and expenditure of all the funds of the party and audit the accounts of all the subordinate committees.

But the primary or basic membership of the party was open only to those who believed that the state's accession to India was only temporary and provisional and that the issue of accession had to be decided by its people through a plebiscite.

Party Ideology

The ideology of the Plebiscite Front was evident from the very name, aims and objectives of the party. The party leadership believed that as the Instrument of Accession of the Jammu And Kashmir state with Indian Dominion signed by the Maharaja on October 27, 1947 was accepted by Lord Mountbatten on the assurance that it should be settled by a reference to the people, Kashmir state was a disputed territory. The state's accession with Indian Union was, therefore, conditional and temporary and could only be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state. The party leadership stressed that since the issue of Kashmir accession had never been referred to the people, the dispute stood unresolved. The leadership further stressed as Pt. Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India, cabled a similar assurance to the British Prime Minister, the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people was, therefore, recognised by both nationally and internationally and even under the U.N. Security Council resolutions passed in March, 1948.

As the party's first and foremost contention was to secure to the people of Kashmir their sacred right of self-determination, it was the corner stone of party ideology.²⁶ The party also believed in the ideology of constitutionalism, non-violence and peaceful operation as methods for the attainment of its objectives and aims. Its leadership had also a faith in the ideology of secularism and democracy. While discarding the role of religion in politics and stressing that there was no place for communalism in its politics and political programme, they declared that "communal hatred and disharmony is repugnant to its ideology". Moreover, the party never favoured the disintegration of the state.

Another important ideological ingredient of the party was its belief in human rights and liberties. The party, therefore, strongly opposed oppressive laws such as Preventive Detention Act, The Enemy Agent Ordinance, The Defence Rules etc., which could be used on any pretext for curbing human liberties and civil rights of the people.

the Plebiscite Front had secular ideology and believed in man's worth and advocated the cause of rights and liberties. It stood for a political system based on justice, equality and liberty. It never passed any draconian sort of legislations which curbed human will and liberty.

Support base of the Party

The Plebiscite Front gained strength with the passage of time and became the most effective and influential party in the valley as well as in Muslim belt of Jammu region. It generally attracted the elements having affinity with the principle of Kashmir sub-nationalism represented by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, those having ideological affinity with the Two Nation Theory and were not prepared to sacrifice their religion and ideology at the altar of good relationship with India and who cherished the idea of independent Kashmir.

The Front had made an attempt to infiltrate into the trade union sphere and managed to control the Silk Factory Workers Union, Boatmen's Union and the Students Union such as Young Men's League.

The Front had also supporting bases in some of the foreign countries i.e., Kashmiris settled in U.K., U.S.A., and in other countries. The party also got monetary as well as moral support from European and some Middle Eastern countries.

Strategy and Tactics

In order to mobilize the public opinion in support of its basic demand for right of self-determination, "The imparting of political education to the masses" was the common and overall strategy adopted by the Fronts. The party, therefore, organised processions and public meetings in which its leadership demanded withdrawal of Indian army from the state and of the holding of plebiscite under United Nations auspices. An underground war council was also set up to conduct the passive, non-violent movement. The demonstration by women marked a special feature of the movement for plebiscite. With a view to educating the masses politically, huge literature was published and distributed at sacred religious places such as Daragah-i-Hazratbal etc., where the Front could find a readymade and easy audience for propagation of its aims, objectives and programmes. The party organised strikes, hartals, street processions, demonstration and slogan shouting also.

Another strategy adopted by the Front was to prepare people for non-cooperation with the government of the state and the centre. The party tried to highlight the failures of the governments in various spheres and underrate the benefits to the people from various measures taken by the government to ameliorate their lot. In other words, the Front's endeavour was to under rate the state's links with India and to stress the importance of her links with Pakistan.

The Front Electoral Performances

In the initial stage the Front condemned the contesting of elections and criticised those who wanted to enter the election arena. But later on apprehending cracks in the party, it decided to contest elections to prove to the world how popular the party was in Kashmir. The party, therefore, decided to enter 1972 Election. However, the nomination papers of the Front candidates were rejected on the ground they were anti-national. But a few candidates like Mizra Arif Beg, Mufti Mehraj Din and Aga Syed Afzal Jalali-enjoying the Front support contested the election. The party even extended its support to the candidates of Jamat-e-Islami. But the massive victory of the Front candidates in the civic polls had given legitimacy to its stand. The Plebiscite Front was hereby three months old when M.A. Beg- the President of the party along with several top leaders of the party were arrested on 19th November, 1955. In spite of this a two-day convention of the party workers was convened at Anantnag in the last week of November, 1955 which was attended by more than fifty thousand people. Several resolutions were passed urging the government of India to implement the U.N.O

resolutions on Kashmir and to honour her solemn pledges of holding free and impartial plebiscite in K for the democratic settlement of the accession question.⁴³ Between 19th November, 1955 and September, 1956, four presidents including M.A Beg of the party were arrested. The party then decided to boycott the proceedings of the Kashmir Consenbly. Thousands of telegrams were then sent to the President of the Consenbly by the party to desist from Constitution making. The Front challenged the competence of the Consenbly to frame the constitution on the plea that "following the dismissal and the arrest of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah as well as many of his colleagues, the Consenbly had lost its representative character. As such, in their absence and in the absence of 25 members assigned to the territorial constituencies under the Pak-occupied Kashmir, no decision regarding the future of the state and finality of the issues could be decided by it. Protest meetings were held where the members of the party reiterated their faith in the right of self-determination. Although the party also boycotted the Assembly Election of 1957, yet it played an important role as an opposition from outside. The Front, however, became the party as was claimed earlier. There were regular contacts between the Plebiscite Front leadership and the Pak Agencies. According to B-N Malik the incriminating letters were recovered from Mirza Afzal Beg. However, at the time of his arrest in 1956, he also asserted that a regular communication was being maintained between the War Council of Pakistan and Plebiscite Front Leaders by means of couriers.

The Front had very sagaciously chosen its strategy to internationalise Kashmir issue and to bring pressure upon the Government of India to concede its demand for plebiscite. Its leadership, therefore, appealed to conscience of the world statesmen, politicians and the heads of the Government for extending their supports to the demand of the Kashmiris for plebiscite as agreed to by the various resolutions of the Security Council. Memoranda were submitted to the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference held in London on September 9, 1962, the President of U.S.A. on his visit to India in 1959 and to Frank Graham, the special U.N. representative for Kashmir on his visit to Indian sub-continent in January, 1958 urging them to see that the Security Council resolution for plebiscite in Kashmir be implemented without further delay. Similar appeals were made to the U.N. Secretary-General, The president of the U.N.O. General Assembly and the Muslim Countries to help in the solution of the Kashmir dispute.

The Holi Relic episode of 1963 provided another opportunity to the Plebiscite Front to further extend its influence in the valley. The party forged an alliance with the Awami Action Committee of Maulvi Farooq to give a lead to the people of the valley in such an hour of grave crisis. The honeymoon between the two parties, however, broke down after the recovery of the holy relic. The Awami Action Committee then stole Plebiscite thunder. It then could not claim to be the sole representative of the Muslims of the Valley.

Pakistan's failure to capture the state with the help of large scale infiltration in 1965, however, gave rise to extremism in the valley. The then newly emerging youth leaders accused the Plebiscite Front of inaction when Pakistan was trying to liberate Kashmir. On October 1, 1965 during meeting at Hazaratbal Shrine several students captured the dias and blamed the leadership of Front for being stooges of the Indian Government.

However, after the historic Indira-Sheikh Accord of 1975, The J&K Plebiscite Front was considered to be irrelevant and was, therefore, dissolved and the Party was then re-designated as The All J&K National Conference.

Thus, the politics of the All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front right from its inception till 1975, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah assumed political power, seemed simply to be a protest movement. After 1975 till his death, Sheikh Mohd Abdullah simply harped on the tune of state autonomy and the issues of the state accession and the right of self-determination of the Kashmiris were relegated to the background. one may, therefore conclude that the politics of Plebiscite was played simply for political bargaining and the bargain was astutely structured in the shape of Indira-Sheikh Accord 1975.

Reference: Bhushan, Vidya: State politics and govt. Jammu and Kashmir

THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN J&K STATE: A HISTORICO-POLITICO AND CONSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS TILL 1983

"Kashmir is known as the paradise on earth not only for its sun-lit, snow clad peaks, its shadows-kissed valleys, its lovely flowers, its green meadows, shady chinar trees, crystal-clear lakes, its rich luscious fruits and sweet-scented saffron, its magnificent pleasure-parks, its floating gardens and glittering glaciers, and beautiful pine mantled side valleys, but also for its most beautiful women and cherubic, rosy-cheeked children who seem to have walked out of some of the old European paintings of a flock of angels hovering around Christ Child."

Through their long history, Kashmiri woman witnessed varying fortunes. "At times women had risen to pinnacles of glory, distinguished themselves as rulers in their own right, as regents of minor princes, as powerful queen-consort, as diplomats in peace and war, as commanders of the armies, as thrifty land-ladies, as builders and reformers, as protectors of the religious lore, as singing and dancing beauties and also earned names in keeping homes."

Broadly speaking from early times down to the thirteenth century A.D. Kashmiri women enjoyed remarkable freedom, wielded ample power and exercised responsibility, which gave them a high status in society. The happiest period for women was when the country came under the sway of Buddhism. However, with the establishment and consolidation of Muslim rule in the valley, women were gradually and increasingly deprived of these rights and privileges. Their sole meanings and purpose in life became to keep the houses, to gratify the desires of their husbands and to procreate.

But in the wake of Afghans on sought followed religious persecution, rapine and devastations *Pardaha* was more rigorously enforced, women were physically and spiritually shattered, their presence in every sphere of social activity was totally eclipsed, and they meekly submitted to expropriation and exploitation. The Sikhs who succeeded the Afghans were no less tyrannical and cruel. Dogras—the new masters, who were in the initial years busy in consolidation of their newly acquired kingdom, and annexation of the frontier areas lying in the north, evinced some interests in the moral and social uplift of the women.

Gulab Singh is known to have issued ordinance against Sati system as early as 1825 'when he was a Raja of Jammu Jagir. "Later on he sent his representatives to attend the Social Reforms Conference held at Lahore in 1825 and got incorporated his ALIENS against infanticide and Sati. Ranbir Singh also issued strict orders for prohibiting Sati System and encouraged female education and the figure of girls attending schools was enhanced. But on the whole at the close of last century Kashmiri women had sunk to a low level of destitution and ignorance. Because of exploitation and a low status in society, they lost refinement of their mind and self-confidence, spirit of revolt and sense of righteous indignation. In short, the 19th century witnessed the most complete and degrading subjugation of women in the history of mankind.

The religious dogmas were also responsible for the pitiable conditions of women in our state. They were considered as secondary citizens with no independence of any sort. The religious laws governing the system of marriage, divorce, inheritance, polygamy, dowry system, widow remarriage and debarring widows from performing certain social functions were yet another discrimination against women.

The feudal society, like the semi-feudal and semi-capitalistic system of today, treated women as personal property of men. The male oriented and male dominated value system, thus, swayed the society throughout the history and subordination of women appeared in every walk of life. The social controls on women, restraining their public movement and appearance also to a great extent accounted for their losing self-confidence and initiative. The insecurity, helplessness and physical weakness made women more subservient and socially dependent. The dowry, the bride price, which was the most cruel traditional practice, continued with newer

sons and the increasing incidental demands of in-laws, after marriage led to the further deterioration of women's conditions.

Violence or wife beating, found in several families irrespective of their social background, was probably one of the most accepted crimes committed against women.

But the waves of the western ideas opened a new era of progress and modernization in the state. And in the face of the ferocious opposition of the government and superstitious of elders Hindu and Muslim communities, the foreign Christian missionaries pioneered a movement for the betterment of Kashmiri women. The last Dogra Maharaja also tried his best to raise the percentage of literacy among the women and to ameliorate their socio-economic conditions. During this period the number of educational institutions for girls increased, provisions were made to admit girls below 10 years boys schools in localities where no separate girls schools existed; girl students were also admitted in the Colleges of the state and 7 post-matriculation scholarships of Rs.40/- each were provided to girls desirous of pursuing college education in British India.

The deterioration of socio-economic conditions and greater strain and stress, which led to the economic insecurity of man in inter-war period and after, further increased subjection of women and degradation of their living and working conditions. Women were, thus alienated from their families, from their native places, their jobs, from land to land and from human dignity.

Moreover, the post war emergence of new productive forces, the transformation of their ownership, the changing relationship and impending super structures created distinct classes, new institutions and developed new laws which further relegated women's position to an unparalleled low relative to others in the social hierarchy and economic status. Hence a larger number of women became increasingly poor before independence.

In spite of all these limitations, the Kashmiri women played an important role in the Freedom struggle of Kashmir. They suffered in thousands, and passed into oblivion without any recognition or fame. Still from all walks of life they came forward with redoubled enthusiasm to participate in the last phase of popular resistance (i.e. quit Kashmir Movement of 1946), against the autocratic rule under the banners of National Conference headed by a dynamic leader Sher-i-Kashmir, Sheikh Mohd Abdullah.

The leadership of National Conference was very much conscious of the deplorable conditions of women folk in the state-as well as the fact that the status of women, "at whose breast humanity is nourished and in whose lap civilizations are cradled: is a measuring rod of the civilization. They were also aware of the fact that the inherent strength of women, if suitably channelized, could be directed towards national Development. That was why the party in its blueprint for the Socio-Economic transformation of the State i.e. Naya Kashmir Programme of early 1944, among of the things, promised to provide safeguards for the protection of women's socio-politico-economic interests. Sec. 12 of Naya Kashmir Programme runs as follows: Women citizens shall be accorded equal rights with men in all fields of national life, economic, cultural, political and in the state services."

These rights shall be realized by affording women the right to work in every employment upon equal terms and for equal wages with men. Women shall be ensured rest, social insurance and education equally with man. The law shall give special protection to the interests of mother and child, The provisions of pregnancy leave with pay and the establishment of wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens shall further secure these rights,

However, it is known fact that Kashmir was the only one of the hundreds of the former princely States, which was given the right to have a separate Constitution framed by its own Constituent Assembly. But it is regrettable to point out that from the females which constituted about half of the population of the state, were drawn only two women, i.e., 2.56 % of the total membership of the Constituent Assembly, and their representation in the

committees of the Consemby was 4.35% of the total membership of the Committees, The Consen Kashmir which intended to shape the future destiny of the state and to implement the cherished objecti Naya Kashmir Programme, also discussed and debated the question of protecting the interests and righ women folk, and made certain proposals, The section 10 of Kashmir's Constitution of 1957, therefo provides" the permanent residents of the state shall have all the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution of India. "The permanent residents, obviously, includes the women.

Besides the fundamental rights, the Kashmir Constitution also pro- vides a list of Directive Principles of State Policy for the amelioration of the socio-economic status of women. Though these directives are not enforceable in the court of law, nevertheless these are declared to be fundamental in the governance of the state and like the affirmative instructions to the Government to do certain things, are the instructions which gave to the Constitution a living spirit. In addition to others, one of the directives, which comprises a fairly comprehensive moral code for the rights of women, provides, "the state is directed to secure to all women the right to equal pay for equal work, maternity benefits and medical care, reasonable maintenance to abandoned married woman; full equality in all social, educational, political and legal matters, the special protection against discourtesy, defamation, hooliganism and other forms of misconduct, to combat ignorance, superstition, fanaticism, communalism, radialism, cultural backwardness and to foster brotherhood and equality among all communities which includes women folk. The state, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, is directed to make effective provisions for securing for women who are permanent residents of the state, right to work, i.e., the right to receive guaranteed work with payment for labour in accordance with its quality and quantity subject to a basic minimum and maximum of wages established by the law, that the health and strength of working women are not abused and they were not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their sex, age or strength, to secure to every permanent resident including women right to free education up to the University standard".

These directives are not taken by the government as pious homilies but have been and are being implemented.

It would not, however, be an easy task to survey the progress made by the government of Kashmir in the implementation of the directives relating to ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of Kashmiri women. Nevertheless, a brief reference to some of the outstanding achievements made in this direction particularly during two and half decades since the promulgation of the present Constitution of Kashmir are as under

For securing the right of women the State Govt. has taken different steps. Steps are also underway for enforcement of an Act which will ensure equal remuneration to women and men for same work. There are certain fields in which women are exclusively absorbed. e.g. women education wings and nursing profession. They are also given equal opportunities for employment in other sectors. A good number of women are working in various government offices. In case of women employees the period of maternity leave admissible had been extended up to 90 days. Each district hospital is utilizing 50% of beds for the female including children. Each family welfare centre has one lady doctor, one lady health visitor, one auxiliary mother, to render specialized service to the women folk. The number of family planning centres and sub-centres has gone up to 182, number of nurses to 532 and midwives to 1,105. Women are provided generalised health service under different schemes such as Maternity and Child Health and Family Welfare and Nutrition. A sum of- Rs. 15.8 lakhs has been earmarked for providing special Nutrition to 145 expectant mothers in Udhampur district only. Under Rehbar-i-Sheat Programme and Multipurpose Health Worker Scheme, health care services, are being provided to the women in the rural areas.

Over and above these facilities, one women's hospital has been set up at Srinagar where specialised medical services are available for women. As education is the basic imperative for the women to be strong and healthy both in brain and brawn some measures have also been under- taken to increase literacy among women. Kashmir State is the only state in Indian Union to have provided for free education to all, right up to university level. There are 2586 Primary schools, 250 middle and 16 high and higher secondary schools being manned by

1000 female teachers. About 2.50 lakhs girls are receiving education. The separate colleges for women have also been opened to provide higher education to them. Because of recent economic constraints, the poor families find no alternatives, but to send their girls to work to help their elders to earn livelihood. To educate them, 1735 parting educational centres have been opened in the state where more than 33,000 children including girls are being given primary education. The poor girls students are being provided free text books, stationery, uniforms, scholarships and other incentives

Moreover, number of centres of non-formal education for other girls, who could not go to formal schools, has also been similarly increased. The number of adult education projects and adult literacy centres for women has also gone up. As a result, the literacy percentage of female has gone up to 15.82 in 1983. Women now enjoy right to vote. The state constitution provides to be nominated as members of the legislature, if they are not adequately represented. Women have also been given representation in the various district and block level development boards of the state to ensure their active participation in the development efforts.

For social upliftment of the women, the government has set up 120 welfare centres where women are imparted training in various crafts. There are 9 Nari Niketan and 'Fallh-i-Musturat' centres. In each centre 25 women are accommodated for training purposes and paid stipends. Centres for training facilities in cutting, tailoring, knitting and embroidery have also been established. Sewing machines are given to widows and destitutes. The rural women camps are being organised also. Under the District Industries Centres programme, several handicraft centres are being established for the economic uplift of the women especially in rural areas. An institution namely, 'Markaz-i-Behbudi-Khawateen' has been started at Miskeen Bagh, Srinagar where 600 girls and women from poorer classes are accommodated for imparting training in six crafts which ultimately help in supplementing their income.

In spite of the paucity of financial resources, the state government has done, and is doing much for the betterment of women. However, whatever has been done so far to give them an equal status with men, has very little effect on their life style. So far as unemployment, illiteracy, low health standard are concerned, they are still more adversely circumstanced as compared to men. They still, thus, continue to face enormous problems in actual life. The benefits of the above mentioned social legislatures have not reached the majority of women. Most of them are still not aware of their rights. Even if some of them are aware of the rights, the legal redress is not availed of, because it involves a time consuming and expensive process.

In order to improve their economic status, economic role-based organisations of women such as cooperative, trade union and self-employment enter-preneur groups should be organised particularly in rural areas, more and more training facilities should be provided to them for achieving higher productivity in agriculture, side jobs and family employment. There should be reservation for women in all training and professional colleges. More attention to be paid to population control, education and family planning as there are crucial to improve the status of women. Elementary education should primarily be entrusted to women at policy making, advisory, administrative and operative levels. The law and procedure of the state should be mended and modified to eradicate all the evil practices, to change the thinking of menfolk about the fair sex and to specify the procedure for redressing their grievances. Procedure relating to their arrest and remand in police station should not be ornamental in nature but productive in practice. Laws relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, polygamy, dowry, widow-remarriage, rape, assault, starving and wife-beating should be modified keeping in view the best interests of women-folk. The cases like rape, eve-teasing, kidnapping abetment bride burning, dowry death should perderably be investigated and adjudicated in camera by women. Severe punishments should be provided for heinous crimes like rape, kidnapping and abduction of women, their wrongful confinement and their being forced to indulge in normal practices. There should be speedy disposal of such cases. The government should undertake steps for bringing about an entire change in the attitude of society towards fair sex and equip them to stand on their own feet. Hoodlums should not be provided political patronage.

Social pressure can also prove to be the most potent instrument for containing and preventing such crimes. The voluntary social organisations could be helpful up a proper social stance against such crimes, and extinguishing social prejudices against deserted wives, widows and widow remarriage.

In brief, a glance at the history of the position of women in Jammu and Kashmir state shows that the vast strides have been taken to ameliorate their conditions; to bring them, as far as, possible, at par with men. However, the progress so far is only a first step which should lead to a heightened consciousness about the disabilities which one-half of human population suffers in developing societies, like ours. This can partly be done by passing suitable laws. But main emphasis should be on bringing about a change in social values and norms through education and community action.

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Recent events have once again generated some curiosity and interest in the issue of Jammu & Kashmir. Basic facts pertaining to this issue are well established. However, there has been a concerted dis-information campaign that presents a distorted historical account of the developments that led to the irrevocable accession of the state of Jammu & Kashmir to India; the subsequent wars inflicted by Pakistan on India and the current situation in the once tranquil and beautiful Kashmir Valley. The involvement of Pakistan in fomenting insurgency and terrorism in the Border States of India, especially Jammu & Kashmir, has been well documented and accepted by all impartial observers. While the current violence and disturbances instigated and abetted by Pakistan in the Kashmir Valley are there for all to see, the historical perspective needs to be put in the correct, factual light. The following pages give the factual background of the issue of Jammu & Kashmir.

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR ISSUE

Accession to India

1. The Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India, signed by the Maharaja (erstwhile ruler of the State) on 26th October, 1947, was completely valid in terms of the Government of India Act (1935), Indian Independence Act (1947) and international law and was total and irrevocable. The Accession was also supported by the largest political party in the State, the National Conference. In the Indian Independence Act, there was no provision for any conditional accession. The Instrument of Accession executed by the Maharaja was the same as the ones executed by over 560 princely states in India. **There has been no complication in any of the other cases. There would have been none in this case either, except for Pakistan's action in sending in tribal invaders first (in October 1947) and its own regular troops later (May 1948).**
2. Lord Mountbatten's acceptance of the Instrument of Accession was unconditional. He said: "I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession". **The Instrument of Accession was complete with the offer and acceptance.**
3. **There can, therefore, be no question of negotiating on the question of accession of the State of Jammu & Kashmir to India.**

Reference to UN

4. India made a reference to the United Nations on 1st January 1948 under Article 35 of the Charter, which permits any member state to bring any situation, whose continuance is likely to endanger international peace and security, to the attention of the Security Council. The intention behind this reference was to prevent a war between the two newly independent countries, which would have become increasingly likely if the tribal invaders assisted first indirectly and then actively by the Pakistan army had persisted with their actions against India in Kashmir. The Government of India requested the Security Council "to put an end immediately to the giving of such assistance which was an act of aggression against India".
5. Pakistan consistently misled the world regarding its involvement in Kashmir: (a) It claimed initially in 1947 that it was not in any way assisting the tribal invaders and was only not actively opposing their passage out of fear that they may turn against the local Pakistani population. It was, however, clearly established that these invaders were being looked after in Pakistan territory, fed, clothed, armed and otherwise equipped and transported to J&K with the help, direct and indirect, of Pakistani officials, both military & civil. The first Governor General of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah claimed in a meeting with the then Governor General of India Lord Mountbatten that he was in a position "to call the whole thing off" subject to some of his demands being met. (b) Pakistan later claimed that its own forces were not involved directly in operations in Kashmir. But the UN Commission that visited India in July 1948 found Pakistani forces operating in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The UNCIP Resolution of August 1948 documented the Pakistani aggression when it stated: "The presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitute a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council". The UN sponsored mediator, Owen Dixon, was also constrained to record in his report of 15.9.1950 that "I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of the State of J&K was crossed, on I believe 20 October 1947, by hostile elements, it was contrary to international law, and that when, in May 1948 as I believe,

units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State that too was inconsistent with international law".

Non-implementation of UN Resolutions by Pakistan

6. India had made it clear that full implementation of the UN resolutions would be conditional upon Pakistan fulfilling Parts (I) & (II) of the UNCIP resolutions of 13 August, 1948, which inter alia, required that all forces regular and irregular under the control of both sides shall cease fire; Pakistan would withdraw its troops, it would endeavour to secure withdrawal of tribesmen and Pak nationals and India will withdraw bulk of its forces once the UNCIP confirms that the tribesmen and Pak nationals have withdrawn and Pak troops are being withdrawn. India was also to ensure that the State government takes various measures to preserve peace, law and order. Indian acceptance of these UNCIP resolutions was also subject to several conditions and assurances given by UNCIP including that Pakistan would be excluded from all affairs of Jammu & Kashmir, "Azad J & K Government" would not be recognised, sovereignty of J & K government over the entire territory of the State shall not be brought into question, territory occupied by Pakistan shall not be consolidated, and Pakistani troops would be withdrawn completely. Pakistan never fulfilled these assurances.

Preconditions for Plebiscite Never Fulfilled by Pakistan

7. **The Government of Pakistan wrecked any possibility of plebiscite being conducted by not implementing part II of the resolution, perhaps because it was fully aware of what the result of such an exercise would be. The Pakistani troops, which were to withdraw from the State, did not do so.** As a result normal conditions under which a plebiscite could be held were never created.
8. India had accepted these resolutions, subject to assurances, (mentioned in para 6) and in the hope of having the matter resolved quickly. Pakistan, however, wrecked the implementation of the resolutions at that time by not fulfilling the preconditions. As V.K. Menon stated in the Security Council (763 Meeting, 23 January, 1957): "if an offer is made and it is not accepted at the time it is made, it cannot be held for

generations over the heads of those who made it". With Pakistan's intransigence, and passage of time, the offer lapsed and was overtaken by events. In fact, the representative of India (M.C. Chagla) had stated in the Security Council as far back as 1964 (1088 meeting, 5 February 1964): "I wish to make it clear on behalf of my Government that under no circumstances can we agree to the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir".

9. The then Prime Minister of India, had in a statement in New York, stated on March 31, 1966 that: "any plebiscite today would by definition amount to questioning the integrity of India. It would raise the issue of secession - an issue on which even the United States fought a civil war not so very long ago. We cannot and will not tolerate a second partition of India on religious grounds. It would destroy the very basis of the Indian State." Today, thirty-six years later, the Pakistani position is even more untenable.

Solution Proposed by Resolutions: Time and Context Specific

10. Since 1957 there have been no UN resolutions on the substantive aspects of the Jammu and Kashmir issue. Time and circumstances have not stood still. More than four and a half decades have lapsed since the original proposals were made as a possible solution. They can no longer be considered valid. In fact, in his report (dated 29th April, 1957), the UN Representative, who was then President of the Security Council, Gunnar Jarring, after completing his mission to India and Pakistan in 1957, took note of larger realities of the sub-continent including in Jammu and Kashmir and stated: "The Council will, furthermore, be aware of the fact that the implementation of international agreements of an ad hoc character, which has not been achieved fairly speedily, may become progressively difficult because the situation with which they were to cope has tended to change".
11. Dr. Frank Graham, the UNCIP representative stated in March 1958: "...the execution of the provisions of the resolution of 1948 might create more serious difficulties than were foreseen at the time the parties agreed to that. Whether the UN representative would be able to reconstitute the status quo which it had obtained ten years ago would seem to be doubtful....".

12. Over fifty five years after Partition, the ground situation in the state to which the resolutions referred to has considerably changed. Pakistan unilaterally ceded a part of the state to China in 1963. There has been a demographic change on the Pakistan occupied side with generations of non-Kashmiris allowed to take residence in the parts of J&K occupied by Pakistan. Pakistan sponsored terrorism into J&K has also forced the minority Kashmiri Pandits to migrate out of the Kashmir valley to Jammu and to other parts of India. If the resolutions had begun to lose relevance in 1957, they have far less relevance now.
13. The above position is increasingly being acknowledged by the world today. Highlighting the fact that the UNCIP resolutions did not come under Chapter VII, and were therefore not self enforcing, the UN Secretary General stated at a press conference in Islamabad in March 2001, that "the two parties discussing these issues and finding a peaceful way out, is the route I recommend".
14. It is now widely acknowledged that bilateral dialogue, in accordance with the Simla Agreement, reiterated in the Lahore Declaration, is the only way to address all bilateral issues between India and Pakistan, including the issue of J&K. UNSG's view was categorically supported by EU Commissioner, Chris Patten, during his visit to Pakistan in May 2002. UK's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, stated in the British Parliament on 10th June 2002, that "if United Nations resolutions could have solved the matter, it would have been solved more than 50 years ago". Speaking for the British Government, he said, "we think that there is not a huge amount of point in getting in a historiographical exercise about which position is correct. We have to deal with the here and now", adding that a solution to this issue could be found only "by looking forward and by a direct dialogue between those two sovereign nations, India and Pakistan". The US Government has also made its stand clear that in keeping with the Simla Agreement of 1972, this issue should be addressed by India and Pakistan bilaterally.

Choice Made by the People of J&K and Elections in Kashmir

15. The people of Jammu and Kashmir could not wait indefinitely to decide their future. In any case the UN resolutions did not

recognise or grant any role to Pakistan in the conduct of the plebiscite. "If Pakistan, therefore, has no part in the plebiscite, it really became a domestic matter for India". (V.K. Krishna Menon, UNSC, 800th meeting, 11 November, 1957). India waited several years for Pakistan to fulfil the preconditions. When that did not happen, **the people of Jammu and Kashmir then convened a Constituent Assembly in 1951, which once again reaffirmed the Accession of the State to India in 1956 and finalised the Constitution for the State. The Jammu and Kashmir Constitution reaffirms that "the State is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India."**

16. The people, therefore, were consulted. "We did not consult them privately; we did not consult them by selecting the people who were to be consulted. We consulted them by a normal process of democratic election - not even for a Parliament which we established, or the existing Government of Kashmir established, but for a Constituent Assembly". (V.K. Krishna Menon, UNSC, 800 Meeting, 11 November, 1957). In several subsequent local, state and national elections the people of Jammu and Kashmir have repeatedly exercised their democratic choice.

India Pakistan Discussions on J&K

17. India has always been willing to discuss all issues, including the issue of Jammu & Kashmir, with Pakistan. In fact, in the decades of the '50s and '60s, several rounds of bilateral discussions took place between India and Pakistan over 1950-51, 1953-54, 1956-57 and 1962-63, to resolve the differences over Kashmir. J&K is also one of the eight subjects identified for dialogue under the Composite Dialogue set up at India's initiative in 1998. A perusal of the records of these meetings makes it clear that they failed in their endeavour only because of Pakistan's intransigent, unrealistic, and on occasions, unifocal approach, which did not take into account either the moral and juridical aspects of the issue or the existing realities.
18. As in the UNSC, during these bilateral discussions, Pakistan has sought parity with India in terms of locus standi in Kashmir. This is untenable since the erstwhile ruler of J&K had duly acceded to India, the largest popular party had endorsed the Accession, and the people had subsequently

ratified the earlier decisions. Pakistan, as the aggressor could not have parity with India, with which the accession of Jammu and Kashmir was complete and final.

1965 War: Its Implications

19. Pakistan tried to impose a military solution on J&K yet again in 1965, by instigating a war against India. The people of J&K resisted this new invasion. Pakistan's failure to impose this military solution and the efforts of the people of Kashmir to thwart the aims and designs of the Pakistani invaders are well documented.
20. By imposing a war, Pakistan negated the very reason for which a reference had been made to the UN in 1948. All the arrangements that were arrived at with Pakistan through the instrumentality of the Security Council were based on the integrity and inviolability of the cease-fire line established after the 1947-48 skirmishes. By violating this line in 1965, Pakistan rendered obsolete and dead the resolutions of 1948 and 1949, in the context of which the Cease-Fire Line had been established through the Karachi Agreement of 1949.

Simla Agreement - Its Implications

21. Pakistan imposed yet another war on India in 1971. After this conflict, bilateral talks were held in June-July 1972 and the 'Simla Agreement' signed on 2 July 1972. In terms of this Agreement, which was duly ratified by the two Governments in 1972 itself, the two countries undertook to resolve all differences bilaterally and peacefully. Pakistan, through its commitments enshrined in this Agreement, accepted the need to shift the J&K issue from the UN to the bilateral plane.
22. India's stand has been clearly enunciated. Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. While India is prepared to resolve all differences with Pakistan through bilateral talks as envisaged in the Simla Agreement, there can be no compromise on India's unity and sovereignty. **The issue that remains to be resolved is the vacation by Pakistan of territory illegally occupied by it.**
23. For meaningful bilateral negotiations, Pakistan must create the right climate by stopping its support to terrorism. There

must be tangible and credible evidence of this on the ground. The Simla Agreement reiterated in the Lahore Declaration expressly forbids hostile propaganda, interference in internal affairs and encouragement of any acts detrimental to maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations. It also enjoins respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Pakistan is violating all these provisions.

The Lahore visit of the Prime Minister

24. Prime Minister A.B.Vajpayee took a historic initiative and visited Lahore from February 20-21, 2002. The visit was aimed at conveying India's deep desire to establish peaceful, co-operative and friendly ties with Pakistan. Prime Minister Vajpayee proclaimed from the Minar-e-Pakistan that a stable, secure and prosperous Pakistan was in India's interest. The Lahore Declaration, which committed the two countries to build trust and confidence and develop mutually beneficial co-operation to resolve outstanding issues including J&K through bilateral negotiations, provided a blue print for India-Pakistan relations into the 21st Century

Kargil

25. However, the ink had barely dried on the Lahore Declaration that the Pakistani Army manifested its compulsive hostility towards India by launching a military operation in May 1999 across LoC in an attempt to occupy dominating heights along a 140 Km long stretch of Srinager-Leh Highway. Its aim was to create a situation by which Pakistan would dominate the strategically important Kargil heights. India's firm response forced Pakistani troops to retreat to their side of LoC. India's policy of maintaining the sanctity of the LoC and the tremendous restraint shown by India in its firm action against the intruders without crossing the LoC found wide international support and endorsement.

Agra Summit

26. Notwithstanding, the continued sponsorship of cross border terrorism, on May 23, 2001 India again took the initiative to establish a high level political dialogue with Pakistan by inviting General Musharraf to visit India. The Pakistani President

General Musharraf visited India from July 14-16, 2001 and had talks with Prime Minister Vajpayee in Agra. However, during the Summit, Pakistan demonstrated a unifocal approach, fixated entirely on one question, and sought to make any improvement in relations conditional on prior resolution of the Kashmir issue. Pakistan was also reluctant to address India's concerns relating to cross border terrorism. The hopes of forward movement in bilateral relations, thus remained largely unattained.

Pakistan's Interference and Support to Terrorism

27. **The present situation in Kashmir has been created by Pakistan's support to terrorism.** This support to cross border terrorism is not only an attempt to unilaterally alter the status quo on the ground but also to undermine India's secular fabric.
28. **Pakistan's support to cross border terrorism against India is now openly acknowledged by the international community.** The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the UK Government stated in the British Parliament on 10th June 2002, "A number of terrorist organisations-including Lashkar-e-Toiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, each of which I proscribed when I was Home Secretary-have been at the forefront of violent activity in the region. **India has long charged that such terrorism has had the covert support of successive Pakistani Governments and, in particular, of the main intelligence agency in Pakistan, the Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate-ISID.** Her Majesty's Government accept that there is a clear link between the ISID and those groups".
29. **US Secretary of State, Colin Powell stated on 10th June 2002,** "Two weeks ago, we got assurances from President Musharraf that he would cease infiltration activity across the line of control... And then Deputy Secretary Armitage over this past week end got further assurances that cessation of activity would be visible and would be permanent and would be followed by other activities that had to do with the dismantling of the camps that led to the capacity to conduct these kinds of operation".
- 30/ **The section on Pakistan in the Annual Report on Patterns of Global Terrorism 2000 stated, "Pakistan's military government, headed by Gen. Pervez Musharraf, continued**

previous Pakistani Government support of the Kashmir insurgency, and Kashmiri militant groups continued to operate in Pakistan, raising funds and recruiting new cadre". The report further said that Harkat ul Mujahedeen, a State Department designated Foreign Terrorist Organisation, continued to be "active in Pakistan without discouragement by the Government of Pakistan".

31. Pakistan also resorted to the use of terrorism, violence and subversion to intimidate candidates and voters in the context of September/October 2002 State Assembly elections.

Non-Applicability of 'Self-determination' to Integral Parts of States

31. Under the UN Charter, the principles of self-determination are meant to apply to colonial territories and not to integral parts of countries. Pakistan's harping on "self-determination" today, against the principles advocated by the founders of Pakistan, are only a cover for territorial ambitions. The principles being espoused by Pakistan pose severe dangers to several countries in the world where multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies co-exist.

Kashmir Developments - An Internal Matter for India

32. In a country with India's diversity, disaffection and discontent are not uncommon. Indian democracy has the necessary resilience to accommodate genuine grievances within the framework of our sovereignty, unity and integrity. Government of India has expressed its willingness to accommodate the legitimate political demands of the people of the state of J&K. However, Pakistan sponsored terrorists have terrorised the population and hindered political dialogue by intimidating or silencing voices of moderation that wish to engage in dialogue. The human rights of the people of J&K have been systematically violated by such terror tactics and the kidnappings and killings of innocent people by terrorists.
33. Jammu & Kashmir is an integral part of India. There can be no compromise on India's unity and integrity.

India's Silence on Merger of Gilgit-Baltistan, 2009

The Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Ordinance 2009 was promulgated by Pakistan granting so-called internal political autonomy to 'the Disputed Areas of Jammu and Kashmir'. The Ordinance violates UNCIP Resolutions because this area is not a part of Pakistan. The 1948 ceasefire line resulted in the division of J&K with Pakistan gaining control over some portion of the occupied territory. Pakistan occupied areas of J&K was subsequently divided in 1970 into two 'administrative zones'; 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir' (AJK) and 'Northern Areas'. 'AJK' is constitutionally not a part of Pakistan and is governed under an Interim Constitution of 1974. Northern Areas were brought under the direct control of Islamabad and now are governed by so-called elected Govt. as placed by the Empowerment Ordinance 2009. The Gilgit region has been struggling to free itself from the control of the Pakistani Government ever since 1947. The Government of Pakistan has extended and reinforced its control over the region through its illegal "Reform Package." Pakistan is not prepared to give the region an independent status or to enable its people to adopt a modern, transparent democratic system. Gilgit-Baltistan is now a de-facto province of Pakistan.

India committed a blunder by keeping silent on the grave violation of UNCIP Resolutions vis-à-vis POK in spite of repeated calls by Panthers Party and Balawaristan National Front and several others. Early Pakistan had leased out nearly 5000 sq. miles of Karakoram (J&K) territory to China in utter violation of the UNCIP Resolutions. India failed to intervene. China has since built National Highway connecting Beijing with Peshawar (Pakistan) thus creating road connectivity with Europe for the first time in history. The Highway has built 16 battle-helipads threatening the geo-security of India. India did not care to lodge a protest even in the United Nations on this grave violation of UNCIP Resolution of August 13, 1948. Allowing Pakistan to convert de-facto control of Gilgit-Baltistan (28000 sq. miles) in 2009 to de jure status has completed annexation process of this territory that the Maharaja had acceded to the Union of India in 1947.

The prison 'diary' of Brig. Ghansara Singh, the last J&K Governor in Gilgit already scripted in this book would suggest that the Indian leadership has learnt no lesson from their earlier blunders. They continue to repeat them in 2010 which was admittedly committed in 1947 vis-à-vis Gilgit-Baltistan.

POLITICS OF SPLITS IN THE ALL JAMMU AND KASHMIR NATIONAL CONFERENCE

As said earlier the state of Jammu and Kashmir, like that of India, is not homogeneous but heterogeneous in nature. One may observe here a pluralistic nature of society. It has, therefore, not only led to the growth and display of fragmented political cultures, sharpening of regional identities, absence of a well disciplined inter-regional and inter-communal political party, but has also left a deep impact on the nature of state party system as well as its party politics. The political parties in the state viz. autonomists, nationalists, integrationist, rightists and leftists too have experienced periodic splits.

However, the formation of the All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference was the culmination of the efforts of some of the top but progressive leaders of the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference to take sting off the criticism levelled as Muslim Communalism by secularizing Kashmir politics and making their struggle for the establishment of responsible government in the state more effective and meaningful.

The secular and progressive politics and programme of the newly Formed The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and Sheiks Mohammed Abdullah's open alignment with Congress leadership, particularly with Pt. Nehru, alarmed and sapped the hardcore conservative elements headed by Chaudhary Ghulam Abass- a prominent leader of the National Conference from Jammu who was ideologically gravitated towards Muslim League and believed in its two Nation Theory and demand for creation of Pakistan— a separate independent Islamic state. Thus, the conservative elements, mostly comprising the Punjabi speaking Muslims of Jammu in the party not only supported Ch. Ghulam Abass, but also continued their tirade against Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. An open rift between the conservative and reactionary elements of Jammu and secular and progressive element of the Valley emerged in the party because of open breach of an agreement by the top Kashmiri leadership for rotation of the President of the party between leaders of both the regions- Jammu and Kashmir-annually. All this prompted Ch. Ghulam Abass to make an appeal for open revolt to the Muslim masses of the state in general and that of Jammu in particular to unite in support of the struggle launched by the Muslim League of M.A. Jinnah. The scene was, therefore, complicated enough to climax the split in All J&K National Conference. Ch. Ghulam Abass along with his other supporters particularly from Jammu left All J&K National Conference and revived the Muslim Conference on 13th March, 1941. The split was as much ideo- logical as cultural and was on regional lines.

Immediately after the Quit Kashmir Movement launched by All J&K National Conference in May 1946, a factional in fight was brewing in the party and it revolved around the four heros of the movement viz. G.M.D Kara, G.Me Bakshi, GYM. Sadiq and Sheikh Abdullah. As already pointed out that the climax came in March, 1948 when G.M.D. Karra, the mos prominent hero of the movement and who had emerged next to Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, was not inducted into first Sheikh Abdullah's popular ministry. By believing that those who were with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were not with him and those who were with Sheikh Mohd Abdullah were in the Government, G.M.D Karra developed a hostile attitude against all the then leaders of the pany and finally left the party by the end of 1949 along with his supporters and ultimately organised a new party- Kashmir Political Conference in June, 1953.

There emerged a conflict between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the central leadership over the Centre-Kashmir constitutional relationship as early as 1948. With the passage of time these political conflicts were aggravated. The politics of conflict further deepened when Sheikh Abdullah asserted the Kashmiri sub-nationalism. The situation reached the point of no return because of subsequent speeches made by Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah at Hazartbal and at other places in the Valley, condemning central interference in Kashmir affairs. As said earlier that the climax of the tragic drama came on 8th August, 1953 when Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah's ministry was dismissed and he along with Mr. M.A. Beg and thirty three other leaders of National Conference was arrested on 9th August, 1953.

The split in The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference took place second time since independence when Mr. M.A. Beg along with six members of State legislature and one member of Parliament from the state left the party and founded the All J&K Plebiscite Front on August 9, 1955 under his Presidentship and G.M. Hamadani as Secretary.

A notable rift emerged in the ranks of The All J&K National Conference once again in 1957 when left wing faction of the Party, led by G.M. Sadiq having grievances against the authoritarianism, anti-democratic, corrupt practices and favouritism of the ruling coterie of G.M. Bakshi, condemned the methods of nomination of the party candidates for the State assembly elections of 1957. The leaders with left list leaning stressed that all the persistent and sustained efforts to resolve the contradictions within the party failed due to the refusal of G.M. Bakshi; Who had dominated and monopolised the power and acted in violation of all the agreed decisions and policies, to give up his authoritarian method. Moreover, the G.M. Sadiq group was even denied its due share in the newly constituted Cabinet after 1957 Assembly Elections. The mutual distrust and dissatisfaction between the two factions reached a climax over the nomination of Mr. G.R. Ranzu for the Legislative Council by the Sadiq faction much against the wishes of G.M. Bakshi.

Thus, the line of cleavage dividing the two wings of the party became permanent and resulted in another split in the party. G.M. Sadiq, along with five other members resigned from the executive of the party on 6th August, 1957 and formed a new party Democratic National Conference. Eleven MLA's, two M.L.C's joined the newly formed party. The rift between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Chief Minister and his confident and principal advisor and a member of his Cabinet, Mr. M.A. Beg was surfaced after biannual election to Legislative Council in 1978. Mirza Afzal Beg sponsored the candidature of his son-in-law Mr. Yakub Beg for the State Legislative Council and campaigned in his favour. The party whip was issued accordingly. But the voting pattern revealed that there had been gross violation of the discipline by some of the members of the Party. Mr. Yakub Beg had managed to poll 31 preference votes in his favour despite of the Party directive to its members that only 13 preferential votes should be cast in his favour. Mr. M.A. Beg said to have induced the other members of the party whose votes were actually assigned to other candidates. He also approached Mufti-Mohd. Sayeed, the then state Congress chief, to manage thirteen votes of congress party MLA's in favour of his son-in-law.

All this created suspicion in the mind of Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah about Mr. M.A. Beg and his supporters' sincerity and honesty. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, therefore, directed the members of the ruling party to take an oath of personal loyalty and allegiance to the party leader. Such a move was opposed by Mr. M.A. Beg by stressing that loyalty to party policy and programme was all right but loyalty to a leader would be undemocratic. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, therefore, relieved him of the post of Cabinet Minister. Mr. M.A. Beg, on the other hand, claimed that he still enjoyed support of fifteen party MLA's and announced that he would demonstrate his strength in the Assembly. As a result of such party indiscipline, the working committee of the party expelled Mr. M.A. Beg and his son-in-law from the primary membership of the party. Mr. M.A. Beg along with a few of his other supporters organised a new party namely Inqilabi National Conference on 9th November, 1978.

After stormy and eventful life, Shere-a-Kashmir Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah passed away on September 8, 1982. As desired by him during his prolonged illness, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, his son, was sworn as the new Chief Minister immediately after his death ignoring Mr. G.M. Shah, his son-in-law, the senior most member of his party, and thus his natural successor. Mr. G.M. Shah felt cheated and outraged when wily old Sher-i-Kashmir, outsmarted and outmanoeuvred him for his son and even declared him his successor from his death bed.

All this not only created a rift between Dr. Farooq Abdullah and Mr. G.M. Shah, but also caused invisible cracks in the monolithic party. A sizable movement against the leadership of Dr. Farooq Abdullah within the party was then started.

D. Thakur, a former judge of the State High Court, a senior member of Sheikh Abdullah's Cabinet who was also not inducted in the Farooq's cabinet, joined hands with G.M. Shah who still could not reconcile with the political ascendancy of Dr. Farooq Abdullah.

Because of the failure of talks between Dr. Farooq Abdullah and Mrs. Indira Gandhi for an electoral alliance in the forthcoming state elections in 1983, Dr. Farooq's electoral alliance with Moulvi Farooq, Chairman of Awami Action Committee- a fundamentalist organisation in the valley, Mrs Indira Gandhi's humiliation by the National Conference and Awami Action Committee supporters in the valley during her election campaign, Dr. Farooq Abdullah clandestinely hob-nobbing with Sant Bhindrawala and his group in Punjab,⁶ attending the opposition conclave at Srinagar, a tug of war between the National Conference and Congress (I) started.

Mr. G.M. Shah started criticising Dr. Farooq Abdullah and his policies openly. As a result, a rift between them deepened. Mr. Shah and his supporters were, therefore, expelled from the party for their anti-party activities. On the other hand, he reiterated that he and his supporter's expulsion was undemocratic. Both Mr. Shah and Dr. Abdullah convened the party convention separately.

The National Conference of G.M. Shah and his colleagues was then called National conference (Khalida) claiming to be real National Conference. Some of the scholars have termed such a division in the National Conference as another split in the Party, but the Hon'ble J&K High Court in a decision decided that it was not a split but a factional fight.

One may conclude by saying that despite the occasional splits within the All J&K National Conference, the grand old party of freedom movement and the party of maximum autonomy for the state afterwards- it has always been remarkably successful in consolidating its position as a single dominant party in the state. Splits within the party were not allowed to go beyond a point where the party could permanently be damaged. Whereas, ideological, cultural and regional factors had been mostly responsible for causing splits in the All J&K National Conference in pre-independence era, the personal ambitions, clash of personality, lust for power, factional infighting in addition to ideological differences have been the major factors promoting splits in the party in Post-independence era.

INDIRA- SHEIKH ACCORD OF 24TH FEB., 1975

Central Government was keen to arrive at a sound solution of Kashmir Tangle because Kashmir issue was being treated as an international issue (as is indicated by Tashkant talks and Shimla Agreement). In spite of the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah in 1953 and coming up of a number of new leaders of the All Jammu And Kashmir National conference/Congress parliamentary party such as G. M. Bakshi, Kh. Shamsuddin, G.M. Sadiq and Qasim, the problem of communalism and secessionism continued not only to exist but had taken a serious dimension in the State. People of the Valley seemed to have not been pacified with different regimes since August, 1953. Sheikh Abdullah was still regarded as undisputed leader of the Valley and his influences in the political circles still regarded as paramount. Some of the Kashmiri leaders even challenged the state accession with the Indian Union and pleaded for the holding of plebiscite to decide it finally. Moreover, Pakistani influence on the people of the Valley was also on increase.

In the light of the circumstances mentioned above Indian leadership particularly Mrs. Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, seemed to have been conceived that it was not possible to get the popular support from the Valley by ignoring Sheikh Abdullah as well as no final solution of Kashmir issue would be possible without taking Sheikh Abdullah into confidence.

On the other hand, the failure of Pakistani army to capture Kashmir by force in the past; the then political turmoil in Pakistan, because of refusal of West Pakistani leaders to accept Mujub-ur-Rehman from East Pakistan whose party secured majority in the then Assembly Elections, as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, subsequent civil war in East Pakistan, Pakistan armies massacring; raping and commissioning of other atrocities

On the co-Muslim brethren of East Pakistan had deep impact on the thinking Of Kashmiri leadership. Most of them were of the opinion that the people of the state might have been treated by the Pakistani leadership in the same way as they did in East Pakistan if the state acceded to Pakistan. Moreover they were also clear in their mind that the possibility of Kashmir to be independent was very bleak because of the fact that it was surrounded by a number of countries. They finally seemed to have been convinced that if there could be any solution of their problem, it would be within the framework of Indian Constitution.

This change in the life of the sub-continent, the changing attitude of the central leadership and the policy of liberalisation adopted by the then state government and the offer of Syed Mir Qasim to opposition leaders in Kashmir including Sheikh Abdullah to join the main-stream of State, political life invoked a favourable response from Sheikh Abdullah. He therefore, thought that it was better for their benefits to reconcile their position and try to solve the problems peacefully and in a spirit of mutual understanding. He realised that the method they had adopted in their struggle for freedom had practically denied the people to have a government of their own choice. The leaders of the plebiscite front, therefore, tried to rethink on their future in Kashmir. They wanted to have a government of their own choice for the benefit of common people in Kashmir. So they started to rethink on their terms with India and wanted to reach an understanding with the Union Government. Sheikh Abdullah, therefore, in a public speech, affirmed his faith in accession, secularism and democratic socialism. He, for the first time declared that "his quarrel with India was not on the question of accession but on the quantum of autonomy of the state in its relationship with India".

Such kind of attitude of the Plebiscite Front leaders encouraged Indian Government to seek a compromise with Sheikh Abdullah. The central government was very such keen to arrive at a sound solution about Kashmir problem.

For the first time awareness and keen desire to have a dialogue between Sheikh Abdullah and New Delhi was voiced in Lok Sabha by Shamim Ahmed Shamim. Shamim was asserting the need for a dialogue with the ousted Kashmir leader.

Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi thought, to de-internationalise the Kashmir issue, it was better to have an agreement with Sheikh Abdullah".

Consequently, Prime Minister of India, Smt. Gandhi in 1972 said that she wanted a new chapter to open with regard to Kashmir leadership. She had realised that the Kashmir problem could not be solved unless the leaders of the plebiscite Front were taken into confidence. Accordingly, Sheikh Abdullah, the patron of the Plebiscite Front, reciprocated the call and made it clear that he would not say, "no" to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's expressed desire to turn over a new leaf in relation between India and Kashmir. Let us hope and pray for success... The issue was not accession but the quantum of autonomy".

Sheikh Abdullah expressed his desire "to make a limited beginning with the hope that the condition will take a turn for better and that the people of Kashmir will come closer to India".

All these factors pressed together paved the way for table negotiations and the Centre and State leadership continued to find ways for a better solution of Kashmir within the constitutional framework of India. These deliberations were later pursued by Mr. Panhasarthy as the representative of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

The discussions started between Mr. Beg and Mr. G. Parthasarthy on constitutional relationship between centre and state in which Swaran Singh, Sayed Mir Qasim and D. R Dhar also made their contributions.

Most of the people described the negotiations for the beginning of a new chapter, in the affairs of the state. The Chief Minister, Syed Mir Qasim, admitted that Sheikh Abdullah can play a great role in strengthening the democratic and socialist forces in the country"

Negotiations between Sheikh and Mrs. Gandhi or more accurately between their emissaries Mirza Afzal Beg and Mr. G. Panhasarthy dragged on for full four years before a mutually satisfactory agreement was reached. The talks centered round the statement of Sheikh Abdullah upholding the finality of Kashmir's accession to India and demanding maximum autonomy as envisaged in the instrument of accession. The Plebiscite Front leadership wanted the centre to retrace the steps it had taken since the Delhi Agreement which was signed twenty three years ago. This meant that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the Union Public Service Commission, the Election Commission which had been dissolution of the state assembly followed by the fresh elections to examine the legality of the laws extended to Jammu and Kashmir State after August 1953".

These were some of the demands which became the basic cause for the differences between the two parties. However, Sheikh Abdullah while explaining his stand wrote to Shri Parthasarthy that, "In our talks yesterday, and the day before, I hope that I have made it abundantly clear to you that

I can assume office only on the basis of the position it existed on 8th August, 1953. With regard to the provisions of the constitution or the Union laws and entries applied to the Jammu and Kashmir state after 9th August, 1953, judgement there upon will be deferred until the newly elected assembly comes into being".

It was clear that Sheikh Abdullah was ready to accept or assume office to the Chief Ministership of Jammu and Kashmir only when centre would restore the pre- 1953 position. But the central government was not ready to accept his demands. The Union Government was not prepared to revise its policy towards Sheikh Abdullah until he reaffirmed in unequivocal terms that Kashmir's accession to India was final and irrevocable. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, On November 13, 1974, in a letter to G. Parthasarthy reminded him that in the course of their discussion he made a proposal that appeals to the Supreme Court under Article 132 of the constitution of India from the decisions of the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir would be only on a certificate under clause I of that Article. After a detailed discussion Parthasarthy had agreed to the proposal and stated that it could be implemented by an order under article 370 making suitable notification under article 367 of Indian Constitution. It was clear that centre was not ready to accept the proposal which had been made Mirza Afzal Beg, the representative of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla. Only because of these intentions in mind Parthasarthy

had agreed that, these provision could only be implemented by an order of the President of India in accordance with the procedure perscribed under article 370.

Mirza Afzal Beg, therefore signed the proposal as modified by G. Parthasarthy, the representative of Mr. Indira Gandhi. But Beg in a letter to G. Parthasarthy on the same day recalled him the course of their previous discussions that he had made proposals on the following fundamental

1. That the provisions relating to the fundamental rights to be incorporated in the state constitution.
2. That the superintendence, direction and control over elections to the state legislature by the election commission be removed.
3. That Article 356 should be modified to require the consent of the state before an order is issued there under, or some similar safeguard should be provided.

But the centre was not ready to accept all the proposals of Mirza Afzal Beg. G. Parthasarthy, therefore, did not agree to the proposals and strictly advised Beg that the proposals on which they had disagreed should not be made public without the consent of the Prime Minister. He also recommended to Beg that he had already stated in the heated discussions which had taken place between them and had told him that she could not agree to these proposals for the same reasons.

While this correspondence went on, some of the demands aroused criticism from the opposition parties. The Jana Sangh President, Lal Krishan Advani, warned the centre, "iAny step against intergration would be dangerously fraught with grave consequence".

In a statement, the then General "Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir Pradesh Congress Committee urged the Prime Minister to tell Sheikh

Abdullah firmly that there would be no reversal of the process of intergrati0n of the state with the rest of the country. The Awami Action Committee of Maulvi Farooq also opposed the talks between G. Parthasarthy and Mirza Afzal Beg. But the Jamaat-I-Islamia of the state questioned the wisdom Of the Plebiscite Front President Mr. Beg wasting two decades to affirm the reality of Kashmir's accession of India.

The nature of Jammu's response to the talks between Parthasarthy, the Prime Minister negotiator and Mirza Afzal Beg, the Sheikh's spokesman, was a highly complicated one. The State Jana Sangh backed by its level leadership suspected that the National government might concede more and more autonomy to the state and that would be from the party's standpoint as perceived by it contrary to the national interest. In this connection the hostility of the party to the negotiation related back to the event of 1953 when on the question of autonomy there developed a crucial crisis in the State which led to the formation of a new government by Bakshi who was deputy Prime Minister in the outgoing Sheikh's cabinet, the dismissal of the Sheikh Govt. and the beginning of what oriented to 22 years period of his remaining in political exile from the state and national politics. The Jana Sangh seemed to have been apprehensive of the adverse effect of the Sheikh's return to power in State politics on the process of creasing centralization of certain subjects which had been witnessed between 1950 and the negotiation leading to Accord in 1975.

While correspondence went on between Mirza Afzal Beg and G. Parthasarthy, they kept respectively their leaders Sheikh Abdullah and Mrs. Indira Gandhi informed about their discussions and deliberations. Consequently, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah wrote to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, in a confidential letter that Mirza Afzal Beg had already written to him that he and G. Parthasarthy had reached the conclusion in regard to constitutional matters concerning the relationship between Jammu and Kashmir State and the Union of India. Sheikh added that at their instance they had detailed discussions on these matter of which he had received the documents from Mirza Afzal Beg containing the points on which agreement had

"Clock cannot be put back and we have to take note of the realities of the situation. I am appreciative spirit in which you have expressed your agreement with the terms of the agreed conclusions".

In order to ensure full co-operation from the state administration, Mrs. Gandhi kept Syed Mir Qasim, the then chief Minister of the state well informed and the later was in full agreement with her policy of reapproachment with Sheikh. Mrs Gandhi was of the view that the central government should continue to co-operate with the state government fully in respect of measures to be undertaken by the state government for the progress and welfare of the people of that state. She also thought that the state was passing through a critical period and that the cooperation of Sheikh in cementing the centre- state relations would be encouraging. According to Mrs. Gandhi, Sheikh Abdullah had got a secular mind and despite some differences he was loyal towards India and treated accession of the state with the Union of India as final and irrevocable.

The developments reached the Climax when in 1974 the Union Government agreed to examine the difficulties of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in carrying the people with him in case the status quo was maintained. On the other hand, Sheikh gave up the demand for Plebiscite and did not insist on Pakistan being a party to the Kashmir dispute. Sheikh Abdullah modified his stand on Plebiscite, and expressed his least concern with it. Thus, instead of an international problem the Kashmir issue was reduced to an internal one. Even Balraj Puri put it that :

"Sheikh and the Plebiscite Front had cooled down considerably". It seemed that the Union Government had already prepared itself to do business with Sheikh Abdullah and waited for the right time : probably after the then Uttar Pradesh elections, when some people expressed anxiety over some of his earlier speeches. in the opinion of Mrs. Gandhi the Kashmir problem was not a serious one. She said, "leave Sheikh Sahib to me".

Eventually, the issue was decided and the Front leaders were convinced that the process could not be reversed. By the end of 1974, Sheikh Abdullah came to realise that it was impossible to go back to 1953. The efforts materialised by "Accord" between the Central leaders and the front leaders on 24th of February, 1975. Mr. Bazaz had put it

"The protracted negotiations were carried on secretly and Kashmiri's were not taken into confidence until the deal was struck early in 1975. The outcome put down in the shape of an agreement between Sheikh Abdullah and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, is known as Kashmir Accord. It was presented to the Indian Parliament alongwith all relevant correspondence on February 24, 1975 with a statement by the Prime Minister, and was passed by the latter"

However, the following specified question was left over for further considerations at an appropriate time:-

1. What should be the convention with regard to the consultations with the State government for appointment of the Governor under section 27 of the State constitution?
2. Whether any modification is called for with regard to the extension of the scheme for the All India Services to the state?

The proposal and discussions which were agreed upon by both the emissaries of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah Smt. Gandhi were incorporated in the "Accord" in the form of agreed conclusions. The agreed conclusions of the accord were as under:-

Agreed conclusion

The State of Jammu and Kashmir which is a constituent unit of the Union of India shall, in its relations with the Union, continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Constitution of India.

The residuary powers of legislation shall remain with the state, however, the parliament will continue to have power to make laws relating to the prevention of activities directed towards the disclaiming questions or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about cession of a part of the territory of India or secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the Indian National Flag, the Indian National Anthem and the constitution.

3. Where any provision of the Constitution of India had been applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir with adaptations and modifications, such adaptations and modifications can be altered or repealed by an order of the President under Article 370, each individual proposal in this behalf being considered on its merits; but provisions of the Constitution of India already applied to the state of Jammu and Kashmir without adaptations or modifications are unalterable.

4. With a view to assuring freedom to the state of Jammu and Kashmir to have its own legislation on matters, like welfare measures, cultural matters, social security, personal law, and procedural laws, in the manner suited to the special conditions in the state, it is agreed that the state government can review the laws made by the parliament or extended to the state after 1953 on any matter relating to the concurrent list and may decide which of them, in its opinion, needs amendment or repeal. Thereafter appropriate steps may be taken under article 254 of the Constitution of India.

The grant of President's assent to such legislation would be sympathetically considered. The same approach would be adopted in regard to laws to be made by parliament in future under the proviso to clause (2) of that article. The state government shall be consulted regarding the application of any such law to the state and the views of the state government shall receive the fullest consideration.

5. As an arrangement reciprocal to what has been provided under article 368, a suitable modification of that article as applied to the state should be made by presidential order to the effect that no law made by the legislature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, seeking to make any change in or in the effect of any provision, of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir relating to any of the under mentioned matters, shall take effect unless the Bill having been reserved for the consideration of the President, receives his assent, the matters are :-

- (a) The appointment, powers, functions, duties, privileges and immunities of the Governor; and
- (b) The following matters relating to elections namely, the superintendence, direction and control of elections by the Election Commission of India, eligibility for inclusion in the electoral rolls without discrimination, adult suffrage and composition of the legislative council being matters specified in sections 138, 139, 140 and 150 of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

6. No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is therefore remitted to the principles".

An analysis of the agreed conclusions highlights the following points:

- (a) It reassured Kashmir's special status as there is to be no change in Article 370
- (b) Residuary powers remain with the state legislative in order to preserve its special status to the extent guaranteed by Article 370. At the same time, the parliament retains the power to safeguard the territorial integrity, honour and sovereignty of the Indian Constitution, the National Flag and the National Anthem.

(c) The result of the mutual negotiations which emerged in the shape of what was known as the Agreements is intended to be kept intact without any alteration and as such the provisions of the Indian Constitution which have been extended to the state subsequent to the Delhi Agreement with modifications and adaptations by the presidential orders from time to time, can be re-examined on individual merit and allocations made if necessary.

(d) The powers of the state govt. to legislate on matters relating to welfare measures, cultural matters, social security, personal law and procedural law in the light of special conditions prevailing in the state have been safeguarded with a view to ensure the freedom of the state in such matters. Further, it has been given the powers to review such pieces of legislation as have been extended to the state after 1953 under the concurrent list by Presidential orders, and see if they need any amendment or repeal so that steps may be taken to recast or re-enact such provisions under article 254. Grant or President's assent to such bills shall be sympathetically considered not only with regard to the intervening period but the same approach will be adopted for future legislation on the concurrent list, and the views of the state govt. will always be taken into consideration.

(e) To avoid any anomalies or constitutional controversies between the Centre and the State it has been agreed that the State legislature can-not change the provisions of the State constitution dealing with the Governor or elections and adult franchise without getting President's assent.

(f) Regarding the nomenclature of Governor and of the Chief Minister, who were once called as Sardar-i-Riyasat and Prime Minister respectively, no agreement arrived at. It was decided that the matter be referred back to the principles.

From the aforesaid analysis of the Accord it may be abundantly clear that the basic fact of accession had accepted. Constitutional relationship up to August 8 1953 had not been questioned. But the doubts were expressed about the post-August 1953 legislations. There also had been certain provisions which referred to the possibility of revision of the then existing relations. Moreover the provisions regarding Supreme Court were to be revised and the question of nomenclature of Governor and Chief Minister had remained unresolved issue. In short, the provision of the Accord had given an impression that we were back to the earlier phase as symbolised by the Delhi Agreement of 1952, which in its turns was underpinned by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and the state's instrument of accession to India.

Putting a copy of the agreed conclusions on the table of the House before the members of the Parliament, Mrs. Gandhi pointed out "that these agreed conclusions which had been reached and accepted are in no way contradictory to the Constitution of India. She emphasized that the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall continue to be governed under the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. The existing position or jurisdiction of the centre over state relating to the matters of questioning or disrupting the sovereignty of the state and territorial integrity of India will not be affected in any way. It has also been agreed that no amendments would be made to the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir State unless the consent of the President of India regarding it may be achieved." As Mrs. Gandhi stated that she personally assured the state government of Jammu and Kashmir regarding their repealing of some central laws passed and applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir after 1953 in the concurrent list, "Such measures as related to cultural matters, social security, peoceural laws etc. will be considered by the central government sympathetically."

It was the desire of the state leadership regarding which Mr. Mohammad Afzal Beg made a proposal that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over the state judiciary may be lifted and all the judicial powers be delegated back to the State High Court. It was not accepted by Mrs. Indira Gandhi on the plea that the control over state executive and judiciary regarding the original and appedlate jurisdiction was very important in our democratic political system. It was agreed by Mrs. Gandhi and the state leadership that the provisions in Article 132 (2) need not apply to the state or any action by the centre on this issue may be taken only when the

for any action by the centre on this issue may be taken only when the state government initiates this proposal, Mrs. Indira

Gandhi stressed on the members of the state House that they should note the point that the intentions of the State leadership regarding the change of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister could not be settled by them. It was agreed upon "that the power of changing the nomenclature of these designations into Sardar-i-Riyasat and Wazir-i-Azam is vested in the state legislature. If the state legislature wishes a change in this regard, it shall have to make amendment accordingly in the state constitutions. If the state legislature would amend the constitution, accordingly the centre would have no objection. But so long as the amendments are not made, the present designations will continue:

Sheikh Abdullah was however, anxious to revive pre-1953 position of constitutional relationship of the state with the centre, when he would be in power. Mrs. Gandhi, as she explained before the honourable Members of the House that she had told Sheikh Abdullah that "clock cannot be put back in this manner".

Mirza Afzal Beg suggested that the applicability of the fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution to the State of Jammu and Kashmir should be withdrawn instead these rights should be incorporated in the state constitution. He was also of the view that the supervision and control of the election commission to the State of Jammu and Kashmir should also be removed. He also wanted that article 356 of the Indian constitution should not be applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, except with the concurrence of the state government. As Mrs. Gandhi stated in the parliament of India, that it was not possible for her to agree to these points of proposals. Mrs. Gandhi stressed, that despite the rejection of these proposals Sheikh Abdullah agreed and accepted the agreed conclusions.

However, as a result of the Accord the Kashmir problem was once again reduced to the domestic level. The congress ministry headed by Mr Mir Qasim eventually stepped down. The state premiership was offered to Sheikh's Mohammad Abdullah, who assumed the office on 25th Feb., 1975 The wheel has thus, gone full circle and we are back as it were, to square one, once again.

As already pointed out that the nature of reaction of the rightist parties in Jammu region towards the talks between Shri Parthasarthy and M.A Beg was a highly complicated one. They suspected that the Central Government might concede more autonomy to the state which would be contrary to the national interest. While criticising Indira - Sheikh Accord, they pointed out that Sheikh Abdullah's repeated assertions stressing the right of the state to review all the central laws extended to the state at the request of State Governments between August 1953 to the year of Accord' could, have no meaning, but to 'Sell the Settlement' and giving him 'Kashmir on a platter.

Their apprehensions were that installation of Sheikh Abdullah as Chief Minister of the State was not only undemocratic but also would lead to the emergence of separatist and disruptionist tendencies in the State They warned that any step against integration with India would be dangerously fraught with grave consequences.

There was, however, mixed reaction in the Valley. In spite of the fact that all the demands of the Plebiscite leadership were not accepted, yet they seemed to be pacified with the conclusions of the Accord. Sheikh Abdullah hailed it as it strengthened his desire for maximum autonomy for the State as well as a victory of democracy and secularism. As a result, the Plebiscite Front was dissolved and National Conference revived.

The Awami Action Committee, right from the very beginning opposed negotiation: between Kashmir leaders and the centre and it strongly condemned the Accord. Jamait-e-Islami while rejecting the Accord questioned the wisdom of the Plebiscite Front President Mirza Afzal Beg wasting two decades to affirm the reality of Kashmir's accession to India.

At the international level, a hostile attitude was adopted by Pakistan which made an appeal to the people in Kashmir to observe a hartal which was ignored by the people. Pakistan charged that the New Delhi announcement contravened the spirit of the Simla Agreement under which all outstanding problems, including that of Kashmir, were to be settled through bilateral discussions. Both the Central and State leaders criticised Bhutto for his uncalled interference. Sheikh Abdullah while criticising Bhutto said,

"Mr Bhutto has no right to say that my agreement in New Delhi was a violation of United Nations resolutions and a denial of the right of self-determination for the Kashmir people as Mr. Bhutto himself had called them mere scraps of papers."

The Indian Government too rejected the protest made by the Pakistan Government. Besides Pakistan, China also denounced the Accord and once again described Indian leaders as "expansionists".

The observers from in and outside India were of the view that such an Accord, reached between Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah, was a new landmark in the history of Kashmir since its independence in 1947. In the first place, there were no two opinions about the crucial importance of the Accord with Abdullah, no matter how divided the council about its merits it is accepted as a landmark in Kashmir history as much by those who either dislike it intentionally or have reservations about it as by others who hail it without doubt or question."

In short it was generally believed that the Accord was a real landmark in changing the character or constitutional relations between the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union of India. But in spite of this qualitative change the new relationship between Jammu and Kashmir State and Centre shall have its own dynamic operating which would potentially give result to new irritants, tensions, or confrontations, qualitatively of a different type.

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PERMANENT RESIDENTS OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE AND THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

"Fundamental Rights are the, modern name for what have been traditionally known as 'natural rights'. They are moral rights which every human being everywhere at all times ought to have simply because of the fact that in contradictions with other things, he is rational and moral. They are the primordial rights necessary for the development of human personality. They are the rights which enable a man to chalk out his own life in the manner he likes best."

—Subha Rao, C.J. in *Golaknath case*

Human history records various instances of conflicts between the governed and the government. It also records that gradually the governed asserted themselves against the government and established their rights to freedom and liberty. The Magna Carta(1215) was the first such triumph of the people over the King in the English history.

But the first expression of the popular movements in Kashmir took the form of resentment against outsiders who were controlling all the ministerial services and enjoying numerous other privileges. A movement 'Kashmir for Kashmiris' was first started during Maharaja Pratap Singh's rule and it grew stronger with time. Several Committees and Commissions were appointed to deal with the problem. This had first led to enactment of laws providing preference to "MULKIS" over the outsiders in the state services then the adoption of the State-Subject definition rules of 1912 and ultimately the State Subject rules of 1927.

The new interpretation to the term State-Subject satisfied only a handful of middle class young men who saw in the definition as opportunity to obtain the favour of the government. The masses... the peasantry remained untouched. Much hue and cry was raised against the definition of State-Subject. Even Sir, B.J. Glancy agreed with a section of opinion which condemned the definition on the ground that even "domicile in the state for a thousand years cannot, according to this definition, qualify a man to become a hereditary state subject". So the discontentment remained a smoldering fire and consequently took the form of a number Of gigantic movements in Kashmir till it finally acceded to the Union of India in October, 1947

Because of its peculiar circumstances, the fathers of the Constitution of India enacted special provisions relating to the State of Jammu & Kashmir which implicitly recognised right of the State to accord its preference to the permanent residents. The Citizenship laws of India thus, did not, apply to the State. The State Subject Notification No. 1- L/84 of 1927 was, therefore, the Law of the Citizenship of the state.

The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) order 1950 did not make any change in this respect. Even the entry of the Union List was modified to read only naturalization and aliens' in its application to Jammu & Kashmir.

The Delhi Agreement of 1952, however, accepted that "the State legislature would be given power to define and regulate the rights and privileges of its permanent residents of the State specially in regard to acquisition of immovable property, appointments to services in the State and like matters.

After the ratification of State's accession with India in 1954 negotiations were held between the representatives of the governments and a compromise was reached. 16 The Government of India, therefore, agreed that the permanent residents of the State could have special rights but they were to have the common Indian citizenship and it was further agreed to substitute the term 'permanent residents' for the term 'state subject' as defined in the Notification No. 1 -I/84 of 1927.

Thus by Section 2(3) of the Constitution (Application to Jammu & Kashmir) Order 1954, Part 11 of the Union Constitution was made applicable to the state from the 26th day of January, 1954.¹⁸ Moreover, the State

Legislature would have the power to make special provisions for the 'permanent residents', so the Legislature in 1954, by inserting Sections 5A to 5F in the Constitution Act 1939 made provision in this respect. These regulations remained in existence till the enforcement of the Kashmir Constitution of 1957.

Part III of Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir deals with the 'permanent residents', the provisions by and large are the same as of Section 5A to 5F Of the Constitution Act of 1939 and it abolished the laws of separate citizenship.

The Constitution left the door open for the subsequent return and settlement in the State Of those of its state subjects who migrated after the first day March, 1947, to the territory subsequently comprising Pakistan. This could be done under a permit for settlement or for Permanent return to be issued by the competent authority under the State Legislation. The Constitution expressly leaves to the legislature the power to make any law defining the classes of persons who are or shall be 'permanent residents' of the State

However, a fundamental right is a legally enforceable right of an individual available against the State. It does not mean merely a right of liberty permissible under the law but also right of liberty which enables an individual to develop his personality and his faculties and to live his life in his own interests and in the interest of the community as a whole.

The Delhi Agreement of 1952 provided that the fundamental rights, which were contained in the Union Constitution could not be conferred on the residents of the Kashmir State in 'their entirety'. The justification for introducing certain modifications of the fundamental rights as contained in

Part III of the Indian Constitution to the Kashmir State was admitted in view of:

- (a) Socio-politico-economic nature of the freedom movement as reflected in the New Kashmir, and
- (b) The decision of the Kashmir consembly not to award compensation to the expropriated landlords justified on the principle of land to the tillers.

The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, vide Sec.2 (4) made by the President under Art, 370, therefore, extended the provisions of Part III of the Indian Constitution to the State with modifications. Later on Section 10 of the Constitution of the Jammu & Kashmir promulgated on 26th January, 1957, stipulated:

"The permanent residents of the state shall have all the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution of India."

The Kashmir Constitution thus, apart from the special rights and privileges of the permanent residents of the State but subject to certain important qualifications and modifications.

Some of the important modification of fundamental rights as applicable to the permanent residents of the State are discussed here.

The provision of the "Right to Equality" shall be applicable to the state with the modification that Clause (4) of Article 15, the reference to Schedule Tribes be omitted and in Clause (3) of Article 16 the references to the State shall be considered as not including a reference to the State of Jammu and Kasshmir. The applications of 'Right of freedom' to the state is subject to two limitations. Firstly the right to freedom of assembly, association, movement, residence and of property(i.e., Sub- Clause (b) Of Art. 19(1) are subjected to the additional limitation according to which the state legislature is empowered to impose restrictions on these freedoms in the "interests of the security of the state".³¹ The Legislature of the state, is, thus, empowered to determine the circumstances and compulsions which may warrant the imposition of additional restrictions occurring in Clauses (2)-(5) shall be construed as meaning" such restrictions as the State Legislature deems

reasonable. Briefly: "as extended to the State reasonable restriction on the right conferred by art. Means such restrictions as the State legislature deems reasonable and not the court as in the rest of the country.

These limitations are transitory in character and under the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1934, were meant for five years.

But successively orders have had their life extended till 1970. The fundamental freedoms in the State, therefore, were thus, at the mercy of the and whims of State Legislature as they are not open to judicial review.

The provision relating to protection in respect of conviction for offence (Art.20) and protection of life and personal liberty (Art. 21) shall fully apply to the State'?)

So far as application of the provision of protection against arrest and detention in certain cases in Kashmir is concerned, "in clauses (4) and (7) of Art22, for the word 'parliament' the word 'Legislature of the State' shall be substituted,"

Thus Art, 22 "relating to the preventive detention will apply except that the power of the State with Legislature instead of Parliament, and the existing law of the State with respect to preventive detention shall continue to be in force until repealed or amended by the Legislature, which shall have sole legislative power with respect to preventive detention. It is applicable to the state with another restrictive rider by way of new Clause (c) to Art, 35, which exempts State laws on preventive detention, past or future, from challenge on the ground of violation of Art.22. The presidential order 1954 was made for period of five years, but it has been extended repeatedly, the last time in 1974 for the ensuing five years.

The provisions relating to "right against exploitation' and 'freedom of religion' shall fully apply to State.

The provisions of the 'right of property' as envisaged by the Constitution of India, are applicable to the State with certain variations and modifications. Firstly, the State Legislature is vested with un-retracted power to undertake legislation providing for acquisition of property, the mode and manner of the payment of the compensatory amounts, the acquisition of landed estates, extinguishments and modification of interests in corporations and mining and mineral products, without having to reserve such legislation for the assent of the President. The legislature is also vested with a wide authority to undertake legislation to implement the directive principles of the State Policy envisaged by the Constitution of the State. No such legislation is required to be reserved for the consideration of the President Secondly, 'estates' has been defined in its applicable to the State, as the land which is occupied or has been let for agricultural purposes or for the purpose subservient to agriculture or for pastures and which include:

- i. building sites and other structures on such land;
- ii. trees standing on such land;
- iii. forest land wooded waste;
- iv. areas under field of floating over water;
- v. sites for 'Jandars' and 'gharat'
- vi. Jagirs, inams, manufis, mukararies and other similar grants, excluding building sites near towns or villages and land reserved for municipality, notified areas or town planning.

So far as the application of the provision for the 'Constitutional Remedies' in the State is conceded, the Parliament is not vested with the right to empower any other court to exercise jurisdiction in regard to fundamental rights. Instead a special Clause is appended to art.32 Of the Indian Constitution and the High Court of the State is empowered to issue order and writs for the enforcement of these rights. The difference is that, whereas the High Court of the other States are vested with the power to enforce right under Art. 226 of the Indian Constitution, the Kashmir High Court enjoys the jurisdiction under Art. 32 of the Constitution

The reason is technical rather than substantial. The State Government is organised under the Constitution of the State and the High Court of the State is a part of a separate constitutional framework. Thus Supreme Court and the State High Court shall have the power to issue writs or orders for the purposes of the enforcement of fundamental rights.

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Resolution of The Central Committee of The Communist party of India on The Situation in Kashmir
(Reprinted From Crossroads, August 2, 1953)

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the reports coming from Kashmir that some leading personalities of the Sheikh Abdullah group and its supporters in the National Conference have made public declarations that the State of Kashmir should be made independent of India and that its new status be guaranteed by India, Pakistan and the United Nations.

It is also stated that the areas of Jammu and Ladakh should be allowed to be fully incorporated in the Indian Union.

It is clear that these declarations mean that the problem of Kashmir is entering a new and very serious phase of its crisis, as serious as when Kashmir was made an object of invasion five years ago.

These declarations first mean that the Kashmir valley separates itself from even the limited but vital ties it has with India and which are expressed in the Act of Limited Accession of Kashmir and Jammu to India and the further mutual aid visualised in the Delhi Agreement.

Secondly, it means that Kashmir undergoes a new partition in which the vicious principle that predominantly Muslim and Hindu areas cannot and should not remain together is implicitly admitted.

Such a partition will again encourage those forces of communal reaction and their imperialist inspirers who have so long imposed innumerable atrocities and so much harm on the people of India and Pakistan, Jammu and Kashmir.

The fine traditions of the Kashmiri people, who have been immune from the virus, are thus sought to be destroyed to the mutual loss of the people of both India and Kashmir where Hindu-Muslim amity will be put to a new strain.

The third and the most disastrous outcome of this line is the proposal that the United Nations should guarantee this new independent state of Kashmir from any aggression.

Anyone knowing the character of the United Nations as it is today and the way it is dominated by the Anglo-American imperialist bloc, which has been mainly responsible for fomenting dissensions between India and Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir, see that the guarantee by the UNO, means importing American military forces into Kashmir, and in course of time, its incorporation in the Pakistan areas which are being made the basis of warmongering plans of America.

Thus the alluring slogan of independent Kashmir becomes a reactionary slogan will hand over Kashmir to the imperialist warmongers, allowing their forces to occupy the strategic valley of Kashmir and threaten the peace of all its states, including that of India.

The Central Committee, therefore, calls upon all democratic forces in India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir to prevent this new disaster overtaking the people.

But in order to find the path to prevent this disaster, it is necessary to know how it has come to pass that these leaders, who not long ago were adhering to a non-communal and democratic standpoint have now taken to such a line against the interests of the people ? What has led them to this Path?

The people of Kashmir and Jammu are in the grip of the same economic crisis that has overtaken the economy of India and its people, the same crisis that is affecting all the capitalist countries and under-developed countries of Asia and Africa.

The millions of peasants, artisans, middle-class people, traders etc. are suffering from low income, high prices, poverty and unemployment and with no near prospect of any way out of the crisis.

The people of Kashmir beat the raiders back with the help of the Indian Army; they fought for a land law that was expected to rid them of the burdens of landlordism; they removed the old Maharaja and had their own Constitution. But all that has not been sufficient to resolve the problems of life of the people.

The Government of Sheikh Abdullah and the Government of India have both failed to solve the main problems of peoples' living, of land, work and trade.

The agents of American imperialists in the guise of the United Nations observers and landlord reactionaries have taken advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people to put forward the idea that a separation from India and independent existence will enable them to solve their problems with the alluring promises of loans and aids from the UNO and the Americans to develop an independent Kashmir State.

An Independent Kashmir can also open the trade whose natural routes lie through Pakistan but are now blocked because of Kashmir's accession to India.

With some plausibility these forces argue that if the Indian Government can follow the path of taking loans from the Americans to tide over her difficulties, why not an independent Kashmir should be able to do it.

The leaders of the Sheikh Abdullah group, who have held the reins of Government so far, now want to pursue this line in order to hide their failures and divert the attention of the masses from these failures and their real reasons.

The reactionaries fail to point out the fate of South Korea that was occupied and devastated by the UNO-Americans, the fate of the nearest neighbour State of Afghanistan, whose economy has been looted by the Americans and the fate of even India which, because of its being tied up with sterling and dollar capital, is unable to take its independent road to progress.

In order to save its own narrow interests, this group is utilising the ignorance of the masses their discontent with the existing Government, to sidetrack them into the worst disaster that would follow Kashmir's separation from India and its line-up with the UNO or Pakistan.

The Government of Sheikh Abdullah failed because it did not fully implement the land laws that were intended to rid the peasant of burdens of landlordism. It obstructed and suppressed the peasant forces that were implementing the laws with their own action. It allowed unreasonable levies on the peasant producers, and allowed speculators and landlords to get hold of them in the name of feeding the towns.

It failed to prevent corruption in its own apparatus, which in the early stages of the incoming of the new State, had the advantage of being run by the leadership of the National Conference and was not made of hardened bureaucrats.

But when these new rulers themselves began to be transformed into the image of the old rulers, the Sheikh Abdullah Government did not allow the democratic masses to bring up their independent mass organizations and forces to correct the newly-rising reactionaries.

It now wants to hide its failures by diversionary slogans of independence to mislead the people.

The reactionaries in the Governmental circles in India have also helped in the development by insisting on full accession, on retaining the Maharaja and the Privy Purse, and by trying to grab the economy of Kashmir in the interests of the big monopolists of India and by refusing to help the new State with greater financial aid unless their terms of full financial integration were accepted.

Moreover, the failure of the Sheikh Abdullah group to satisfy the just demands of the Jammu people in the matter of their language, service employment and administrative autonomy without separation from Kashmir, enabled the landlord reactionaries to use the discontent of the people, and the help which certain reactionary Hindu circles rendered them has enabled some leaders of the Sheikh group to easily sow the idea in the minds of the Kashmiri people of a fresh partition and separation from India.

Under such circumstances, the democratic forces in Kashmir and Jammu must come forward to save the people from these new designs of the imperialists and their conscious supporters or misguided unconscious votaries.

The democratic forces must refuse to separate Kashmir from India as such separation will not mean independence for the people but enslavement and further impoverishment.

The status that Kashmir has today by the Act of Limited Accession and even the terms of the Delhi Agreement, are such that thereby its people not only unite in friendship with India, but they also stand to gain from the vast strength of the economy of India, which is capable of helping Kashmir to grow prosperous, provided the democratic forces on either side were able to make the Governments follow democratic policies.

By limited accession, Kashmir retains her right to frame her own Constitution, her own fundamental rights, her own laws to abolish landlordism without compensation, her right to remove the Maharaja and the Privy Purse and the right to be independent of the interference of the President of the Indian Republic.

The democratic forces both in Kashmir and India must struggle to let Kashmir retain this status of virtual independent within the framework Of the Indian Union to which it accedes in the very sense of limited accession.

The existence of the Indian Army must not mean and does not mean the occupation of Kashmir by an alien hostile conquering force interfering in the life of the people.

The Indian Army only defends Kashmir against foreign invasion, which task was given to it by the free consent of the Kashmiri people. The Indian Army must behave as a friend for defence and not as a police force against the people, interfering in the internal affairs of the country.

The democratic forces on either side must see that the Delhi Agreement renders adequate financial aid for solving the crisis in the life of the people and is not used as a weapon to draw Kashmir within the vicious grip of the monopoly financiers of India.

They must resist full financial integration of the two states, as under present conditions the powerful finance circles of India and their budgetary manoeuvres will ruin the weak economy of Kashmir and sow further seeds of suspicion and discontent. Mutual benefit and development of people's interests must be the key to all agreements and their implementation.

While today Kashmir with her limited accession has all the advantages of independence and autonomy without being a prey to foreign intervention, the new slogans of separation and partition would land Kashmir in the hands of imperialist warmongers and worst looters of her people.

The democratic forces on either side must see that the peasants of Kashmir are helped to rid themselves of the burden of landlordism. We must see that friendly agreements between India and Pakistan are made to help open trade to the benefit of all and that a prosperous peasant and honest trader helps the artisan to get upon his feet again.

The democratic forces must campaign for the rights of the Jammu and Ladakh people, in the matter of language, service, local administrative autonomy and financial and civil liberties.

Only when democratic forces inside and outside the National Conference and the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir, basing themselves on the Kisan Sabhas and other organisations of the people, build a powerful democratic front and with the aid of their brethern in India develop a powerful movement and organisation to solve the problem of land, rent, taxes, civil librenties and the development of Kashmir's economy and succeed in thwarting the forces of imperialist intervention, will the State of Kashmir and Jammu progress on the road to prosperity and independence.

THE VITAL POL. EVENTS & CONTROVERSIES IN J&K SINCE INDEPENDENCE & THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

The vital political controversies and events in Kashmir since independence and the role of the communist party of India may perhaps aptly be describe as key chapter of the study. Without examining and analyzing the stand adopted by the party on the major political issues, which have not only created strains and stresses, irritations and tensions, conflicts and controversies between different regions of the state but also between the state and centre, no real academic pursuit to analyze or evaluate the role of the communist party of India in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in particular and in the dynamics of Kashmir politics of today in general can be possible.

The Idea of Independent Kashmir and State Accession with Indian Union

With the failure of the Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League to reach an agreement on the fundamental issues of unity or division, the British Government, presented what is known as Cabinet Mission Plan. According to the Plan the paramountcy was to lapse and the princes of the States would become free to decide about joining any of the two dominions India and Pakistan or to remain independent. The plan was ultimately accepted by the leaders of both the Congress and the League. Lord Mountbatten visited Kashmir in June, 1947 and spent three days there. He advised Maharaja "not to make a declaration of independence, but to join one dominion or the other by the 14th of August, after finding out the will of the people," and what was important, assured him on the authority of Sardar Patel, that if his decision was to throw in his lot with Pakistan, then in advance of transfer, it would not be regarded as an unfriendly act by India. But the Maharaja tactfully avoided meeting him under an excuse of ill health on the last day of his visit when the final reply was to be given to him.

On August 15, thus India and Pakistan emerged as two independent dominions. Maharaja of Kashmir was caught on the horns of dilemma whether to accede to Indian Dominion or to Pakistan or to declare Kashmir as an independent state. Like some of the other Princes, he too, being carried away by sentimentalism rather than realism and supported by his advisors and even some of the leaders of the politically conscious groups in the state, fondled with the idea of independence. In order to get more time for the final decision of the State's accession, Maharaja offered a standstill agreement to both the dominions. Pakistan agreed to it hurriedly whereas the Govt. of India wanted concurrence of the people of the State. Even then Pakistan not only began to put undue pressure on Maharaja to accede to it but also started creating tensions in the region by economic blockade, thereby cutting the supply of essential commodities. Military pressure was also applied in the form of hit and run border raids along a 450-mile frontier which rendered the defence of the state ineffective to resist an all out attack on the state. Even the people of Kashmir were not ready to bow before imperialist and colonial designs of Pakistan.

In these compelling circumstances the Maharaja by a letter dated October 26, 1947 to the Governor General of Indian informed him that he had decided to accede to India and enclosed an Instrument of Accession with it. The Government of India accepted the request of the Maharaja and the Instrument of Accession was signed on October 27, 1947 and military help was dispatched to save Kashmir and its people from the barbaric invasion of tribesmen. While accepting the legitimate demand of his people to establish a responsible Govt. in the State, Maharaja appointed Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah as the Head of Emergency Administration the very day.

A new chapter thus opened in the history of Kashmir in March 1948 with the swearing in the popular ministers. The Reds in the State at once adjusted their tactics to suit the new situation. They split into two groups the one headed by G M. Sadiq and G L. Dogra joined the Government, while the other led by G.M.Qarra started playing the role of opposition to the new regime. But the two groups gradually drifted apart on certain issues, issue of the State accession was one of them. G.M.Qarra, Moti Lal Misri and Pran Nath

Jalali supported accession with Pakistan whereas others opposed it. As result C.P.I. deputed Comrade Dhanvantri to the State to bring about reconciliation between the two communist groups in Kashmir.

Moreover, B.P.L. Bedi and Freda Bedi were quite thick with Sheikh Abdulla and made Kashmir their permanent home. Under the communist influence Sheikh Abdullah suggested the idea of independent Kashmir in 1949. In Short the communist attitude in regard to the issue of State accession with India was never above suspicion.

Thus, the position of the left in the state and CPI on Kashmir's accession with India did not reveal consistency and its stand varied from time to time.

The communists in general had favoured the right of self determination on the part of the multinational and the pluralistic societies as they began to emerge as independent states in South East Asia. It was perhaps of this reason that the C.P.I. supported the demand for the formation of Pakistan. The party was thus in favour of granting the right of self determination to the people of Kashmir. It was due to the fact that Soviet Union regarded India as a puppet of the imperialist, the running dog of the British imperialism, and following anti-Soviet policy. The Soviet commentators denounced India's policy in Kashmir as they held New Delhi fully responsible for the unsatisfactory political and economic conditions in the state. They also alleged that the reactionary leaders in the Indian National Congress were united in opposing the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people led by the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and in obstructing proposed progressive land reforms of Sheikh Government.

So far the demand from "Independent Kashmir " was concerned the communist leadership was of the view that it was a demand which reflected the innermost desire of the Kashmir people and was made with the intention of galvanizing them once again. But of what use was it when there was no proper economic programme to give it substance and strength. So far the need for foreign powers to guarantee Independent Kashmir' they were of the view that it was indeed ludicrous Independent and was not worth it name if it depended on the guarantees of foreign powers presumably Britain and America. Independence is built upon the power of the people, liberated in every sense of the word and in a position to deal with the traitor's elements. Moreover, independence is also guaranteed by joining hands with progressive movements the world over.

The central committee of the CPI, while expressing grave concern over the reports then coming from Kashmir that some leading personalities of the Sheikh Abdullah's group and its supporters had made declarations that the state should be made independent of India and its new status be guaranteed by India, Pakistan and the UNO, stressed that all progressive forces in the state must rather rally behind its independent working class movements to end monarchy and establish a genuine democratic government free from the interference of Anglo Americans, Indians And Pakistan reactionaries.

In early period the Communist leadership condemned Kashmir's accession to India as treacherous t and demanded withdrawal of Indian troops.

They even criticized Sheikh Abdullah for yielding to Indian reactionaries. Mr. Orestov - a soviet journalist called Sheikh Abdullah impotent in the face of Indian reactionaries. A group of National Conference workers led by GM.Qarra, left the party and provided the first vocal expression to the anti-India feelings in Kashmir.

The CPI then stood unreservedly for the accession of Kashmir to India. Its leadership was also of the view that the final decision was however, to be made by the people of Kashmir and the nature of the decision would, to a great extent, depended on how powerful the democratic movement inside Kashmir. Comrade Ajoy Ghost while whole heartedly supported the limited accession which Kashmir made to India and said that "It will enormously strengthen the democratic forces inside Kashmir."

reasonable. Briefly: "as extended to the State reasonable restriction on the right conferred by art. Means such restrictions as the State legislature deems reasonable and not the court as in the rest of the country.

These limitations are transitory in character and under the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1934, were meant for five years.

But successively orders have had their life extended till 1970. The fundamental freedoms in the State, therefore, were thus, at the mercy of the and whims of State Legislature as they are not open to judicial review.

The provision relating to protection in respect of conviction for offence (Art.20) and protection of life and personal liberty (Art. 21) shall fully apply to the State"?)

So far as application of the provision of protection against arrest and detention in certain cases in Kashmir is concerned, "in clauses (4) and (7) of Art22, for the word 'parliament' the word 'Legislature of the State' shall be substituted,"

Thus Art, 22 "relating to the preventive detention will apply except that the power of the State with Legislature instead of Parliament, and the existing law of the State with respect to preventive detention shall continue to be in force until repealed or amended by the Legislature, which shall have sole legislative power with respect to preventive detention. It is applicable to the state with another restrictive rider by way of new Clause (c) to Art, 35, which exempts State laws on preventive detention, past or future, from challenge on the ground of violation of Art.22. The presidential order 1954 was made for period of five years, but it has been extended repeatedly, the last time in 1974 for the ensuing five years.

The provisions relating to "right against exploitation' and 'freedom of religion' shall fully apply to State.

The provisions of the 'right of property' as envisaged by the Constitution of India, are applicable to the State with certain variations and modifications. Firstly, the State Legislature is vested with un-retracted power to undertake legislation providing for acquisition of property, the mode and manner of the payment of the compensatory amounts, the acquisition of landed estates, extinguishments and modification of interests in corporations and mining and mineral products, without having to reserve such legislation for the assent of the President. The legislature is also vested with a wide authority to undertake legislation to implement the directive principles of the State Policy envisaged by the Constitution of the State. No such legislation is required to be reserved for the consideration of the President Secondly, 'estates' has been defined in its applicable to the State, as the land which is occupied or has been let for agricultural purposes or for the purpose subservient to agriculture or for pastures and which include:

- i. building sites and other structures on such land;
- ii. trees standing on such land;
- iii. forest land wooded waste;
- iv. areas under field of floating over water;
- v. sites for 'Jandars' and 'gharat'
- vi. Jagirs, inams, manufis, mukararies and other similar grants, excluding building sites near towns or villages and land reserved for municipality, notified areas or town planning.

So far as the application of the provision for the 'Constitutional Remedies' in the State is conceded, the Parliament is not vested with the right to empower any other court to exercise jurisdiction in regard to fundamental rights. Instead a special Clause is appended to art.32 Of the Indian Constitution and the High Court of the State is empowered to issue order and writs for the enforcement of these rights. The difference is that, whereas the High Court of the other States are vested with the power to enforce right under Art. 226 of the Indian Constitution, the Kashmir High Court enjoys the jurisdiction under Art. 32 of the Constitution

The reason is technical rather than substantial. The State Government is organised under the Constitution of the State and the High Court of the State is a part of a separate constitutional framework. Thus Supreme Court and the State High Court shall have the power to issue writs or orders for the purposes of the enforcement of fundamental rights.

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THE FRAMING OF THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR'S CONSTITUTION - 1957

As a constitution state of the Union of India, Kashmir has held the unique distinction of having its constitution drawn by its own Consenbly. Based on the Instrument of Accession, the Kashmir's special status has since been crystallized in Article 370 of the Union Constitution. These circumstances have, thus, offered an opportunity for the study of Constitution making in the one and the only sub-system of the Indian political system as it has developed since independence.

An attempt has been made to analyse not merely the formation and features of a bare constitutional framework but also the politico-socio- economic forces which powerfully influenced the making and the final shape of the Kashmir polity. Transcending legal formalism and jargon, an effort has been made to perceive the entire scenario of the Constitution making process as a part of the wider and more fundamental and pervasive nation building and the political developments which they have evidently and perhaps necessarily involved.

No society is static and immutable to laws of political development. The history of what now are called the developed societies of the west and elsewhere shows that they too have undergone a long evolutionary course of changes which transformed them from a medieval phase into unified modernized nations with well-developed constitutional system. It is possible to view all societies as being an open-ended continuum, following the laws of politico-socio-economic development and almost invariably involving the growth of nationalism as a vital factor thereof. The phenomenon has gradually been extended to several countries of Asia, Africa and Laton America. The growth of the twin process of national awakening and nation-building have been more recently at work in the different societies of Asia and Africa which experienced a long spell of foreign rule.

A developing society such as India offers a typical case of Nation building in a pluralistic background. This is considerably so in the various constituent units which comprise the country.

On a relatively micro-level, one may observe the pluralistic nature Of the society in Jammu and Kashmir and its impact on the state's constitution and the particular relationship it has come to form with the Indian union. Here it seems relevant to point out that the nation-building which is increasingly facilitated and prompted by the various forces and factors of modernization and national integration, has in the very nature of the things, to contend with the divisive and conflicting diversities prevalent in a pluralistic society. In this connection, the society in Jammu and Kashmir is a sort of miniature of the country as a whole. The pluralism, here, as elsewhere, lies principally in the multiplicity of religions, languages, races, regional or sub-regional cultures and ethnic make-up of the population. The state's strategic location and geographical factors have also impinged on its course of political and

constitutional development. It may, therefore, be enough to stress that geographically, demographically, culturally, linguistically, racially and ethnically, the Kashmir state is not a homogeneous but heterogeneous unit. As a matter of fact it consists of three broad and disparate regions—Jammu, Kashmir valley and Ladakh. Historically through a process of political accretion and conquest these were lumped together by the early Dogra rulers and subjected, over the years, to some degree of political unification under centralised and autocratic rule.

The model implicit in the present analysis on "the framing of Jammu and Kashmir's Constitution" is that of a society in transition, a transition from medieval towards a modern phase. Pluralism being a usual feature of a medieval society under change, our investigations confirm the presence of the pluralistic features and the change they are to experience on account of the process of transformation and modernization which have been at work for a fairly long time, and in so far as they relate to the constitutional development.

An important dimension of the political development which is an integral part of modernization is the growth of political institutions. In Kashmir, during a century of the Dogra rule, there occur the evolutions of the Executive, the Legislative and the judicial organs of government on modern lines,

The withdrawal of the British power from the sub-continent, the transfer of power and the partition of the country caused a further and an accelerated impetus to political development and the state rapidly moved, in a later phase, from autocracy to democracy. In the entire gamut of events and situations which have marked this movement the narrative or chronicle is not as important as the perspective of modernization in which it attains a lot of meaningfulness of political development. As said earlier that the idea of having a constitutional body for the state was first mooted in a representation submitted to Lord Reading in 1924. To have a popularly elected constituent Assembly for framing Kashmir's constitution was once again conceived by the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. The demand for the constituting Assembly for the state was, however, figured prominently at its 1944 convention. The Convention committed the party to the New Kashmir programme—Socio-economic plan for the formation of a truly socialistic state in Kashmir—to be implemented under a democratic government. After independence, Sheikh Abdullah, highlighted it again in a resolution adopted by the party's convention held in 1948. Historically, the state's accession to the Indian Union, the Government of India's insistence on the Maharaja that he should entrust the administration to a popular leadership, the Maharaja's proclamation of March 5, 1948, replacing the emergency administration by the interim government with Sheikh Abdullah at the head, and the interim government's determination to set up a Constituent Assembly in the near future have had their respective factual significance. The proclamation by Yuvraj Karan Singh regarding convening a constituent assembly made on April 30, 1951, the resultant elections based on adult suffrage,

opposition boycott and the first meeting of the consembly on October 31, 1951, at Srinagar are among other events of some significance to the constitutional history of Jammu and Kashmir. They are mentioned here simply to under put two significant intra-system and inter-system interactions, as they have had a considerable influence on the substances of the constitution as hammered into shape by the consembly. Firstly, on India's complaint to U.N.O. over Pak aggression in Kashmir, the international system came to have something to do with the constitutional development system in Kashmir. Some imperialistic powers had their eyes on this strategically important land. Secondly, nearer home and in Jammu region of the state, the Praja Parishad, a largely Hindu Communal party advocated the retention of the institution of the Maharaja as a Constitutional head of the state, closer ties between the state and India and the abrogation of Art. 370 conferring a special status on the state. It rejected, out rightly, a separate consembly for the state and the institution of Sadar-i-Riyasat. As the elections to the consembly were unopposed, there was a general feeling of suspicion that the elections were unfair. Empirical investigations into the sociological background of the members of the consembly revealed certain significant facts. The analysis of the data has, however, shown that the Muslims formed the largest communal group represented in the consembly. From females were drawn only two women, and that too from Jammu province. Highest percentage of members had university degrees. There was some percentage who could simply read and write. The youth were more represented in consembly than any other age group. In most cases political socialization had taken place between the age of 15 and 20 years. Most of the members thus had remained active in politics since 1931, when the seed for the struggle for freedom was sown in the state. 30.77% members had been sentenced to jail for different political activities. The largest number of members had politics as their occupation and represented annual income groups of below Bs. 5,000. The majority of the members had neither previous legislative, administrative nor local government experience.

However, empirical investigation also revealed certain significant trends in the formation of the committees. The majority of the members pointed out that expert knowledge was the criterion for the nomination in committees, no limit was set as to the number of committees to which a member could be nominated and there was no substantial reasons for the exclusion of any member from any or all the committees.

Taking a comparative look at the State of affairs at the party level and leadership, as it was reflected in the day to day working of the consembly, following facts meet the eye of an observer:

(a) The National Conference was the state's most 'well organised and oldest party comparable in some way to the Indian National Congress.

(b) The party out rightly rejected the two-nation theory and gave a lead to the people to follow secularism, socialism and democracy; and

(c) The party was well organised, united and it stood solidly behind the readers.

The absence of the opposition in the consembly further facilitated its smooth functioning and about a dozen leaders played an active role as the constitution makers. Until the crisis of 1953 the party stood solidly behind Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues.

"Constitution-making in crisis and reconstitution of committees" may perhaps throws a meaningful light on certain basic issues and puts into bold relief some of the patterns and directions of the different forces on the final shape of the Kashmir Constitution. As a matter of fact, the instrument of government, which ultimately, emerged has been the cumulative result of interactions and polarization which developed and occurred as between certain concepts and forces within the state's own sub-system, and between it and the union political system.

As mentioned earlier the crisis was the result of the motivational variations arising out of varied political considerations and failure of the leadership at various levels to reconcile the various claims and aspirations. One may discern behind all the political drama on the stage, a deep-seated search for security on the part of the Dogra Nationalists and Kashmir Nationalist.

As already pointed out that the popular sentiment in Jammu region, believing the Maharaja as the symbol of their security against the majority population of Kashmir region, sided with the Maharaja in his attempt to retain more and more powers in pre-independence period. It seemed to Dogra Nationalism that prospects of democracy would be nothing more than being exposed to the whims of a permanent of the state and its leadership. But after independence the people of Jammu region, believing their greater security to be with in Indian union, demanded full integration of the state with India and the abrogation of Art. 370 under which the state

The popular sentiment in Kashmir region, on the other hand, in order secured special status. to have a greater security against the Maharaja's arbitrary authority struggled for the transfer of greater degree of power to the State Legislature (Prajya Sabha) in pre-independence period. They perceived their security only in democracy which among other attributes, means majority rule. But in post-independence period due to their minority against Indian majority, Kashmiri Nationalists wanted maximum autonomy and stood for limited accession of the state with the Indian union, thus making Art. 370 as a permanent feature of the Indian Constitution.

As said earlier the attitudes of the Dogra Nationalism as well as some national level parties had led to polarizing effect on the autonomists and secessionists in the valley. Sheikh Abdullah's effort all along had been to rally the entire population of the state to a sense of a basic unity and to work for the cause of building the New Kashmir. All along he tried to avoid the disintegration of the state. In order to accommodate the wishes of the masses of the different regional and cultural units, he and his

colleagues were working to create a "Republic within the Republic." He had been unduly blamed for the tone and contents of his main speeches delivered in 1952 and in 1953 shortly before his dismissal and arrest.

The change in the leadership necessitated the reconstitution of some of the special committees in the Constituent Assembly. Empirical investigations into the sociological background of the members of the reconstituted committees revealed certain significant facts. The tendency was to over represent majority and under-represent minority groups. From females were drawn only two members and that too from Jammu region.

The highest percentage of the members of the committees were educated. As the major work of constitution framing is usually done in the committees, the law-graduate, therefore, formed a single majority group in the committees; the law graduate, therefore, and formed a single major group in the Committees. Most of the members had remained active in politics since 1931. Sufficient representation was given to those who had taken part in the struggle for freedom in Kashmir. As Kashmir is principally an agricultural area, the largest number of the members of the Committees had agriculture as their profession. The largest number of the member of the Committees representation an annual income group below Rs. 5,000. Majority of the members of the Committees had neither previous legislative, administration nor local government's experience.

Empirical Investigations reveal certain facts about the working of the Committees of the consembly. Seventy percent of the members were of the opinion that the decisions in the Committee meetings were arrived at after free and frank discussions, Forty-five percent of the members were of the view that the decisions were not made outside the Committees. But forty-two and half percent did not agree. They were of the view that decisions were made outside the Committees and the Committees simply confirmed them. The majority of members who replied in affirmative were of the view that the decisions were made up by two or three important party leaders. All amendments but one came from the government and the fate of one amendment was not clear from the records. This offers an opportunity for finding the role perception of the members. It appears that most of them were not aware of the role they were called upon to play and had hardly any perception thereof. Thorough going leadership was provided by two or three top elite leaders and others almost dittoed their decision. Want of a clear perception of their role facilitated floor crossing on the part of members towards support of 'Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. Notwithstanding that they were with the Sheikh before August 1953. In response to the query as to how many draft constitutions other than the final draft were presented to the drafting committee, one third of the members of the drafting Committee reported that there were two drafts. The overwhelming majority of other members of the Consembly, who responded to the query and who had not been the members of the drafting committee, mentioned that there was only one draft.

While the top leadership was keen to project a secularist, socialist and democratic perspective in the debates of the Constituent Assembly, some of the members appeared to be dominated by the communal and caste thinking. Harijan members strongly sponsored some kind of safeguards for the reservation and promotion of the interest of Scheduled Castes. The Sikh members, who belong to a microscopic minority in the state, were likewise keen to promote safeguards for the interests of their community. Some members representing backward areas wanted safeguards and reservations for the inhabitants of their areas in Civil services. Out of the two female members, only one advocated occasionally the case of women whom she regarded more backward than menfolk.

All amendments, except one, which were adopted at the end of the discussion thereon had been sponsored and moved by Ministers.

Very few members happened to articulate on the floor of the Constituent Assembly. An overwhelming many remained silent but they voted when the occasion so demanded.

Some of the members were not at all serious as they were either absent at the time when the amendments sponsored by them were to be taken up for discussion or even though present, they dropped their moves. Most of the amendments were withdrawn after a brief discussion. In some cases the mover withdrew the amendment without giving any reason thereof.

In response to the query on the role and influence the Government of India had on the framing of the Constitution, about half of the members refused to reply. 20% were of the view that there were consultations only. Similarly 40% of the members refused to reply to the query whether there was any Indian political party or parties at national or state level which influenced the Constitution making. 22.50% of the members replied in negative. 30% of the members were of the view that it was the result of the action and interaction of internal and external influences. 10% were of the view that it was the result of outside influence. Whereas 42.50% of the members refused to reply.

"Evolution of the Constitution as Framed by the Constituent Assembly" provides comprehensive view of the different important aspects of the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly. As a legal document, the framing of the Jammu and Kashmir's constitution formally began in October 1951 and ended in November 1956.

As we are inching our way to the tail of the conclusion, it seems necessary to reiterate what has been discussed as the four phases in the evolution of the policy of Constitution making in Jammu and Kashmir and finally to have an Instrument of accession and article 370 of the Constitution.

The first phase started with the state's accession to Indian union, way back in October 1947 and terminated with the Sheikh's dismissal as prime minister and

arrest in 1953. The chief actor who held the stage during this period was no other than Sheikh Abdullah who had ever symbolized Kashmiri nationalism and the urge to keep Kashmir autonomous throughout the state's recent history. The constitution making and the thinking involved in the process was motivated by the quest to recognise and give a separate distinctive Constitutional personality to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The aspirants of Kashmiri nationalism came to be spelt out in Art, 370 of the Indian Constitution, the Delhi Agreement of 1952, adaptation of elected head of the state known as Sadar-i-Riyasat, the desire to have a separate flag, separate emblem and the desire to concede autonomy to the major and distinct territorial and cultural units Of the state, conceiving the idea of creating a "Republic within a Republic". In this phase, the stress and focus of attention remained constantly on the state's greater autonomous position within the Indian federal polity. It may be proper to point out that although the erstwhile Maharaja of the state and the Kashmiri leader Sheikh Abdullah happened to be on the opposite side of the Kashmir drama, yet it is an irony of fate and circumstances that each had a firm stand on the question of maximum possible autonomy be sacrificed at any cost and they were ready to have a constitutional set- up in which all major cultural units could have a larger measure of internal autonomy.

In the second phase which comprises approximately, a decade of Bakshi Ghulam Mohd's. Premiership (1953-63) the Kashmiri leadership tended to move from larger autonomy to limited autonomy. To realise this in concrete terms, it embarked upon a cautious and partial integration beyond the position already reached up to the time of the dismissal of Shiekh Abdullah.

The will to chisel a distinctive constitutional personality of the state became flabby. The Constitution took increasingly the shape of carbon copy of the Indian Constitution with certain separate features to accommodate the political culture of Kashmir and local sentiments.

Some pro-Abdullah MLA's, unless they happened to be in prisons, played a limited role of opposition in the discussion relating to the Constitution then in the making.

The third phase mainly occupied Mr. Sadiq's years as Chief Minister beginning early in 1964 down to his death in December 1971. For reasons already enunciated, Mr. Sadiq thought the time ripe for a progressive integration of the state with the union and many steps, including the extension of some of the beneficial union laws at the request of the state government were taken in the direction. At a later stage, he was shrewd enough to realise that he was losing his popularity with the people in the valley largely on account of the progressive integration he had embarked upon, the alienation of some due to the reaction of the autonomists and, of course, of the secessionists. Shortly after, he took in hand a policy of liberalization vis-a-vis parties and placation of Shiekh Abdullah and his followers in an effort to rally the general support to his administration. The fourth phase commenced when the mantle of the

leadership fell on Syed Mir Qasim on the death of Sadiq in December 1971. Syed Mir Qasim, before he became the Chief Minister was an untiring critic of the policy of liberalisation although he said little against the progressive integration

However once in office as Chief Minister, he went further than Sadiq and offered to vacate his office in favour of a come-back on the part Of the Sheikh, following the Indira-Shiekh. Accord after protracted and prolonged negotiations by the emissaries of the two leaders. The accord stressed the basic element of the autonomy of the state, and the finality of Art. 370 of the Union Constitution. Sheikh had made no secret of the fact that he wanted the perpetual retention of the special status of the state in the Indian Union. In the general election to the Legislative Assembly held in 1977, he led the National Conference to overwhelming electoral victory. The party has made it admittedly clear that Art. 370 is an irrevocable provision on which rests the state's relationship with the Indian Union.

Assurances have been publicly given by the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on behalf of the Janata government at the Centre that the government have absolutely no intention of deleting or in any way modifying the article unless the state government itself, as representing the people of the state, requests it to do so. In any case, with the return of Sheikh to state politics, the wheel seems to have gone full circle and we appear to be back to the policy of the first phase i.e. to the urge for the largest possible state autonomy, stressing the finality of the accession and the special status of the state as provided under Art. 370 of the Constitution of India and reflected further in the Indo-Kashmir Agreement of 1952 as well as in the Indira-Sheikh Accord of 1975.

More recently, stress is being placed on the state autonomy by different states of the union, 1 including Kashmir. If necessary, Article 370 may be made to act as a wall of demarcation of the powers of the centre and the state. The fact that concurrence of the state government is a Condition precedent to the extension of the centre's field to the state beyond the three subjects surrendered to the centre in the Instrument of the State's accession, it is a sound democratic basis of the state's partnership in the Indian federal set-up.

It is on the sheet anchor of this special relationship that the state's modelled the Constitution for which it was brought into existence Way back in 1951. However, we may perhaps be justified in concluding this analysis with the age old statement that the Constitution making is an Unceasing and continuous process, being co-extensive with a society under steady development and change.

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Ref: 1. *The Jammu and Kashmir's Constituent Assembly Debates of 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1957 sessions.*

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HARI SINGH RULE

Every Ruler or Government, worth the name, does something or the other for the benefit of the people and the progress of the State or country according to the means available to them. To describe every thing done by Maharaja Harisingh in that direction is neither necessary, nor possible in this small volume, It is, therefore, intended to discuss only the outstanding events of his regime which place him among the great men of the country, with only a brief mention of his great hand in the development of the State.

It has become a fashion for all Governments to publically compare their budget allotments under different heads to those of the previous Governments, to prove how irresponsible the latter had been, regardless of whether proportionate results were also achieved or not. This is at least what all the three elected Governments of the State after the end of ruler ship have been harping upon; by comparing their expenditure on education health social welfare, roads and so on, with that of the Maharaja's time. But is there any Government in the world which is spending to day, just as much as its predecessor Government was spending years ago ? The progress of a State depends not on how much money was spent by it, but on how it was spent and what results were obtained. Huge amounts can be spent by pouring them down the drain and even small amounts well spent may achieve better results. Even if expenditure is to be taken as a criterion, did not Maharaja Harisingh spend more than Maharaja Pratap Singh ? or would not he too, have allotted much larger amounts to all heads, and with lesser corruption and better supervision prevalent during his regime, achieved better results, if all the money now available to the State in the form of Central assistance had been available to him, in addition to the present increased revenue of the State ?

His critics and the protagonists of socialism, no doubt find, in the Privy Purse he was drawing, a stick to beat him with, but that only shows their prejudice or ignorance. His privy purse of rupees

twelve lakhs, was increased to twenty five lakhs, only after he amalgamated with the State his private property inherited from his father yielding an annual income of rupees twenty four lakhs. This he voluntarily reduced to rupees fifteen lakhs during the World War 11, Considering that he maintained a large private establishment, under- took unending construction works which provided the much needed employment to thousands of people, and made charitable grants frequently out of this privy purse for the welfare of the needy both inside and outside the State, the amount can hardly be termed excessive. That these Princes looked rich did not necessarily mean that they were so, only they knew how to live and look rich. Whatever wealth they had was the result of accumulative savings for generations. The Privy Purses were hardly sufficient to enable ' them to live with the dignity their status demanded. Maharaja Harisingh was richer when his father died than when he died himself. The proportionate personal benefit which he received from his privy purse after accounting for the benefit of employment etc. which he provided to others was not more than that obtained in one form or the other, by "Servants of the people" who replaced the rulers, after Independence.

Maharaja Harisingh had many qualities of head and heart. With his great moral courage and profound sence of patriotism he performed deeds at personal risk which can be an envy of any freedom fighter of his time.

It is well known that the British policy with regards to the ruling Princes was to weaken them on each new succession. They left Maharaja Gulabsingh, the Founder of the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir alone, after he refused to entertain a proposal for appointment of a British Political Officer which was being pressed on him. But during Maharaja Ranbirsingh's time a British Officer was, for the first time, stationed as political agent at Gilgit in 1877. Efforts to maintain a British political officer in Kashmir for only six months in a year were also made about the same time, under the pretext of looking after and dealing with the European visitors over whom the

Durbar had no criminal jurisdiction. Consistent efforts were then made to raise the status of the political officer to that of a Resident. On strong resistance from Maharaja Ranbirsingh the question of raising the status of the political officer was dropped and the political agent in Gilgit withdrawn in 1881. Soon after Maharaja Pratapsingh's accession in 1885 the Gilgit Agency, consisting of Gilgit Wazarat the chieftains of Hunza and Nagar, the Chilas District in Indus Valley, and Punial, Yasin, Ashokoman was re-established in 1889 under Col. A. G. Durand and the status of the political officer in Kashmir raised to that of a Resident. To cover this step Maharaja Pratap Singh was deprived of his powers on account of what was called his "voluntary abdication" on the charge of having conspired with Russia. The entire administration was taken over by a State Council presided over by his younger brother Raja Sir Amarsingh, a great Statesman and Administrator, until 1891 when Maharaja Pratapsingh himself became the President. The Resident who had by then considerably improved his position, however, continued to exercise a great deal of authority in the name of advice. The state Council was abolished in 1905 when partial powers were restored to Maharaja Pratapsingh. Full powers were, however, restored to him only in 1921, with the almighty Resident, who was instrumental in depriving him of, and restoring to him, his powers at will, always staring at his face.*

To give an idea as to what these Residents meant to the Rulers of the Indian States, an extract from the Private Journals of the Marquis of Hastings dated 1st Feb 1814 is reproduced below :

"In our treaties with them (Indian Princes) we recognise them as Indian sovereigns, then we send a Resident to their courts. Instead of acting in the manner of Ambassador he assumes the functions of a dictator, interferes in all their concerns, countenances refractory subjects against them and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority. To secure himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest which, under the colour thrown upon it by him is strenuously taken up by our Council and the Government

identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct".

To give some inkling of how some Residents behaved, a line from Col. Maculay's letter to the Raja of Cochin is quoted below:—

"The Resident will be glad to learn that on his arrival near Cochin the Raja will find it convenient to wait upon him"

With the British policy as it was Maharaja Paratapsingh's successor would have found it extremely difficult even to maintain the status quo, but Maharaja Harisingh took upon himself the uphill task of regaining the past authority of the Ruler of the State. He started with asking the Resident in Srinagar to remove the Union Jack from the Residency Buildings and when he failed to comply, by having it removed by a detachment of State Forces. This was a very daring step and invited serious correspondence with the Political Department as a result of which} though the Resident was again permitted to fly the Union Jack at Srinagar, he was prohibited from moving down to Jammu during Winter as he had been previously doing. During winter therefore, he shifted to Sialkot in British India instead of Jammu.

As regards Gilgit Agency, though the institution itself could not be done away with, the British and Indian Army troops, stationed there under one pretext or the other, were replaced by the State troops and the Maharaja's writ ran better through his Deputy Commissioner (Wazir-e-Wazarat) at Gilgit, assisted by the Commander of the State coops stationed there. Once, in 1925, when the author happened to lie Gilgit, the British Resident in Srinagar was to fly from Srinagar to Gilgit, for the first time for the inauguration of the fair weather airfield constructed five miles away from Gilgit town.

The political agent was to receive him at the aerodrome, but Deputy Commissioner Thakur Chattar Singh Charak was directed by Maharaja Harisingh to receive the Resident at the point three and half guiles from the town and no further. The

Deputy Commissioner erected his Shamiana exactly at 3.5 miles and waited for the Resident to come. The flight of the Resident had, however, to be cancelled, owing to bad weather at the last moment.

Even after encroachment on the part of the Resident on the internal sovereignty of the State was reduced to a large extent, the state still had no jurisdiction over the British and Indian subjects of his majesty the king Emperor within its own borders. Maharaja Harisingh was not a man to shut his eyes to this state of affairs. He made ceaseless efforts to regain the authority, which Maharaja Gulabsingh alone had been in a position to exercise, and finally succeeded in securing for his law courts full criminal jurisdiction over all British Indian subjects and full civil jurisdiction over every body in the State regardless of his nationality.

There were only two courses open to the rulers of the Indian States, to rule over their subjects. The first and the easier one was to keep the Resident and the political department pleased, and care not the least about the people. The other was to look after the people well and care not the least about the Resident or the Political Department. As the First Course smacked of slavery Maharaja Harisingh, as great men would always do, chose the second one and boldly faced the risks involved. He knew that a great majority of his subjects were Muslims and that Hindus though in a minority were the people who through great sacrifices had enabled his ancestors to extend the limits of his State from Jammu to Tibet, he showed no preference for either of them. He declared "Justice" as his religion and merit as a deciding factor for all types of employments. Caste, creed, religion or sex received no consideration. Employment in the State Army, however, remained reserved as in British India for fighting classes only, including Mohammadans from Jammu Province, who formed a substantial part of the State Army.

Some people in India are today looking for a definition of secularism, one fails to understand what was wrong with the

secularism described above practised by Maharaja Harisingh several decades ago and now even embodied in the Indian Constitution. The trouble is not with the' definition of secularism, but with the proper application of it. The real trouble is that Muslims in the Indian sub-continent with of course a few exceptions are averse to any secularism which does not give them preference on the basis of religion. The partition of the country, and attempts at perpetuating special status, or greater autonomy, for the Muslim majority State of Jammu and Kashmir, are the proof of it, if any is needed.

As was expected the Muslims in Kashmir soon got fed up with this policy of equal chances for all on the basis of merit and following demand a share in Government services on the basis of religion.

On pressure from all sides including the political Department and communal and political parties, both inside and outside the State, the policy of selection by merit was modified to allow fifty percent appointments, and scholarships for higher studies, to go to Muslims. The Scholarship Selection Board and the Services Selection Boards were instructed accordingly.

To improve the chances of State subjects for getting superior appointments in the State. Maharaja Harisingh issued orders to the effect that claims of hereditary State subjects for appointments should be considered superior to those of outsiders. The term hereditary State subject was later defined to mean all persons born and residing within the State before the commencement of the reign of Maharaja Gulabsingh and those, who settled therein before the commencement of Samvat year 1984 (1885 A.D.) and have been since permanently residing therein.

Non-State subjects were then completely debarred from getting into the State service or from purchasing agricultural land in the State.

This went against the interests of a large number of Hindus settled in the State after 1885, and rendered them ineligible for State services and for purchasing land in the State, but was so much in the interests of the Muslims that all the three Governments of the State, after Maharaja Harisingh, have clung on to this order even though it makes nonsense of their claim that the State was as good a part of India as any other State. And when the people of the rest of the country demand an explanation for this discrimination, the blame is laid at the Maharaja's door, although many other things done by the Maharaja and even the Maharaja himself have been wiped out by them.

Many other steps were taken by Maharaja Harisingh to ensure that the Muslims do not suffer in any way. The passing of land Alienation Act, which protected the tenants, (almost all Muslims), from being deprived of their land holdings by money lenders, (almost all Hindus); and the Agriculturists Relief Regulation under which the maximum interest that could be charged by money lenders from any agriculturist debtors was 12 percent, provided the total interest charged did not exceed 50% of the amount originally lent. Both, though fully consistent with the Maharaja's declaration that his religion was justice, went in favour of Muslims.

Some other steps taken by Maharaja Harisingh to overhaul the administration and transform the life of his subjects are very briefly mentioned below to show that while special problems, which he alone had to face engaged his attention, his normal efforts to better the lot of his people were in no way neglected.

At the time of his Raj Tilak, he conferred on the villagers the right to possess as Raj Tilak boon additional land up to 100 percent of their Shamlat Deh, out of the Government Khalsa land available in their villages. This too mostly benefitted the villagers of the Kashmir Valley, as no such land was available in Jammu villages. He assimilated his private property yielding an annual income of Rs. 24 lacs into the State. He introduced free but

compulsory primary education in all Municipal Towns, increased the number of educational institutions from 706 in 1925 to 20728 in 1945 raised special grants for encouragement of scholars of backward communities and of Mohammadans to more than double, and sanctioned special scholarships for Sikh students. Two main Hospitals with up-to-date equipment were constructed one in Jammu and the other in Srinagar. Several dispensaries, Leper asylums and centres for anti-rabic treatment were established, and maternity blocks were also added to Zenana Hospitals. Smoking by children below fourteen was prevented by law. Temples were opened to Harijans in 1931. Widow remarriage was legalised in 1923. Age limit for marriage was fixed as 18 for boys and 14 for girls long before the Sharada Act was passed. Co-operative Society and Agricultural credit societies were introduced. Consolidation of land holdings was accelerated. 'Beggar' or forced labour was altogether abolished. The system of grain control was established to help the poorer section of the population. Several important roads and bridges were constructed. Irrigation and flood control works were undertaken. Industrial board was constituted. Some new, Government and private factories, and a woollen mill came into being. Mining resources of the State were exploited. Industrial exhibitions were arranged. The Army and Police were reorganised on modern lines.

In the field of democratic participation by the public in the administration of the State Maharaja Harisingh was among the most progressive Indian Princes of his time. He appointed a franchise commission and in 1934 the Praja Sabha (State Legislative Assembly) was brought into being consisting of 75 members; 60 of whom were non-official including 33 elected members. In 1934 the new Constitution Act received the Maharaja's assent. In 1943 by grant of letters Patent the Status of the State High Court was raised to that of other High Courts in India. In 1944 a democratic element was introduced in the State Cabinet for the first time, by the inclusion of two ministers out of the elected members of the Praja Sabha.

These are a few of the so many steps taken by Maharaja Harisingh towards the uplift of his people. A comparison with other States would show that the State during Maharaja Harisingh's regime was easily one of the most progressive and advanced States of India.

Maharaja Harisingh was a patriot to the core and had a great sympathy for the Congress struggle for independence. He often prayed for its success. When once someone suggested that if Congress came to power the Princes would not have a fair deal. "Oh, a small hut in Independent India would do for me" was his reply. Little did he realise what Nehru's Independent India would mean for him. He made a bold speech at the Round Table Conference in 1930, declaring himself as Indian First and Indian Last and expressing his sympathies with the cause of Indian Independence much to the dislike of the Political Department. He also pointed to the communal harmony in his State as a living example of how Hindus and Muslims could live peacefully like brethren. This in fact was an invitation to trouble and before he returned to the State after the Round Table Conferences, the Political Department had set the stage for communal trouble of the worst type in the State.

The idea of carving a Pakistan had already been mooted by Allama Iqbal as early as 1924, and Kashmir was naturally a part of it. The Mohammadans of the State could not remain aloof for long from happenings in British India, where relations between Hindus and Muslims were far from cordial. The reason being preference of Mohammadans for Muslim unity to patriotism, which was to a large extent encouraged by the introduction of separate electorate under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1919. In the light of this for any Hindu to win the confidence of Mohammadans was next to impossible. Mahatma Gandhi was unable to do so in spite of all that he did for them even at the cost of his life. Maharaja Harisingh was he did for Grievances the people did have, as they always would for no exception. Not only Muslims but Hindus too had them and there was no lack of effort on the part of the Maharaja to do everything possible to redress

the genuine grievances. Deep rooted communalism was, however, difficult to satiate. The more His Highness Government did to satisfy the Mohammadans the more dis-satisfied they pretended to be.

As a matter of fact the Maharaja had a soft corner for Mohammadans. Nawab of Palampur was one of his best friends Nawab Khusro Jang a Mohammadan from Hyderabad was his Minister-in- Waiting and Army Minister for years, his personal Staff such as A.D.Cs and others often consisted of Mohammadans, even his cooks were often Mohammadans, until a planned but unsuccessful attempt to I poison him through one of them was made, which put him wise. He contributed for the construction of Mosques and sometimes attended Id-gahs. With such pro-Muslims leanings the question of his being unfair to them did not arise. Even at the time of the agitation in 1931, two out of four Cabinet Ministers, some heads of the Departments, and several high ranking gazetted officers were Muslims. In any case the Muslims in Kashmir were very much better off than the Hindus in the Hyderabad State who formed 90 percent of the population of that State, but whose ruler, the only, His Exalted Highness in India, was a Muslim.

Minor communal disturbances sometimes took place both in Jammu and Srinagar which gained intensity after Sheikh Abdullah a a product of the Aligarh Muslim University and a dismissed school teacher appeared on the scene in 1930 as a communal leader. This gave impetus to the communal ideology in the State, and with the blessings of the Political Department the stage was soon all set for communal unrest. The arrangements that had been made by Muslims in British India for DIRECT ACTION in Kashmir were geared up and only the word "GO" was awaited. Maharaja Harisingh appreciating the situation and sensing trouble issued the following historical proclamation to his subjects on 9th July 1931 :

"To my Beloved People

"From time immemorial all communities within the State have been living on terms of closet harmony and friendship with each other and I used to take the greatest pride* in the fact that we were free from all communal strife, I am, therefore, pained to see that quite recently owing to external influences a changed and regrettable attitude is observable in certain sections in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar. This is greatly to be deplored. Two unfortunate incidents which occurred recently in Jammu city and which could not by any stretch of imagination be associated with any action or policy of my Government and for which the responsibility rested solely on the persons involved have been seized and widely misrepresented inside and outside the State, so as to convey to those who are not in a position to know the true facts that the policy of my Government is such that Islam is in danger. It is not my intention to deal with the details of these incidents in this message as they are being dealt with separately. So far I have preferred that my Government be judged by its actions alone. But numerous representations from my loyal subjects of all sects and creeds have reached me within the last few days to the effect that such agitation even though at present it finds no response generally, is calculated to promote communal strife and might even lead to breaches of the public peace in some cases. It has accordingly been deemed necessary to make this formal announcement of the policy and intention of myself and my Government in regard to such propaganda and communal relations within the State generally.

"At the beginning of my rule I announced to you, my people, that my religion is justice, that announcement has guided all my public acts and policies and I shall always adhere to it. I have not made, and will not permit any discrimination against any class of my people on the grounds of religion. The humblest of my subjects has free and direct access to me and any grievances my people may have can be submitted by them personally to me, subject to two fundamental conditions viz :

(i) That Political activities are confined within the law of the land, and

(ii) That no outside intervention is sought in any shape or form.

I have no desire whatever to suppress the legitimate requests and voice of my people, whether expressed in writing or in speech. It is my intention to give effect to these views, but I am unable to do so as long as communal tension exists, for fear of aggravating it. Consequently, the first essential is that the leaders of the various communities should take immediate action to put a stop to all political activities tending to prevent the establishment of friendly relations between them. As soon as it is reported to me that any community has faithfully responded to my desire, I shall be prepared to receive and consider most sympathetically any representation that community may desire to submit to me.

"Every person within the State is, and shall always be, free to practise his own religion, subject to the paramount necessity of maintaining public peace and public order. I particularly wish to refer in this connection to a malicious rumour now being spread that cow killing is shortly going to be permitted. This malicious rumour has no foundation whatsoever and it has given me great pleasure to receive from Muslim subjects spontaneous condemnation of such an insinuation likely to injure the religious susceptibilities of any other community. There is no question whatever of making any change in the matter. "In regard to the recruitment for the State Services prior consideration is, and shall always be, given to the public interest and the obligation of maintaining the efficiency of the administration at the highest possible level can never be overlooked. There is also no desire to follow a blind rule of percentages for the various communities irrespective of considerations of qualification and merit. Subject to these considerations the policy governing recruitment will be such that no one class or community should gain undue preponderance in any branch of the public service and that adequate representation is secured to duly

qualified classes and communities of my people. Instructions to this effect have been recently issued and I shall watch closely their practical execution by my officers.

"I have dealt above in a brief manner with what I conceived to be points of major importance with regards to which some misunderstanding prevails in certain quarters. I trust such misunderstanding will be dispelled by this authoritative enunciation of my beliefs and intentions, with regard to these points. It is my aim to carry on the administration in consonance with these views in your best interests. Whenever I have found that any of you have been led into wrong action, I have always tried to make you see the error of your ways and to win you over to the right path by reasoning and conciliation. I am not a believer in false ideas of prestige, for I hold that just action is a sign of strength and not weakness. But should, God forbid, all appeal to reason fail, I must discharge in effective manner the supreme responsibility which rests on me for the administration of law and order. I cannot allow my Govt. to be coerced by threats into unjust action and it is my duty to protect the law abiding sections of my people from encroachments on their lawful rights. The immediate burden of maintaining law and order necessarily falls on the magistracy and the Police whose duty it will be to see that the law is upheld at all costs, and where law is defied, its authority will be restored. It is the duty of the Police to act impartially and with calm judgement in such emergencies and I wish to assure them that they will be supported by myself and my Government in the due discharge of their duty and will not be sacrificed to unjust clamour or intrigue.

"In conclusion, I trust that the old policy of "Live and Let live" which characterised your relations with each other in the past will be restored. It is easy to excite public feeling by misrepresentations, but it is difficult to restore harmony and friendship. Do not attribute false motives to those placed in authority over you or to one another. As regards people outside the State, whether Hindus or Mohammadans, I ask them not to interfere in any way in matters concerning my State and my

people, as I do not interfere in matters concerning British India and British Indians. The whole basis of political action is impaired if one political unit interferes in the domestic concerns of another. I do not wish to claim immunity from legitimate criticism of the acts and policies of my Government, which, I have no hesitation in saying, have always been designed to promote the normal and material progress of my people. It is my duty and my one aim in life to maintain the progressive character of my administration. But this end is defeated by unjustifiable outside intervention which has, within the last few weeks, done nothing but immense harm to the true interests of you all. I pray to God that you will receive light of truth and wisdom and that you will live peacefully and happily with one another as before.

Sd/- HARISINGH

G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D.,

Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir".

*Ref: from the book political Conspiracies of Kashmir by Lt. Col.
Bhagwan Singh*

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12. The Last King

Maharaja Hari Singh was born on September 23, 1895. After imparting initial education by Indian and European teachers, he was admitted to Mayo College of Ajmer in the year 1908. He was given army training in the Imperial Cadet Corps of Dehradun. He became King on September 23, 1925 at the age of 30. On March 9, 1931 his son Karan Singh was born at Kance city of South France.

Maharaja Hari Singh was aware of the changing global scenario. He had started democratic process in his state in 1931 only. In the year 1934, he implemented the constitutional system, and as a further step constituted the Royal Commission in 1943. But this did not succeed due to the opposition of National Conference and Muslim Conference.

In 1930, the First Round Table Conference was held in London. Maharaja Hari Singh participated in the conference as President of 'Narendra Mandal', the organisation of the then rulers of Indian princely states. The British expected that Maharaja Hari Singh will not demand Independence like the Congress Party and will have a different stand supporting the British government. But he very strongly supported the Indian stand and urged the British officials to respect the Indian aspiration of independence and self-rule. Addressing the Conference, he said that the Indian rulers also want to stay under Commonwealth as a respected and equal member. His stand in the Conference spoiled his relationship with the British Government. Consequently, the British Government continued to exert pressure on him through their Resident Officer stationed in Srinagar.

Even before the Maharaja could return from London, agitation against him got momentum. Sheikh Abdullah, Chaudhari Ghulam Abbas and Maulvi Abdul Rahim, who had just returned from Aligarh Muslim University after completing their studies, were leading that agitation.

Sheikh Abdullah addressed Muslims in mosques, saying that atrocities were being perpetuated on Muslims. Even their supporters started coming from British ruled Punjab too, and at many places they resorted to stone-pelting. Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to control this situation and therefore he arrested Sheikh Abdullah.

On June 21, 1931, a Muslim youth Abdul Kadir (nobody knows who was he and from where he had come) delivered highly provocative speech from a mosque of Srinagar, which ignited violent situation. He was prosecuted in Srinagar Central Jail. On July 13, 1931, a large crowd gathered outside the Jail demanding withdrawal of cases against him. The crowd went berserk and the police had to resort to firing in which 21 protesters were killed.

On July 15, 1931, a big demonstration was held in Srinagar in protest of the killings. By the beginning of October, several groups of supporters started coming even from Punjab. When the condition started deteriorating further and went out of control, the British Government had to intervene. As per the 'Amritsar Accord' of 1846, they were entitled to intervene. It may be mentioned here that Punjab was under British control and the group of protesters were coming from there only. But the British Government did not stop them till the situation went out of control.

Under the pressure of British government the Maharaja was _forced in November 1931 to constitute a Commission for studying the demands of Muslims. The Commission was headed by Sir BG Glansi who belonged to the department of political and foreign affairs, Government of India. This Commission submitted a report on the condition of Muslims in March 1932 and in April, 1932 it recommended certain constitutional reforms. Maharaja accepted almost all those recommendations.

Maharaja Hari Singh had also implemented the land reforms in 1928 as soon as he had become the King. He also initiated opening the

doors of all temples including the Raghunath Mandir for the Scheduled Castes. He made education compulsory for boys and started scholarship scheme to promote education among Muslim students. He also started the process of involving the elected public representatives in governance in 1934. He constituted 'Prajā Sabha' with 75 members. Out of which, 33 (21 Muslims, 10 Hindus and 2 Sikhs) were to be elected.

In 1939, the number of elected representatives was increased to 40. On April 20, 1951, Yuvaraj Karan Singh issued an order for the formation of the Constituent Assembly in which there had to be 75 members. Those members were to be elected through direct election. The Constituent Assembly of Jammu & Kashmir started its work on October 31, 1951 and its last meeting was held on January 25, 1957, when the Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir came into force. With it, the Constituent Assembly was adjourned permanently as per the resolution of November 17, 1956. In the elections held in September 1934, the Muslim Conference had won 19 of the 21 seats but all those members resigned after one year complaining limited powers.

One more aspect attracts the attention here. The British Government did not want to take a chance, under the apprehension of growing power of Soviet Union after the revolution there. Gilgit was an important strategic place from this point of view, and the British had their eyes on it through the political agent of Governor General in Srinagar.

In between the turmoil in Kashmir, the British Government wanted to occupy Gilgit. Somehow they persuaded the Maharaja to give a part of Gilgit to them, which was beyond the Sindhu River. This area of land was ultimately given to the British Government on 60 years' lease.

Surprisingly, the agitation against Maharaja lost its intensity after the British Government got the lease of Gilgit for 60 years. This created

the suspicion that the British Government itself was supporting the agitation against the Maharaja.

Meanwhile, differences cropped up amongst the leaders of the agitation. Sheikh Abdullah knew it very well that he was not so popular in Jammu, Ladakh and Gilgit, as he was in Kashmir valley. He thought that he would require the external support for running the agitation. For this he also had the Congress Party of British India in mind. After some time, Sheikh Abdullah arrived at the conclusion that he cannot fulfill his political ambitions just by talking about the Muslims.

In 1939, the Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference was divided and its secular avatar Jammu & Kashmir National Conference was born. This new outfit was further strengthened by the visit of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1940. Sheikh Abdullah affiliated his organisation with the 'All India states People's Conference', which was formed to mobilise the Indians residing in the provinces outside British control towards the cause of freedom. Some former associates of Sheikh Abdullah led by Ghulam Abbas revived the former 'Muslim Conference' as well. Ghulam Abbas was very much inclined towards Jinnah. Later on, he went to Pakistan and became a minister there.

In 1944, the National Conference released its Political and Economic Manifesto titled as 'New Kashmir'. In it, they stated their support to nationalism, secularism and accepted leftist socialism as the main ideology. In this year, Jinnah also visited Kashmir for garnering support for Pakistan, but he had to hear the slogans of 'Go Back!'.

In the Sopore Convention of National Conference in 1945, Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan also participated. In this convention itself, Nehru presided over the meeting of standing committee of 'All India States People's Conference'. Sheikh Abdullah was made its president in 1946.

The Cabinet Mission came to India in 1946. During that period Sheikh Abdullah gave the slogan of 'Maharaja! Quit Kashmir' (resembling Gandhi's slogan of 'Britishers! Quit India'). Describing the Amritsar Accord as the sale of Kashmir, Sheikh demanded its abolition and also told Maharaja Hari Singh to leave Kashmir along with his entire royal family. This agitation was confined to Kashmir valley only. It had no impact in other parts of the state. On the orders of the Maharaja, Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and he was prosecuted on the charges of sedition.

The situation took a dramatic turn when Nehru himself accompanied by a group of lawyers went to plead for Sheikh Abdullah in the court. He was not allowed to enter the state because of the deteriorating law and order situation there. He was stopped at Kohala Bridge and taken to Domel from there. He returned after staying for two days in a guest house,

Later on, this was publicised as Nehru's arrest. After some time Nehru again went to Srinagar in July and stayed there during the legal proceedings against Abdullah and also met him there.

Next few months were full of turmoil. The events unfolding included—Indian Independence, Partition, Pakistan's birth, Nehru's oath-taking as India's Prime Minister, etc. The possibilities of princely states merging with India or Pakistan and Pakistan's geographical shape etc were to be determined. The Maharaja too had to take a decision with regard to merging of his state with either India or Pakistan. Jinnah was pressurising him for merging with Pakistan. Nehru was displeased with the Maharaja due to his legal action against Sheikh Abdullah. Mahatma Gandhi advised the Maharaja to take a decision in accordance with the local people's aspirations.

The Governor General Mountbatten insisted that Maharaja should take a decision by August 14 in any case. He even went on to add that even if Maharaja decides to merge his state with Pakistan, India will have no objection. Mountbatten and Lord Isme also suggested the Maharaja that he should decide in favour of Pakistan and that Indian National Congress too will not have any problem with it.

This is also a fact that the suggestion that India will not have any objection if Jammu & Kashmir merges with Pakistan influenced the States Department also, which had an important role in the merger of princely states. It was surprising that the States Department had not even contacted the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the accession of his state into India. Interestingly, the name of Maharaja did not figure in the list of representatives of the princely states who were invited for discussing the terms of merger, even though his was the largest and most influential state.

Maharaja Hari Singh was passing through the stage of indecisiveness due to the internal conditions prevailing in the state. Pakistan's founder Jinnah, who thought Kashmir to be in his pocket, 'was becoming restless. 'India was experiencing the tragedy of partition and Pakistan was making preparations for forcibly occupying Kashmir.

The Maharaja and Indian government both were having a close watch on the situation. Through his 'Pradhan Mantri' Mehar Chand Mahajan, the Maharaja was in constant contact with Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime -Minister, and Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Prime Minister, and was attracting the attention of Government on all fast changing developments. On the other hand, both Lord Mountbatten and Jawahar Lal Nehru wanted the Maharaja to hand over the power to Sheikh Abdullah before merger.

The anarchy at the border was crossing limits. The nationalist 'Pradhan Mantri' of Jammu & Kashmir Mehar Chand Mahajan and

Deputy Prime Minister of India Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were constantly worried about all this. Both of them wanted the Maharaja to take an urgent decision about Kashmir's accession with India. They sent a message to the then RSS chief Madhav Sadashivrao Golwalkar to convince the Maharaja about it in the interest of the country. After his approval, Mehar Chand Mahajan arranged the meeting of Guru Golwalkar with the Maharaja and requested Sardar Patel to help in this. Sardar Patel made the arrangement of sending Guruji to Srinagar through an aircraft. The meeting took place on October 26. This meeting was very fruitful and it helped the Maharaja in taking a decision.

On September 27, the news about Pakistan's preparations for Invasion on India reached. Nehru was of the firm view that without handing over the reign of Kashmir to Sheikh Abdullah the problems cannot be sorted out. Due to this the logjam continued and the Pakistani army swooped in.

Since October 15 the invading Pakistani troops in the guise of Kabailese, started proceeding to Jammu & Kashmir Muzaffarabad was captured by them on October 22. The Maharaja reiterated his request of help to the Indian government. On October 25, VP Menon, the Secretary of State's Department, went to Srinagar for assessment of the situation. Finally, on October 26, the Maharaja signed the letter of Accession. On October 27, Lord Mountbatten completed the formalities of merger. And the same day the Indian army marched forward to defend the state.

Sheikh Abdullah, who was jailed under the charges of sedition, had been released on September 29 only. On October 30, 1947 Sheikh was appointed head of emergency administration of the state. Through another announcement on March 5, Sheikh was made Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir. The Maharaja was not taken into confidence when the complaint was drafted against Pakistan, and

when the matter of Kashmir was raised in the United Nations Security Council on January 1, 1948.

Expressing concern over all this, Maharaja Hari Singh wrote to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: "Within two months of Kashmir's accession with India, we lost to Pakistan the areas of Mangla, Alibeg, Meerpur Kasba, Bhimbar Kasba, Deva and Batala, Rajouri Kasba and Chhamb area, Naushera, Jhangad and Kotali." He even expressed his desire to lead the Indian army so that the Pakistani troops and infiltrators can be chased back.

The Government of India ignored the Maharaja's concern for the security, and gave protection to Sheikh Abdullah. In another letter to Patel, the Maharaja also wrote about the insulting behaviour of Sheikh Abdullah for him. Instead of imposing some restraint on Sheikh, Sardar Patel advised the Maharaja to leave the state for some time. Accepting this advice, he left the state temporarily citing health grounds, authorising Karan Singh to discharge and exercise all his rights legal, executive and judicial on his behalf. On June 20, 1949, the Maharaja left Jammu and proceeded to Bombay. But only his ashes could return later on.

Thus the state of Jammu & Kashmir was merged into India on October 26, 1947 by 'Shriman Inder Mahinder Rajrajeswar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singh, Jammu Even Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibet Adi Deshahhipati'. It is rather unfortunate that the King who merged his richest and most resourceful state to India had to lead a lonely life for more than a decade. On April 26, 1961, he died of heart attack, at the age of 65.

Ref: Ashustosh, Jammu Kashmir An analysis of facts, p. 29

Day of 25th June is Black Day

Emergency 1975 imposed by then Prime Minister Smt. Indra Gandhi, on this day in 1975 on the country called a black day in the history of Democracy in India. All the civil liberties and fundamental rights were snatched by declaring emergency in the country on this day in 1975.

It was an attempt to curtail rights of judiciary including Supreme Court, press censorship was imposed and all rights of public were suspended. Finally country's leaders including Atal Bihari Vajpey, Lal Krishan Advani, Chander Shekhar, Jai parkash Naryan, Murarji Desai and many others were arrested.

In Jammu and Kashmir, Sheikh Mohd Abdullah was in power and maintenance of internal security act (MISA) was misused and number of persons were arrested in this state including Dr. Om Parkash Mangi, Romes Arora, Chander Mohan Sharma, Master Dhayain Chand, Romesh Papa, Devinder Shastri, Prof. Chama Lal Gupta, Ashok Khajuria, Pt. Amar nath Vaishnavi, Pushkar Nath Karnail and many others the name of peoples has given in details.

The main reason behind the emergency was declaration of the election of Smt. Indra Gandhi as null and void by Allahabad High Court Sh. Raj Narain, who had been defeated in the 1971, Parliamentary Election by Indra Gandhi, filed a case of election fraud and use of State machinery for election purpose against her at the Allahabad High Court.

Advocate Shanti Bhushan ~~Advocate~~ fought the case of Sh. Narian.

Indra Gandhi was also cross examined in the High Court this was the First such instance that an Indian Prime Minister. On 12 June 1975, Justice Jagmohan Lal Sinha of the Allahabad High Court found the Prime Minister guilty on the charge of misuse of Government machinery for the election campaign.

The court declared her election null and void and unseated her from her seat in the Lok Sabha. The court also banned her from contesting any election for an additional six years. Serious charges such as bribing voters and election malpractices were dropped and she was held responsible for misusing government machinery and found guilty.

The time described it as "firing the Prime Minister for a traffic ticket" however, strikes in trade, students and government unions swept across the country led by Sh. J.P. Narain, Satyendra Naryan Sinha and Morarji Desai, Protestors flooded the streets of Delhi state to the Parliament building and the Prime minister residence.

From the desk of

Date

Shri Shyam Lal Sharma
(1921 - 1996)

Chief Editor Brahmavani (Hindi)
during his tenure as President
Dogra Brahman Balinidhi Sabha
Jammu.

1. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra
2. 'Triveni' (Dogri Essays by Prof. Shakti-
Sharma & Shyam Lal Sharma)
3. Bhagwat Diyan Kathan (Dogri)
Betal Pachisi
4. Meghaduta (Dogri Translation of
Kavi Kalidasa's Meghadutam)
5. Pawan Putra Hanuman (Dogri)
6. "दाँ फटने पर" (Hindi Translation
of When Day Light Comes by Howard
Murphet)
7. Atem - Bodh (Dogri)
8. 'दुःख' (Dogri by Prof. Shakti Sharma)

9. "पार्थिव द। सुरवन्ता" (Dogri Translation of K. M. Kalici's Tamil Novel) by Prof. Prabh. Prasad
10. "सिन्धुदे दिवा कल्या" (Dogri)
11. "अभिमान शाकुन्तल" (Dogri Translation of Kalidasa's) Awarded Sahitya Academy Award for Dogri Translation).
12. Dr. Siddheshwar Varna Felicitation Volume (1981)
13. Dr. Siddheshwar Varna अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ
14. Chief Editor 'Shiraza' (Dogri - official Magazine of Cultural Academy)
15. Chief Editor Dogri - Hindi - Urdu Dictionary, a project of Sahitya Academy of Arts, Culture & Languages).

Founder of Dogri Research Institute
(for promotion of Dogri Language & Literature)

It was during his Presidentship of Dogra Brahman Sabha that Statue of

GLAXIA® Acharya CHANAKYA was installed (Now called - चितुष -

8/10/50

, चालती गाड़ी से,

135
श. शान्ति शर्मा

26-2-78, राधा, रवि नार
भरती भवन, बी-15, नई कोलोन
जयपुर (राज.)

एक अत्यन्त साहसी, स्वाभिमानी, समाज सेविका,
सैचर्स की शक्ति की सांसारिक यात्रा पूर्ण हो गयी।

मुझे यह दुरव्य समाचार बहुत दूरी से प्राप्त हुआ
में अपने अ. भा. सद्यः शिक्षा वर्ग प्रवास से दो-तीन दिन पूर्व जब
अपने केन्द्र पर पहुँचा तो जहाँ में यह ^{शाब्दिक} सूचना पढ़ा।

नेपाल प्रवास पर जा रहा हूँ। श. शान्तिजी के
नाम व वन्दे से मैं 1965 में परिचित हो गया था जब मैं अपनी
विद्यालयीन पढ़ाई पूर्ण कर इन्जीनियरिंग कोल्लिज में चण्डीगढ़
जाने की तैयारी में था। सद्यः शिक्षा वर्ग में भुवनेश्वरी से मित्रता बनी
1983 में जम्भू विश्वजी के प्रचारक बन कर आने पर प्रत्यक्ष दृष्टि
का सौभाग्य मिला।

प्रज्ञा परिषद् आन्दोलन के उन्ने कर्तृत्व को

[The letter is being reproduced as this is of prime importance to understand the role of Congress central Govt in handling the terrorism in it's initial stage]
Letter to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi
By Jagmohan
April 21, 1990

Dear Shri Rajiv Gandhi,

You have virtually forced me to write this open letter to you. For, all along, I have persistently tried to keep myself away from party politics and to use whatever little talent and energy I might have to do some creative and constructive work, as was done recently in regard to the management and improvement of Mata Vaishno Devi shrine complex and to help in bringing about a sort of cultural renaissance without which our fast decaying institutions cannot be nursed back to health. At the moment, the nobler purposes of these institutions be they in the sphere of executive, legislature or judiciary etc. have been sapped and the soul of justice and truth sucked out of them by the politics of expediency. You and your friends like Dr. Farooq Abdullah are, however, bent upon painting a false picture before the nation in regard to Kashmir. Your senior party men like Shiv Shankar and N.K.P. Salve have, apparently at your behest, been using the forum of the Parliament for building an atmosphere of prejudice against me. The former raked up a fourteen-year old incident of Turkman Gate and the latter a press interview an interview that I never gave to hurl a barrage of accusations of communalism against my person. Mani Shankar Iyer, too, has been dipping his poisonous darts in the columns of some magazines. I, however, chose to suffer in silence all the slings and arrows of this outrageous armoury of disinformations. Only rarely did I try to correct gross distortions by sending letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines. My intention was to remain content with a book, an academic and historic venture which, I believed, I owed to the nation and to history. But the other day some friends showed to me press clippings of your comments in the election meetings in Rajasthan. That, I thought, was the limit. I realised that, unless I checked your intentional distortions, you would spread false impression about me throughout the country during the course of your election campaign.

WARNING SIGNALS: Need I remind you that from the beginning of 1988, I had started sending "Warning Signals" to you about the gathering storm in Kashmir ? But you and the power wielders around you had neither the time, nor the inclination, nor the vision, to see these signals. They were so clear, so pointed, that to ignore them was to commit sins of true historical proportions.

To recapitulate and to serve as illustrations, I would refer to a few of these signals. In August 1988, after analysing the current and undercurrents, I had summed up the position thus: "The drum-beater of parochialism and fundamentalism are working overtime. Subversion is on the increase. The shadows of events from across the border are lengthening. Lethal weapons have come in. More may be on the way". In April 1989, I had desperately pleaded for immediate action I said: "The situation is fast deteriorating. It has almost reached a point of no return. For the last five days, there have been large-scale violence, arson, firing, hartals, casualties and what not. Things have truly fallen apart. Talking of the Irish crisis, British Prime Minister Disraeli had said: "It is potatoes one day and Pope the next". Similar is the present position in Kashmir. Yesterday, it was Maqbool

Bhat; today it is Satanic Verses; Tomorrow it will be repression day and the day after it will be something else. The Chief Minister stands isolated. He has already fallen-politically as well as administratively; perhaps, only constitutional rites remain to be performed. His clutches are too soiled and rickety to support him. Personal aberrations have also eroded his public standing. The situation calls for effective intervention. Today may be timely, tomorrow may be too late". Again, in May, I expressed my growing anxiety: 'What is still more worrying is that every victory of subversionists is swelling their ranks, and the animosity is being diverted against the central authorities". But you chose not to do anything. Your inaction was mistifying. Equally mistifying was your reaction to my appointment for the second term. How could I suddenly become communal, anti-muslim and what not ?

When I resigned in July 1989, there was no rancour. You wanted me to fight, as your party candidate, election for the South Delhi Lok Sabha seat. Since I had general revulsion for the type of politics which our country had, by and large, come to breed, I declined the offer. If you had any serious reservation about my accepting the offer of J and K Governorship for the second term, you could have adopted the straightforward course and apprised me of your views. I would have thought twice before going into a situation, which had virtually reached a point of no return. There would have been no need for you to resort to false accusations. May be you do not consider truth and consistency as virtues. May be you believe that the words inscribed on our national emblem – Satyameva Jayate – are mere words without meaning and significance for motivating the nation to proceed in the right direction and build a true and just India by true and just means. Perhaps power is all that matters to you – power by whichever means and at whatever cost.

REALITY: In regard to the conditions prevailing before and after my arrival on the scene, you and your collaborators have been perverting reality. The truth is that before the imposition of Governor's rule on January 19, 1990, there was a total mental surrender. Even prior to the day (December 8, 1989) of Dr. Rubaiye Sayeed's kidnapping, when the eagle of terrorism swooped the state with full fury, 1600 violent incidents, including 351 bomb blasts had taken place in eleven months. Then between January 1 and January 19, 1990, there were as many as 319 violent acts – 21 armed attacks, 114 bomb blasts, 112 arsons, and 72 incidents of mob violence.

You, perhaps, never cared to know that all the components of the power structure had been virtually taken over by the subversives. For example, when Shabir Ahmed Shah was arrested in September 1989, on the Intelligence Bureau's tip-off, Srinagar Deputy Commissioner flatly refused to sign the warrant of detention. Anantnag Deputy Commissioner adopted the same attitude. The Advocate-General did not appear before the Court to represent the state case. He tried to pass on the responsibility to the Additional Advocate General and the Government council. They, too, did not appear. Do you not remember what happened on the day of Lok Sabha poll in November 22, 1989 ? In a translating gesture, TV sets were placed near some of the polling booths with placards reading "anyone who will cast his vote will get this". No one in the administration of Dr. Farooq Abdullah took any step to remove such symbols of defiance if authority.

Let me remind you that Sopore is the hometown of Gulam Rasool Kar, who was at that time a Cabinet Minister in the State Government. It is also the hometown of the Chairman of the Legislative Council, Habibullah, and also of the former National Conference MP and Cabinet Minister, Abdul Shah Vakil. Yet only five votes were cast in Sopore town. In

Pattan, an area supposedly under the influence of Iftikar Hussain Ansari, the then Congress (I) Minister, not a single vote was cast. Such was the commitment and standing of your leaders and collaborators in the State. And you still thought that subversion and terrorism could be fought with such political and administrative instruments.

Around that point of time, when the police set-up was getting rapidly demoralised, when intelligence was fast drying up, when infiltration in services was bringing stories of subversives plan like TOPAC, your protage, Dr. Farooq Abdullah was either going abroad or releasing 70, hardcore and highly motivated terrorists who were trained in the handling of dangerous weapons, who had contacts at the highest level in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, who knew all the devious routes of going to and returning from Pakistan and whose detention had been approved by the three member advisory board presided over by the Chief Justice. Their simultaneous release enabled them to occupy key positions in the network of subversion and terrorism and to complete the chain which took them again to Pakistan to bring arms to indulge in killings and kidnappings and other acts of terrorism. For example, one of the released persons, Mohd. Daud Khan of Ganderbal, became the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of a terrorist outfit, Al-Bakar, and took a leading part in organising a force of 2,500 Kashmiri Youths. Who is to be blamed for all the heinous crimes subsequently committed by these released 70 terrorists? I would leave this question answered by the people to whom you are talking about the "Jagmohan Factor". The truth, supported by preponderance of evidence, is that before January 19, 1990, the terrorist had become the real ruler. The ground had been yielded to him to such an extent that dominated the public mind. He could virtually swim like a fish in the sea. Would it matter if the sea was subsequently surrounded?

LABELLING ANTI-MUSLIM: In your attempt to hide all your sins of omission and commission in Kashmir and as a part of your small politics which can not go beyond dividing people and creating vote banks, you took special pains to demolish all regards and respects which the Kashmiri masses, including the Muslim youth, had developed for me during my first term from April 26, 1984, to July 12, 1989. Against all facts, unassailable evidence, and your own precious pronouncements, you started me labelling me as anti-Muslim.

May I, in this connection, also invite your attention to three of the important suggestions made in my book, *Rebuilding Shahjahanabad: The Walled City of Delhi*. One pertained to the creation of the green velvet between Jama Masjid and Red Fort; the second to the construction of a road linking Parliament House with the Jama Masjid complex, and the third to the setting up of a second Shahjahanabad in the Mata Sundari road-Minto road complex, reflecting the synthetic culture of the city, its traditional as well as its modern texture. Could such suggestions I ask you, come of an anti-Muslim mind?

FORUM OF PARLIAMENT: How you and your associates use the forum of Parliament undermine my standing amongst the Kashmiri Muslims, was evident from what N.K.P. Salve, MP, did in the Rajya Sabha on May 25, 1990. Referring to the so called interview to the Bombay Weekly, *THE CURRENT* – an interview which I never gave – Salve chose wholly unjustified expressions; "There was a patent and palpable attitude of very disconcerting communal bias and, therefore, he (Governor) was happy under the garb of eliminating the terrorist, the saboteurs and the culprits, in eliminating the whole community as it were; now the Governor has himself given profuse and unabashed vent to his malicious malignity, hate and extreme dislike, branding every member of a particular community as a militant".

I know Salve. I do not think, if left to himself, he would have done what he did. Clearly, he was goaded to say something which was against his training and background. But the elementary precaution which any jurist, at least a jurist of Salve's imminence, would have taken, was to first check up whether any such interview weekly had been given by me, and if so, whether the remarks attributed to me were actually made. The unseemly haste was itself revealing. The issue was raised on May 25, while the weekly was dated May 26 June 2, 1990. You yourself rushed a letter to the President on May 25, on the basis of the interview that in reality did not exist. You explained that V.P. Singh had appointed a person with "Rabid Communalist Opinion as Governor. You also got your letter widely published on May 25 itself.

Since your party men did not allow me to have my say in the Rajya Sabha, even when an opportunity came my way to speak on the subject, I was left with no other option but to file a 20 Lakhs damage suit against the Current Weekly in the Delhi High Court. The case may take a long time and I may donate the damages, if and when awarded, to charity, but I intend sparing no effort to expose all those who have played dirty roles in the disinformation-drama.

ARTICLE-370: You created a scene on March 7, 1990, at the time of the visit of the All Party Committee to Srinagar, and made it a point to convey to the people in 1986 I wanted to have Article 370 abrogated. At that critical juncture, when I was fighting the forces of terrorism with my back to the wall beginning to turn the corner after frustrating the sinister designs of the subversives from January 26, 1990 onwards, you thought it appropriate to cause hostility against me by tearing the facts out of context. Whether this act of yours was responsible or irresponsible, I would leave to the nation to decide. What I had really pointed out in August-September 1986 was: 'Article 370 is nothing but a breeding ground for the parasites at the heart of the paradise. It skins the poor. It deceives them with its mirage. It lines the pockets of the "power elites". It fans the ego of the new sultans, in essence, it creates a land without justice, a land full of crudities and contradictions. It props up politics of deception, duplicity and demagoguery. It breeds the microbes of subversion. It keeps alive the unwholesome legacy of the two-nation theory. It suffocates the very idea of India and fogs the very vision of a great social and cultural crucible from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. It could be an epicentre of a violent earth-quake, the tremors of which would be felt all over the country with unforeseen consequences. I had argued, 'The fundamental aspect which has been lost sight of in the controversy for deletion or retention of Article 370 is its misuses. Over the years, it has become an instrument of exploitation in the hands of the ruling political elites and other vested interests in bureaucracy, business, judiciary and bar. Apart from the politicians, the richer classes have found it convenient to amass wealth and not allow healthy financial legislation to come to the State. The provisions of the Wealth Tax, the Urban Land Ceiling Act, the Gift Tax etc, and other beneficial laws of the Union have not been allowed to be operated in the State under the cover of Article 370. The common people are prevented from realising that Article 370 is actually keeping them impoverished and denying them justice and also their due share in the economic advancement.' My stand was that the poor people of Kashmir had been exploited under the protective wall of Article 370 and that the correct position needed to be explained to them. I had made a number of suggestions in this regard and also in regard to the reform and reorganisation of the institutional framework. But all these were ignored. A great opportunity was missed. Subsequent events have reinforced my views that Article 370 and its by product, the

separate Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir must go, not only because it is legally and constitutionally feasible to do so, but also because larger and more basic considerations of our past history and contemporary life require it. The Article merely facilitates the growth and continuation of corrupt oligarchies. It puts false notions in the minds of the youth. It gives rise to regional tensions and conflicts and even the autonomy assumed to be available is not attainable in practice. The distinct personality and cultural identity of Kashmir can be safeguarded without this Article. It is socially regressive and causes situations in which women lose their right if they marry non-State subjects and persons staying for over 44 years in the State are denied elementary human and democratic rights. And, above all, it does not fit into the reality and requirement of India and its vast and varied span. What India needs today is not petty sovereignties that would sap its spirit and aspirations and turn it into small "banana-republics" in the hands of 'tin-pot dictators', but a new social, political and cultural crucible in which values of truth and rectitude, of fairness and justice, and of compassion and catholicity, are melted, purified and molded into a vigorous and vibrant set-up which provides real freedom, real democracy and real resurgence to all.

I must also point out that when other States in the Union ask for greater autonomy, they do not mean separation of identities. They really want decentralization and devolution of power, so that administrative and development work is done speedily and the quality of service to the people improves. In Kashmir, the demand for retaining Article 370 with all its 'pristine purity', that is, without the alleged dilution that has taken place since 1953, stems from different motivation. It emanates from a clever strategy to remain away from the mainstream, to set up a separate fiefdom, to fly a separate flag, to have a Prime Minister rather than a Chief Minister, and Sadr-i-Riyasat instead of a Governor, and to secure greater power and patronage, not for the good of the masses, not for serving the cause of peace and progress or for attaining unity amidst diversity, but for serving the interests of 'new elites', the 'new Sheikhs'. All those aspiring to be the custodians of the vote-banks continue to say that Article 370 is a matter of faith. But they do not proceed further. They do not ask themselves: What does this faith mean? What is its rationale? Would not bringing the State within the full framework of Indian Constitution give brighter lustre and sharper teeth to this faith and make it more just and meaningful?

In a similar strain, expressions like 'historical necessity' and 'autonomy' are talked about. What do these mean in practice? Does historical necessity mean that you include, on paper, Kashmir in the Indian Union by one hand at a huge cost and give it back, in practice, by another hand on the golden platter? And what does autonomy or so called pre-1953 or pre-1947 position imply? Would it not amount to the Kashmiri leadership say in: 'you will send and I will spend; you will have no say even if I build a corrupt and callous oligarchy and cause a situation in which Damocles' sword of secession could be kept hanging on your head'?

KASHMIRI PANDITS: You and the like of you have made India a country which has lost capacity to be true and just. Anyone trying to be fair is dubbed communal. The case of the Kashmiri Pandits bears eloquent testimony to this fact. Whatever be the vicissitudes of the Kashmiri Pandits' history and whatever unkind quirks their fate might have brought to them in the past, these all pale into insignificance in comparison to what is happening to them at present. The grim tragedy is compounded by the equally grim irony that one of the most intelligent subtle, versatile, and proud community of the country is being virtually reduced to extinction in free India. It is

suffering not under the fanatic zeal of mediaeval Sultans like Sikander or under the tyrannical regime of Afghan Governors, but under the supposedly secular rule of leaders like you, V.P. Singh and others who unabashed search for personal and political power is symbolized by calculated disregard of the Kashmiri migrants' current miserable plight and the terrible future that stares in their eyes. And to fill their cup of pain and anguish, there are bodies like 'Committee for Initiative on Kashmir' which are over-anxious and over active to rub salt into their wounds, and to label anyone who wants to stand by them in their hour of distress as communal.

In a soft, superficial, permissive and, in many ways, cruel India which has the tragic distinction of creating over one lakh refugees from its own flesh and blood and then casting them aside like masterless cattle to fend for themselves on the busy and heartless avenues of soulless cities, chances for Kashmiri Pandits to survive as a distinct community are next to nothing. Split, scattered and deserted practically by all, they stand today all alone, looking hopelessly at a leaking, rudderless, boat at their feat and extremely rough and tumultuous sea to face before they can reach a safe shore across to plant their feet firmly on an assured future.

The deep crisis through which the Kashmiri migrants, or for that matter, the entire Kashmir, is passing is really the crisis of Indian values – the perversion, in practice, of its constitutional, political, social and moral norms. If I visited the camps of the refugees and tried to extend the firm hand of justice to a community in pain, if I instructed that, instead of cash doles, the migrant Government servants should be given leave salary, and if I conceded the demand of a widow of the person brutally killed by a terrorist, for allotment of a house on payment, I became communal, a known anti-Muslim, about whom concocted stories were planted in the press. If, on the other hand, someone falsely accused the Indian Army and the Governor's administration, if he assailed Jagmohan in particular, of giving inducements through provisions of plots and trucks, without giving particulars either of plots or of trucks, his accusations got published all over the press, his reports were flaunted in national and international forums and were copiously quoted in Parliament by the members of your party and he was labeled as secular and progressive and champion of human rights and what not. Hard Evidence about 'Jagmohan Factor'. I do not like to refer to anything that looks like indulging in self-praise. But not to let you get away with your calculated campaign of disinformation, about Jagmohan communal factor, I must invite attention to some hard evidence about what the people of the Valley actually thought about me before you and your proteges started the smear campaign on my appointment for the second term.

Your principal prop of current politics of Kashmir, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, was not to be left behind in the drive launched to create an 'anti-Muslim' image of mine. In his interview published in the Times of India of August 30, 1990, he said, "A known anti-Muslim was appointed as Governor of a Muslim majority state". How untrue, how unfair, was the propaganda, should be obvious from the fact that on November 7, 1986, at the time of his swearing-in-ceremony, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, in a public speech for which the records exist, said: "Governor Sahib, we should need you very badly. It is, indeed, amazing that such remarkable work could be done by you in a short time through an imbecile and faction-ridden bureaucracy. If today three ballot boxes are kept – one for the National Conference, one for the Congress and one for you, your ballot box would be full while the other two ballot boxes would be empty".

The misfortune of our country is that we have leaders like Dr. Farooq Abdullah who have no regard for facts or truth and whose superficiality is matched only by their unprincipled

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politics.

Incidentally, did it not strike you that Dr. Farooq was virtually accusing your late mother of being anti-Muslim because she was the Prime Minister when, in April 1984, a 'known anti-Muslims' was appointed for the first term, as 'Governor of a Muslim majority State'? Apparently in consultation with you, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, on February 15, 1990, issued a written statement to the press in Urdu in which he inter alia, said, "The Governor, in the personification of 'Hallaqu' and 'Changez Khan', is bent upon converting the valley into a vast graveyard. On account of continuous curfew since January 20, it is difficult to say how many hundreds of people have become victim of the bullets of the army and paramilitary forces, and in this general slaughter how many hundreds of houses have been destroyed. At this moment, when Kashmiris are witnessing their beloved country being converted into a vast graveyard. I appeal to the national and international upholders of humanity to intervene in Kashmir and have an international inquiry made into the general slaughter of Kashmiris at the hands of army and paramilitary forces". Here is your 'patriot' calling Kashmir "Aziz Wattan", suggesting a separate country. Here is your 'national leader' asking for an international inquiry into the general slaughter of the Kashmiris by the Indian Army and paramilitary forces. Here is your 'responsible friend' speaking about the continuous curfew for 25 days in the valley and his consequent inability to find out many 'hundreds of innocent and unarmed Kashmiris' had been massacred and how many hundreds of Kashmiri houses razed to the ground, although he knew perfectly well that there had been a number of days when there was no day- curfew, partially or wholly, and the authorities had brought out the list of casualties, about 40 upto February 16, and were daily asking the public to provide with the additional names, if they had any, so that correction in the official list could be made. Here is an erstwhile Chief Minister who did not care to explain how 'innocent and unarmed' people were ruthlessly shooting down IAF officers, BSF jawans, senior officers of the Television and Telecommunications Department and young men in the streets; and how, while inciting people through lengthy and fiery statements, he did not find a single word to condemn such brutal murders.

Is the nation not entitled to know why you have not disowned such unfortunate behaviour on the part of Dr. Farooq Abdullah? And how do you account for his recent statement as published in The Times of India of February 7, 1991: 'I directed my party men to lie low, go across the border, get training in arms handling; do anything but not get caught by Jagmohan'?

Stabbing me in the back at personal level, perhaps, did not matter. But by keeping the pot boiling, you your proteges prolonged the agony of Kashmir and caused many more deaths and much more destruction. The politics of unscrupulousness was brought to its lowest depth.

ROOTS: You once said, 'I do not read history; I make history'. Apparently, you do not know that those who happen to make history without reading it, usually make bad history. They cannot understand the undercurrents and the fundamental forces that really shape the course of events and determine the ultimate destiny of a nation. In the absence of historical perspective, you and the like of you never perceived the roots and tendrils, which gave rise to the current crop of separatism and subversion in Kashmir. Poisonous seeds were persistently planted in the Kashmir psyche. And these were liberally fertilised. Those of you whose obligation it was to stop these plantations and their fertilization, were not aware of even the elementary lesson of history; to compromise with the evil was only to rear greater evil; to ignore the inconvenient reality was only to

compound it; to bow before the bully was only to invite the butcher the next day. I could cite scores of cases to support my contention. Here I would restrict myself to only two examples.

Softness and Surrender. On October 2, 1988, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday his statue was to be installed in the new High Court complex at Srinagar. The function had been announced. The Chief Justice of India, R.S. Pathak, was to do the formal installation. But a few Muslim lawyers objected. They threatened to cause disturbance at the time of the function. The Chief Minister gave in, almost willingly, to the bullying tactics. The function was cancelled.

What are the implications of what happened ? A secular Kashmir, part of a secular India, could not have, even in its highest seat of justice, a statue of the Father of the Nation, of a sage, who laid down his life for communal harmony. Who was the person spearheading the move against the installation ? It was none other than Mohd. Shafi Bhat, an advocate of the J and K High Court and an active member of the National Conference, who was later on given party ticket for Srinagar Lok Sabha seat in the elections held in November 1989 and with whom you kept warm company during your visit to Srinagar on March 7, 1990, to create as many difficulties as possible for Governor's administration.

At that time there was National Conference (F) Congress (I) Ministry in office. Such was its lack of adherence to principles, such was the character of Congressmen who formed part of the Ministry and such was its disposition to cling to power that not even a little finger was raised when the function was cancelled.

The bully's appetite could not have been whetted better. Intimidation could not have secured better results. The troublemakers could not have perceived a more casual and non-committed adversary. Was it not natural for them to nurture higher ambitions and think that more spectacular results could be achieved by deploying a more aggressive and threatening strategy ? Only a naive would believe that in the context of the Kashmir situation, softness and surrender on basic principles would not act as an invitation to terrorism and militancy.

The Union Government enacted the Religious Institutions (Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1988. It was made applicable to all the States of the Union except J and K. Because of Article 370, concurrence of the State Government was needed for extension of this law to the State. But the same was not given. Why ? Because J and K is different what an argument for having a law which aimed at eradication of misuse of religious premises for political purposes.

Nowhere was this law needed more than in the State of J and K. Nowhere were religious places misused more than here. Nowhere were seeds of fanaticism and fundamentalism sown every Friday more assiduoulsy than from the pulpits of the mosques here. Nowhere was it preached more regularly than here that Indian democracy was un-Islamic, Indian secularism was un-Islamic and Indian socialism was un-Islamic. And yet, neither the State Government which was ruled by two supposedly secular parties, nor the Union Government took the matter seriously. What intrigued the most was that the law which was considered good for 100 million Muslims in other parts of India, was not considered good for 40 lakh Muslims of Kashmir.

What was the use of the nationalist forces ruling the country when they would not act in national interest at all, when they remained mental slaves of the politics of communalism; when they were inclined to place reliance on words and not on deeds; when they did not lead, but succumbed; when they encouraged, and not defeated, separatist elements; when, instead of building a new society strong in human and spiritual values, they did

everything, wittingly or unwittingly, to repair, renovate and strengthen the old decaying and smelly citadel of obscurantism; and when they invariably gave precedence to expediency over the basic goals and principles of our Constitution ? What could be the result of all this? Did it require any unusual insight to understand where such imperious forces would take us?

I leave it to the well-wishers of the nation to consider, without any political or personal bias, a basic question. How was it that Dr. Farooq was calling me Hallaqu and Changez Khan, and you were travelling all the way to Srinagar to 'expose' me as anti-Article 370, anti-Kashmiri and anti-Muslim and, at the same time, Miss Benazir Bhutto was vowing to tear me to pieces - 'Jagmohan ko Bhag-Bhag Mohan Kar Denge' ? There are many other facets of Kashmir's truth which lie buried underneath the heaps of disinformation and also of superficiality and shallowness. These days I am busy in an attempt to remove some of these heaps. One day, I hope, the country will acquire the true perspective of the problem. The Kashmiri masses would also realise that I was their greatest well-wisher. I wanted to save them permanently from the exploitative oligarches and also from the machinations of religious 'Czars' and forces of obscurantism. You have already committed the sin of letting down the Bharat Mata in Kashmir. Now do not add to it another sin of letting down the other Mata also. There is, after all, some power above. Conscious of her. She may condone your negligence. But she would not condone your sin of blaming an innocent person for what were your own faults, particularly when he had been persistently reminding you of your obligations. So far as I am concerned, I am content with my gloomy pride of having done the correct thing in Kashmir. True, I seemingly and, perhaps, temporarily, lost the goodwill of some of the locals. But I was not seeking a certificate from anyone. I had gone for the second term to do a national duty.

The country's polity and administration have assumed such a character that it has become incapable of solving from its roots, any serious problem. Elections have virtually lost all meaning. And these would continue to be meaningless until and unless Indian democracy and its constitutional structure acquires a healthy cultural base, a pure soul and soil, from which the seed of justice, truth and selfless service could sprout and blossom into a Great Tree providing shade and shelter from Kanyakumari to Kashmir. Currently, the inner light is gone, and we are being led virtually by blind men with lanterns

THE BATTLE OF RIZANGLA- A GLORIOUS CHAPTER OF 1962 WAR

Sardar Patel wrote a letter on 7th November 1950 to Pt. Nehru which has become a part of our history. Some weeks before his death, he had warned Pt. Nehru regarding the vulnerability of India from China due to the undefined state of our frontier with China and the unreliability of the Chinese. He requested the Prime Minister to deliberate upon this issue urgently but Pt. Nehru was too enamoured of his friendship with China to take any worthwhile action on the advice of Patel. Pt. Nehru never thought that the Chinese would betray his friendship as he had played a crucial role to bring the 'Pariah' nation in the mainstream of world community. His golden principles of Panch Sheel, he thought, were sufficient to take care of things on the northern frontier. Again, Pt. Nehru did not pay heed to the warning of Dr. Ambedkar when he advised Nehru that by allowing the Chinese to take possession of Lhasa, the PM had practically helped the Chinese to bring their influence down to the Indian border. Later on, the nation had to pay a heavy price for ignoring the timely advice of the two leaders known for their keen sense of realism.

China's forcible occupation of Aksai Chin, India's Tibet policy, grant of asylum to Dalai Lama in 1959, India's Forward Policy along the undefined border with China, some untimely and inappropriate statements by our political leadership had led to the straining of relations between the two countries to such an extent that it culminated in a war in 1962.

India was one of the first countries to recognise People's Republic of China and was instrumental for China's entry in UN as well as ensuring it a permanent seat in the Security Council. India was so much tilted towards China that it boycotted San Francisco conference in 1952 because China had not been invited. However after some time the dragon started becoming hostile. She constructed road through our area. Aksai Chin which was under its illegal possession. There were frequent border skirmishes and India formulated its Forward Policy. Construction of border posts at some places were disputed by China. China also started to carry out border infringements. The most conspicuous flash point became Lacha in the eastern sector. Government wanted the army to evict the Chinese out. However Gen. Thappar opined that it was difficult to carry out such an operation because of the lack of preparedness on our part and the operational difficulties due to the approaching winter. Pt. Nehru agreed to the proposal but in early October while on the way to Colombo Pt. Nehru without evaluating the consequences of his statement declared in a press conference at Chennai that he had ordered the Forces to throw out the Chinese from the border posts occupied by them.

The Chinese took it as declaration of war and suddenly attacked us in NEFA and Ladakh on 20th of October, 1962. We did not expect such a reaction from the Chinese. We were not prepared for such a situation. In fact Defence Ministry was in shambles under Krishana Menon. Political interference was the order of the day and some blue-eyed boys like Gen. BM Kaul who lacked military acumen, were the policy framers. Others like the intelligence chief, BN Mullick had failed to ascertain the intentions and preparations of Chinese. In the circumstances we were taken by surprise when we were attacked. Brig. Dalvi's brigade bore the first brunt at Thag La in eastern sector. Later on we lost badly at Sela and Bomdilla in NEFA and at some fronts in Ladakh. Government groped in the dark to deal with the situation. Morale of the nation was at its low. Kuldip Nayyar, the noted journalist tells us that PM's radio broadcast 'my heart goes with the people of Assam' further alarmed the people in Assam to believe that the Government had left over. The Chinese had pushed 80,000 strong force against us and our deployment was merely of the order of 12,000 troops. Consequently, the well prepared large Chinese army overwhelmed us at many fronts. We faced debacle after debacle.

Despite these reverses, our brave soldiers exhibited some rare acts of bravery. We can single out a number of heroes, who fought whenever and wherever their commanders put them realistically and provided them the necessary leadership. Efforts of Captain NN Rawat are noteworthy in organising a fighting retreat. Similarly the strategic deployment and keeping intact his brigade by cool-headed Brig. Gurbax Singh by marshalling his formation as a cohesive unit and giving the Chinese a tough fight is remembered to this day. But the most glorious chapter was written by the indomitable Ahirs of the C Company of 13th Kumaon Regt. in the battle of Rizangla in Chushul Sector.

Chushul, headquarter of Chang Thang subdivision at the time is situated few kilometres south of Pangong lake in Ladakh. Rizangla, is a small plateau is situated about 30 kms. east south of Chushul. Chushul is a narrow, thinly populated 40 km. long and about 10 kms wide valley with high mountains and passes on both sides. The great Dogra General Zorawar Singh had passed through the valley on his way to Tibet and still inspires the soldiers deployed in these lofty mountains. The soil is sandy and rocky. In the sparsely grassed valley some wild horses, the kyangs, few pairs of black-necked cranes, who are on the way of extinction and some marmots, find their homes there. The Ahirs were deployed here during the 1962 war and the C Company of the battalion was shouldering the responsibility on the nearby Rizangla pass. Chushul, being the important village and having an airstrip was on the radar of Chinese and of the routes for Chinese to reach. Chushul was through Rizangla. The Chinese had a lot of strategic advantages in the sector like the uninterrupted supply line and easy artillery support. The small Indian formation was left to their fate as the supply line was not regular. The Rizangla feature had a high hill at its back so no artillery shelling could be carried out to support the troops on Rizangla. Digging defences in the rocky soil was nearly impossible and the paucity of oxygen at a height of 16000 feet made movement of partially acclimatized soldiers difficult. The Ahirs were mainly armed with antiquated. 303 single shot bolt action rifles of the Second World War vintage which yielded an easy advantage to the enemy equipped with the modern weaponry.

Despite these locational and logistic disadvantages the Ahirs under the able leadership of their company commander Maj. Shaitan Singh Bhatti were in high spirits. On the night of 17-18 Nov. heavy snow storm had overtaken the battle zone and icy winds were benumbing any living being there. In the early morning our patrols noticed massive Chinese intrusion through the gullies. Thought the Chinese had brought their assaulting troops to their forward assembly under the cover of inclement weather, their intentions to given sudden surprise to the vigilant Ahirs failed miserably. The Indian soldiers were ready to face the assault of the dragons. Around 0500 hrs, the first wave of Chinese was sighted by the Ahirsmanning the defences and they were greeted with a hail of LMGs, MMGs and mortars fire. Scores of the enemy died, many were wounded but the rest duly reinforced and continued to advance. Soon the gullies leading to Rizangla were full of Chinese corpses. Constant wave after wave of the Chinese launched four more attacks which were beaten back. This dwindled the strength and ammunition of the defenders also and there was no hope of replenishments in the God's forsaken place.

By now the Chinese realized that Rizangla was not a cake walk and they resorted to heavy artillery and concentrated fire of recoilless guns. Our Jawans had no artillery support and no bunkers on the rocky feature. Simultaneously the Chinese had a detour and attacked from the back. In the meantime Major Shaitan Singh was moving from platoon to platoon motivating the depleting command. In the process he was hit by the enemy LMG fire on his arm but undaunted he kept motivating, regrouping and reorganising his handful men and weapons. His Company Hay. Major kept persuading him to move to safe place but he did not want to leave his comrades. Grievously injured and bleeding profusely, he was later pulled to safer place behind a boulder where he froze to martyrdom during the night. The Ahirs had fought bravely and even came out with bayonets when need arose. Naik Chandgi Ram a wrestler of repute had killed 6-7 Chinese single handedly with

bayonet till he fell to martyrdom. Silence of war had engulfed Rizangla as the last round had been fired and the last soldier had bled to martyrdom. The Ahirs had exhibited a rare saga of unprecedented courage, valour and supreme sacrifice. 114 out of 120 soldiers sacrificed their lives. It is one of the few battles in the annals of war history of the world where such a high percentage of fighters fought so doggedly and fearlessly and attained martyrdom. There is only one other instance in the subcontinent where a similar bravery was exhibited. In 1897, 21 brave Sikh soldiers had killed 600 Afghans in the battle of Saragarhi before laying down their lives.

In January 1963, a local shepherd while wandering over Rizangla saw the awesome spectacle of the soldiers frozen to death but still clinging to their damaged weapons, mostly with empty magazines and bulged barrels due to excessive firing. A month later the first Indian party under aegis of Red Cross retrieved the bodies. The grateful nation conferred Maj. Shaitan Singh with Param Vir Chakra—the highest gallantry award. Eight soldiers were conferred Vir Chakra and some others were also conferred with honours. This is perhaps the only action where so many honours have been conferred in a single operation. We pay our homage to these brave soldiers year after year on their memorials near Chushul and in Rewari, Haryana. It has been aptly inscribed on their memorial: 'How can a man die better? Than facing odds/ For the ashes of his father/ And temples of his Gods.'

The 1962 war had taught us many lessons. Nehru's gestures of friendship were returned through treachery by China. In future we should, therefore, deal with her with due caution. Chinese manoeuvres in our neighbourhood are already alarming. Her outright support of Pakistan in her nuclear programme and defence preparedness is a cause of concern. We have not raised the protests to the required level of pitch against China for her construction of Economic Corridor through our area of Gilgit-Baltistan. Pakistan's handing over of Shaksgam tract of our state to China was also not so vociferously opposed by us. Be it the trade imbalance or be it the border incursions, our reaction remains mute. Safeguarding our national interests viz a viz China will be an appropriate tribute to the sacrifice of the martyrs of Rizangla.

18. Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1947)

He was born in 1895 to Raja Amar Singh and ascended the throne in 1925 on the death of Maharaja Partap Singh who was the real elder brother of his father and had died issueless. His uncle (Maharaja Partap Singh) had given him sufficient grooming in the administration of the State. He was well educated and had modern ideas. He had even received training in Imperial Cadet Corps, Dehradun. During First World War, he was sent to the front along with Dogra forces and they had won laurels in several battles in France, Palestine and East Africa.

After becoming the ruler, he realized the grievance of his subjects in general and that of Dogras of Jammu in particular that they had been deprived from getting the services in the administration of the State affairs during Maharaja Partap Singh's rule as a large number of educated bureaucrats from outside the State (particularly from neighbouring Punjab) had usurped the important posts and they were not treating the State Subjects with dignity and honour. There used to be some physical clashes between the wards of those outsider officials and businessmen settled in Jammu with the local educated youths. The locals had cherished the expectations from the ruler who was being depicted as the pride of the Dogras. The slogan, 'A State for the State People was being heard in all parts of the State'. After ascending the Gaddi he favoured the appointment of State Subjects to all posts in the administration and placed equal faith in Muslim Officials. At the time of assuming the reign of powers in the State he had declared that though he was a Dogra Hindu yet as a ruler, his religion was Justice." He quickly passed some revolutionary legislations such as Agriculturist Relief Regulations which released the cultivators from the clutches of the money lenders. He passed compulsory Education Act which made compulsory education up to 5th class for boys in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar. The prevention of Infant's Marriage Act and the Removal of Untouchability Act. He threw open the gates of all the temples for Harijans. When the family priest who was the head of famous Raghunath Temple objected to this move, he at once removed him as a head Pujari and with the consent of his younger brother opened the gates of the temple for the Harijans and appointed him as the head priest. High Court was established with powers of supervision over the Subordinate Courts. He used to appoint eminent jurists from outside the State as judges. He had established a Board of Advisors consisting of eminent judges from outside the State to hear the appeals to give him advice in respect of appeals filed against the judgements of the High Court as he himself was a figure head to approve those judgements as a final authority He was very opposed to corruption and was taking very strict actions against corrupt officials. Having appointed his Ministers, the Muslim contingent usually from Uttar Pradesh, he would not interfere with their working. His illustrious son Dr Karan Singh (first head of the State after independence of India, i.e. as Regent up to 1952 elected as Sadar-i-Riyasat from 1952 to 1965, and as Governor of the State from 1965 to 1967, a Member of Parliament continuously for next eighteen years from Jammu region and the youngest Cabinet Minister in the Centre during Indira Gandhi's regime—a world known great scholar particularly in Indian philosophy (a recipient of Padma Vibushan award) has noted in his Autobiography at page 40, in fact when at the age of 30 he (his father) ascended the throne on 23rd September 1925. He had proclaimed, Justice is my religion and merit alone will be considered the deciding factor for all types of employment. Caste, creed religion or sex will receive no consideration...Indeed, there was case when a citizen of Jammu living just outside our

palace challenged in court my father's decision to acquire his property, and successfully prevented the move--

In 1927, he issued Notification Defining and Regulating the Rights, powers and Privileges available to the Citizens of the State who were termed as State Subjects. In Notification 1-1484 dated 20 April 1927 the term State Subject was defined to mean and include:

Class I: All persons born and residing within the State before the commencement of the reign of His Highness the late Maharaja Gulab Singh Sahib Bahadur, and also persons who settled therein before the commencement of Samwat year 1942 (AD 1885), and have since been permanently residing therein.

Class II: All persons, other than those belonging to Class I who settled within the State before the close of Samwat year 1968 (AD 1911), and have since permanently resided and acquired immovable property therein.

Class III: All persons, other than those belonging to Class I and II permanently residing within the State, who have acquired under a 'Rayatnama' any immovable property therein or who may hereafter acquire such property under an 'Ijzatnama' and may execute a Rayatnama after ten years continuous residence therein.

Class IV: Companies which have been registered as such within the State and which, being companies in which the government is financially interested or as to the economic benefit to the State or to the financial stability of which the government is satisfied, have by a special order of His Highness been declared to be State Subjects.

Note I: In matters of grants of the State scholarships, State lands for agricultural and house building purposes and recruitment to State Service, State Subjects of class I should receive preference over other classes and those of class II, over class III subject, however, to the order dated January 1927 of his highness the Maharaja Bahadur regarding employment of hereditary State subjects in government service.

Note II: the descendants of the person who have secured the status of any class of the State Subjects will be entitled to become the State subject of the same class. For example, if A is declared a State subject of class II his sons and grandsons will ipso facto acquire the status of the same class (II) and not of a class I.

Note III: The wife or a widow of a state subject of any class shall acquire the status of her husband as State Subject of the same Class as her husband, so long as she resides in the State and does not leave the State for permanent residence outside the State.

Note IV: For the purpose of the interpretation of the term 'State Subject' either with reference to any law for the time being in force or otherwise, the definition given in this Notification as amended up to date shall be read as if such amended definition existed in this Notification as originally issued,

This Notification providing State Subjects preference to outsiders in cases of employment in government services was welcomed as it intended to give the employment to a large number of unemployed people in the State,

The Notification had categorized four classes in the term 'State Subject'. This Notification was followed by Notification Number 13-L dated 27 June 1932 under the command of the Maharaja for the purposes of determining the status of the State Subjects in foreign countries and to inform the concerned governments as to the position Of their nationals in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) Notification dated 27th June 1932

The Notification reads as under:

Whereas it is necessary to determine the status of Jammu and Kashmir State Subjects in foreign territories and to inform the governments foreign States as to the position of their nationals in this State it is hereby commanded and notified for public information, as follows:

That all emigrants from the Jammu and Kashmir State to foreign territories shall be considered State Subjects and also the descendants of these emigrants born abroad for two generations:

Provided that, these nationals of the Jammu and Kashmir State shall not be entitled to claim the internal rights granted to subjects of this State by the laws, unless they fulfil the conditions laid down by those laws and rules for the specific purposes mentioned therein.

The foreign national residing in the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall not acquire the nationality of the Jammu and Kashmir State until after the age of 18 on purchasing immovable property under permission of an 'Ijazatnama' and on obtaining a 'Rayatnama' after ten years continuous residence in the Jammu and Kashmir State as laid down in Notification Number I-L/84, dated 20th April 1927.

Certificates of nationality of the Jammu and Kashmir State may, on application, be granted by Minister-in-Charge of the Political Department in accordance with the provisions of Section I of this notification.

Note: After the accession of the State with India, the Constituent Assembly framed the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir which came into force with effect from 26 January 1957 and it has also recognized this prevailing legal position of the term permanent residence in the State and in Part III of the Constitution it incorporates Sections 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 with wider scope. It is advantageous to reproduce these sections herein under:

Sec 6: Permanent Residents

(1) Every person who is, or is deemed to be, a citizen of India under the provisions of the Constitution of India shall be a permanent resident of the State, if on the fourteenth day of May 1954:

(a) he was a State Subject of Class I or of Class 11; or

(b) having lawfully acquired immovable property in the State, he has been ordinarily resident in the State for not less than ten years prior to that date.

(2) Any person who, before the fourteenth day of May 1954, was a State Subject of Class I or of Class 11 and who having migrated after the first day Of March 1947, to the territory

now included in Pakistan, returns to the State under a permit for resettlement in the State or for permanent return issued by or under the authority of any law made by the State Legislature shall on such return be a permanent resident of the State.

In this section, the expression 'State Subject of Class I or of Class II shall have the same meaning as in State Notification Number 1_L/84 dated the twentieth April 1927, read with State Notification Number 13/L dated the 27th June 1932.

Sec 7: Construction of references to State Subjects in existing laws

Unless the context otherwise requires, all references in any existing law to hereditary State Subjects or to State Subject of Class I or of Class II or of Class III shall be construed as references to permanent residents of the State.

Sec 8: Legislature to define permanent residents

Nothing in the foregoing provisions of this part shall derogate from the power of the State Legislature to make any law defining the classes of persons who are, or shall be, permanent residents of the State.

Sec 9: Special provision for Bills relating to permanent residents

A Bill making provision for any of the following matters—

- (a) defining or altering the definition of the classes of persons who are, or shall be, permanent residents of the State;
- (b) conferring on permanent residents any special rights or privileges;
- (c) regulating or modifying any special rights or privileges enjoyed by permanent residents; shall be deemed to be passed by either House of the Legislature only if it is passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of that House.

Sec 10: Rights of the permanent residents

The permanent residents of the State shall have all the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution of India.

Note: Fundamental Rights as guaranteed in the Indian Constitution along with other Constitutional Rights found in other Articles Of the Indian Constitution were applied to the State in exercise of the powers conferred by Article 370 of the Constitution by the President Of India under SRO 1610 and by CO 48 of 1954 with some additions and amendments. The Constitution (application to Jammu and Kashmir) order, 1950 was superseded. By this order only Article I and Article 370 were made applicable in the State and they remained unaltered by this subsequent order. After Article 35 in the Indian Constitution, the following new Article was added for the sake of Jammu and Kashmir State: "35-A, Saving of law with respect to permanent residents and their rights. Notwithstanding anything contained in this Constitution, no existing law in force in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and no law hereafter enacted by the Legislature of the State:

- (a) defining the classes or persons who are, or shall be, permanent residents of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, or

(b) conferring on such permanent residents any special rights and privileges or imposing upon other persons any restrictions as respects:

- (i) employment under the State Government;
- (ii) acquisition of immovable property in the State;
- (iii) settlement in the State; or

(iv) right to scholarships and such other forms of aid as the 'State Government' may provide, shall be void on the ground that is inconsistent with or takes away or abridges any rights conferred on the other citizens of India by any provision of this Part."

Note: Before the full bench decision of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court given in the case of 'The State of Jammu and Kashmir and others PS Dr Susheela Sawhney and others', (203 KLJ 282) the prevalent legal position was that upon marriage to a non-State Subject, a woman who was a State Subject by birth, lost her special status of a State Subject to acquire or inherit immovable property and ineligible for a government job. By a majority judgement (two judges concurring and third one dissenting) it has been laid down that on marriage with a non- permanent resident, the daughter of the permanent resident of the State shall not lose her status as a Permanent Resident of the State for any purpose. In the minority judgement, however, one judge differed from this view and the result is that the majority view of the full Bench prevails. In respect of adoption of a non-State Subject by a State Subject, the Division Bench of the State High Court in the case of 'The State of Jammu and Kashmir vs Vijay Manchanda', LPA Number 70 of 1987 decided on 21st of November 1988, has held that a person by adoption cannot acquire the status of the Permanent Resident of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Against the backdrop of the constitutional safeguards spelled out above the legal position which emerges is that, a resident of the State of J&K can become President of India, Prime Minister of India, Chief Justice of India, Chief of the Armed Forces, Speaker of the Indian Parliament but a non-State Subject cannot become even a peon in the State. A State Subject can acquire immovable property throughout the Country but even the First Citizen of India (President of India) cannot acquire even an inch of immovable property in the State except for affairs of the Indian Union. The State laws having a bearing on this topic have preferential value over the relevant provisions of the Indian Constitution. According to the personal opinion of the writer of this book Article 35 (A) in the Constitution has been incorporated by the Presidential Order and not inserted by the Indian Parliament which required 2/3rd majority. This is a grey area for discussion.

The Maharaja had progressive ideas about freedom and self-rule. He expressed these ideas/sentiments at the Round Table Conference held in London in 1930. Speaking on behalf of Indian Princes, he observed: "As Indian and loyal to the land whence we derive our birth and infant nature, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Common Wealth of Nations." He withdrew some of the privileges which had been guaranteed to British resident and started putting pressure for the abolition of the political agency in Gilgit, but the British did not like it and he had to withdraw his moves. On the contrary, the British

understood that he was an enlightened ruler and difficult to tame. On account of the constant and rigorous pressure of the British, the Maharaja withdrew his administration from Gilgit and in 1935 handed over Gilgit Wazarat on a lease to the British for a period of sixty years. The British improved the security of the area by building some air fields and setting up wireless stations in that area and as stated earlier they were imparting military training to Gilgit scouts which were under their command. They used their services and started sending military missions to Central Asia. This was being done to contain the advancement of Russian Communism. They had started giving aid help to maintain and restore the authority of the overthrown local chiefs known as Amirs.

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The RSS Role in J&K

Prior to the birth of the Praja Parishad, the Rashtriya Sawayamsewak Sangh had established its well knit units (Shakas) in most parts of the State, especially in the region of Jammu.

In late thirties(1939) while preparing for playing its important role in the movement for independence of India from the foreign yoke, adjoining J&K the undivided Punjab like many other parts of country the RSS had come to be a hub of the patriotic activities.

Shri Madhav Rao Muley was the Prant Prachark, who deputed some dedicated activists and Pracharaks to establish RSS Shakhas in the State.

The first Pracharak in J&K was Prof. Balraj Madhok in late thirties. With his appointment as Professor in a Srinagar college the ones of responsibility shifted to Shri jagdish Abrol of Sialkot, Kedar Nath Sahani and some other Pracharaks who put in their great efforts to establish the RSS Shakhas at various places. The first one was established at Dewana Mandir in Jammu city.

Many more youth came forward to spread the RSS activities, mostly the games. These youths included Sh. Shayam Lal Sharma, Sh.Durga Dass Verma, Dr. Om Parkash Mengi & others.

Sh. Abrol established his first karyalya at Ved Mandir in a room. Though large number of youth joined the RSS

network but it was generally known as a body of children and teen agers.

In early forties, Sh. Mulley and some senior RSS men approached Pt. Prem Nath Dogra to head the RSS in the State as Sanghchalak and he readily agreed to it and a big function was held in Jammu with some high up of the RSS also figuring in this Samaroh.

With taking over reins by Pt. Ji as Sanghchalk, the body attained significant respectability and fillip to its working.

POLITICS OF SPLIT IN THE STATE UNIT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

In spite of the fact that politics of every state is very much conditioned by the history of its people, their religious, languages, castes, regional aspirations and their socio-politico-economic interests, the communist movement in the state of Jammu and Kashmir also developed on the same patterns and trends. Historically, it is linked up with the Kashmiri's Fight for freedom against the autocratic rule of Dogra dynasty. The leaders of this movement not only successfully injected the left list ideology in the minds of some of the top elites of the freedom struggle in the state but its tenets of progressive, radical and revolutionary character have also radicalized the politics of the state when they came in power a way back in 1947.

However, once again I may say that proceeding initially with the slogan for sovereignty to each nationality¹ with a right to secede, to limited accession via independent Kashmir² and finally integration of states with Indian republic,³ liquidation of all sorts of exploitation of all the poor and depressed,⁴ the left movement in Kashmir not only varied in the form of shape and shades from time to time, but also had deeply influenced the political life of the state since 1930's.⁵ As already said that the formal formation of the C.P.I. Unit in the State, however, took place in January, 1965.

As already said that The Communist Party of India itself then consisted of two groups i.e. one pro-China and another Pro-Soviet. After the Sino-India war of 1962, a serious inner party struggle occurred in the Intentional communist movement. The group led by Sh. S.A Dange supported the Nehru government and opposed the China Communist Party, while the other group led by R Sundraya and Jyoti Basu supported the Chinese Communist Party in the name of upholding the proletarian Internationalism. Such struggle within the C.P.I., ultimately crystallized into a split. The pro-chinese faction formed the C.P.I. (M) in 1964, while the Pro-Soviet faction remained in the C.P.I.G

As already mentioned that such a split in the C.P.I. at the central level had its impact on the Communist cadres at the state level also. Mr. R.P. Saraf and Mr. K.D. Sethi, the two prominent Communist leaders in the state, changed their allegiance to the newly formed C.P.I. (M) and established its regular branch in 1964, They joined it along with their organisation and supporters. The rest of the communists remained affiliated with the C.P.I. and formally established its unit in the state in 1965.

It can be argued that C.P.I. Unit in the state was formed later and C.P.I. (M) Unit earlier unlike C.P.I. and C.P.I. (M) at the Centre.⁸ In 1967, again there were differences inside the C.P.I. (M) at the national level. A group of revolutionary communists in India were, however, of the view that the revolt in Naxalbari had proved that communist revolution could only be spread by means of violence and by the philosophy of individual annihilation- As a result, a split in the C.P.I. (M) occurred in 1969. The revolutionary group led by Charu Majumadar came out of party and formed C.P.I.s (M.L.) party in the same year.

At the micro-level, the revolutionary comrades in the state not only welcomed the formation of C.P.I. (M. L.) in India, but favoured the dissolution of the C.P.I. (M) unit in the state. As a result, the State Unit of C.P.I. (M) was dissolved and C.P.I. (M.L) unit at the state level was established, With this comrades led by R.P. Saraf and Krishan Dev Sethi joined the Maoist Movement in the State and adopted the future plan.

As already pointed out that the cracks in the top leadership of the state unit of C.P.I.(M.C.) came to surface regarding the evolution of a clear line of action for the party on the basis of peculiar condition prevailing in the state. Krishan Dev Sethi suggested keeping the party activities in abeyance for the time being as the people were not yet ready for proper revolution. ¹² But Ram Piara Saraf did not agree with his views and took stand that when the C.P.I. (M.L.) was in the thick of struggle and its cadres were under a brutal attack of the Indian State, it would not be advisable to leave the movement to confuse the cadre. As a result, in the Executive

Committee meeting of the pao, presided over by Shri Krishan Dev Sethi, it was resolved to suspect R.P. Saraf Of indulging in anti-party activities, such as self-aggrandisement, victimisation and misuse of party funds, arbitrarily closing down of Jammu Sandesh, the party organ, and not convening the meeting of the Executive.

Thus, the rift between two factions of C.P.I. (M.L.) headed by Comrade R.P. Saraf and Comrade K.D. Sethi came open. Comrade K.D. Sethi became the follower of Kanu Sanyal, Mao-tse-tung and Satya Narayan Singh whereas R.P. Saraf faction followed the policy and programme Of Chari Majumdar and Lio-sho-chi of China. All this led to a split in the C.P.I. (M.C.) at the state level in 1970. Comrade K.D. Sethi and his followers, therefore, revived the Democratic National Conference (D.N.C.) with the programme and policy of C.P.I. (MI). 17 R.P. Saraf, on the other hand formed the Proletarian International, which functioned as a unit of C.P.I. (M.C.) in the state.

The death of Mao-tse-tung in 1975, the subsequent sweeping change in China in 1977 and the replacement of Pro-Moaist leadership by the anti-Maist leadership had their impact on the Communist Movement of India as well as that of Jammu and Kashmir. R.P. Saraf and his likeminded colleagues came to the conclusion that the present trouble in the World Communist Movement expressing through revisionist takeover of the leadership in U.S.S.R. and in China were mainly due to the fact that Marxism and Leninism had not been properly applied and Stalinist modifications in them to build a socialist state in U.S.S.R. was the root of all troubles in 'World Communist Move- ment'. They were of the view that certain theoretical and practical con-tradictions might be witnessed when Marxism and Leninsm were put into actual practice. They were also of the view that the world reality had also undergone a change. As a result, both the Communist and West-ern Linberal models were increasingly becoming irrelevant and the process of globalisation had been spreading fast. Thus R.P. Saraf and his colleagues formulated a new theoretical and practical platform and es-tablished a new party namely Internationalist Democratic Party in the State in 1986. Thus, splits within Communist movement in the state have been purely ideological.

In short, the ideological splits in Communist movement at the national level too had its repercussions on this movement at the state level. This menace in the state communist parties not only slackened the growth of Communist movement in the state but also helped in strengthening the right wing and the centrist political parties and the power brokers who by isolating the radical forces rose to prominent position in the power policies of the state.

THE POLITICAL OF POONCH AGITATION: 1977-79

In November 1977 the District Recruitment Board, Poonch had invited applicable for the 200 vacancies of teachers from the local candidates with M.Sc. or M.A. or B.A. in Geography and Commerce, B.A. Degree in Mathematics and B.E.C. Diploma. The interviews of the candidates were held in June, 1978 and the list of the selected candidates was released in September, 1978. It was then found a large number of recruited teachers did not fulfil the requisite qualifications and most of the meritorious and deserving candidates were ignored. The unfair selections and backdoor entry of certain candidates, therefore, generated a wave of resentment among the masses of Poonch District in general and among the deserving but rejected candidates in particular. They levelled the following charges against the selections made by the Recruitment Board:—

- (i) That the Board under the political pressure had appointed some of such candidates who had neither applied for the posts nor were even called for interviews;
- (ii) Four to five members of the same family as well as some of the candidates, not even the residents of the Poonch District, were appointed;
- (ii) the dependants of war heroes and the most deserving candidates though possessing requisite qualifications were also ignored; and
- (iv) that some of the unqualified, underaged and even overaged candidates had also been appointed at the instance of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai, the then Deputy Minister, and Ghulam Mohd. Jahn- the then National Conference leader and sitting MLA, both representing Poonch District.

An Action Committee of prominent citizens as well as students was then constituted to negotiate with the authorities to mitigate their grievances. The Committee comprised:

1. Mr. Ghulam Qadar Bandy — Chariman.
2. Mr. Yash Pal Sharma
3. Mr. Rajinder Singh Charkha
4. Mr. Mohammed Zaman Advocate
5. Mr. Rajinder Singh Kaka Advocate

When approached, Mr. S.D. Singh, the then Deputy Commissioner and the Chairman of the District Recruitment Board, Poonch, apprised that the section list submitted by the Board was prepared strictly on merits basis. It had, however, been changed subsequently on the behest of higher ups. The aggrieved candidates started a daily peaceful *IDharna* against unfair and unjust selection in front of the office of the Chariman of District Recruitment Board. The '*Dharna*' continued for one week but without any tangible results.

The first manifestation in the form of a public demonstration appeared on October 14, 1978. A big peaceful procession had taken out by students - both male and female. They demanded the creation of at the least fourteen new posts to get adjusted the most deserving candidates and those who were going to be overaged.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the then Chief Minister, had however, rejected the demand of the aggrieved jobless youth of the Poonch that the teachers should have been appointed purely and solely on merits basis. While justifying the appointments made, he said "there are many villages in far-flung areas where people cannot go beyond matric and they have no amenities to get higher education. The government is employing those local candidates in their own villages as teachers." As a reaction to such a statement of the Chief Minister, another protest procession was taken out on Oct. 15, 1978. All the educational institutions of the district were closed indefinitely. Even the business establishments 'in almost entire district went on strike in support of the students' cause. On 20th October, 1978 once again a procession led by Mr. G.Q. Bandey, the

Chairman of the Committee, was taken out which brought the protesters in confrontation with the Police. The Police resorted to lathi

charge. As a result Mr. G.Q. Bandey along with a few others was injured. This incident added fuel to fire and the aggrieved candidates then went on hunger strike. The law and order situation of the entire district was deteriorating day by day. The demonstrations as well as protest procession were taken out almost every day. But nothing substantial had been done in the matter. On November 16, 1978 the aggrieved candidates gheraoed government officers, paraded in the streets, shouted provocative slogans, presented a charter of demands to the District authorities, and paralysed the entire governmental machinery. On Nov. 19, 1978 the entire population of Poonch town observed a general hartal in support of the aggrieved candidates. The situation took a serious turn when police tear gased the women protesters and arrested some of them, they were demanding for the appointment of at least, 54 employed youth, whose merits had been ignored. The state authorities on the other hand deployed huge police force to suppress the student agitation.

The Govt. then announced that the then Education Commissioner would go into complaints against selection of the teachers and would submit report by 31st of Dec., 1978. But nothing had been said whether the inquiry was conducted at all or what was its outcome. The situation in Poonch, thus, continued to be murky though peaceful.

The Poonch agitation, however, took a dangerous turn on December 2, 1978 when about two to three hundred students took out a procession and started marching Deputy Commissioner's office. They were stopped by a Police Party led by the S.P. Poonch, near the Govt. Degree College, Poonch. The Police resorted to lathi charge on the students without provocation. When this news reached the Bazaar of the town, all the shops were closed and people then rushed towards the sight of the demonstration.

Mr. Rajinder Singh Charkha while reading the procession, grappled with the policemen. The S.P. said to have identified him and ordered one of policemen to fire at him. Mr. Waryam Singh, a 20 years old students who was taller than Mr. Rajinder Singh Charkha per chance came in front of Mr. Charkha and was hit by the Police bullet and died on the spot. His dead body was then immediately dragged by the policemen into the Gujjar Hostel where the police force was camping. The demonstrators chased the policemen and set the hostel on fire. The curfew was then imposed on the town and one man Commission of inquiry was appointed to inquire the reasons for firing. The Poonch Action Committee while objecting to the terms of reference of the inquiry Commission boycotted it. The Committee wanted that the Commission should inquire into all aspects of the situation that led to the firing and not confine itself to determine the justification or otherwise of police action. The situation in town, however, remained explosive. In a resolution dated Dec.11, 1978, the members of Action Committee demanded the holding of inquiry into police firing by a judge of High Court, dismissal of police officials responsible for firing as well as Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Ganai— the then Deputy Minister from Poonch and cancellation of appointments of teachers made under political pressure.

The deep resentment against the govt. manifested once again on the Republic Day (26th January 1979) when local people did not allow a visiting Minister to hoist the national flag in the town.

The large scale violence, arson and riots broke out on Feb. 3, 1979 morning when the police arrested four leaders of the Poonch Action Committee for allegedly disturbing a Republic Day function at which Mr. Bashir Ahmed, the then Minister of State for Animal Husbandry, had presided. He was not allowed to hoist the flag and was manhandled. The protestants set fire a few government buildings. The police burst 100 tear gas shells and fired several shots in the air to disperse the crowd. About 70 persons, including several policemen were injured in stone throwing and lathi-charge. Ten country made bombs reportedly exploited in the heart of the town causing panic.

Last Exodus of Kashmiri Pundits January 19, 1990

The power that be ignored the plight of the Kashmiri Pundits. A memorandum of Kashmiri Pundits dated January 16, 1990 addressed to the Governor General (retd.), Mr. K. V. Krishna Rao deserves a careful attention:

"The ineffectiveness of the State Government has not been able to check loot, arson and killing of innocent people. Instead of the Government, it is the militant who are the de facto rulers in the Valley today. The ruling political forces are solely concerned with their own survival avoiding the wrath of the secessionists. Happenings in Anantnag, Sopore, Baramulla, Tral, Nurren, Pulwama, Ishber, Vicharnag, Shopian and other places in the Valley are indicative of the fundamentalists' designs regarding their planned targets of attack on the minorities. On 15th December, 1989, in Shopian men, children and old women of the minority community were mercilessly attacked and women-folk molested. The murder of Mahant Keshav Nath, Tikka Lal Taploo, N. K. Ganjoo, Prem Nath Bhat, Ajay Kapoor and others, was to create scare and awe among the minority community to force them to leave the Valley. The pace of exodus has further accelerated now.

It is a sad commentary on the present administration that not even a single assailant of the minority leaders and others has either been identified or apprehended by the police till now. "

Mr. Jagmohan took over as Governor on January 19, 1990, the day last exodus took place. Instead of strengthening administration, the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah resigned under the excuse of Mr. Jagmohan's appointment. It was utter failure of the Union Government to provide security to the Kashmiri Pundits.

Tens of thousands of Kashmiri Pundits across the Valley were forced out of their thousands of years old ancestral homes and land to save their lives and religion from brutal tide of violence let loose by their centuries old ethnic neighbours' fraternity. The horrifying bloodbath initiated by the ISI and its allies at the end of December, 1989 against the secular and nationalist Kashmiris slaughtered thousands of innocent people creating a communal divide. The Govt. in Delhi failed to judge the situation. Power hungry political hawks were helping the saboteurs of peace and harmony. Most of the leaders left the Valley to their safe havens in India and abroad. The minorities were left to their own destiny live or die. This was the utter failure of the Union leadership to provide social, physical or political protection to the Kashmiris, particularly the minorities. Hundreds of innocent pundits were killed and none felt secured. For life they decided to part with their motherland, Kashmir, the heavens on earth. It is pity that those who were ruling them till end of 1989, 'Quit Kashmir' of their own leaving the Kashmiris at the hands of the human killers aided, abetted and armed and financed by neighbouring country. The blunder committed by the Union Govt. headed by Mr. V. P. Singh cannot be ignored by the history of Kashmir. Instead of providing protection to the Kashmiri Pundits, the Central Govt. provided them safe exodus. Mr. Jagmohan, the Governor, appointed by the Central Govt. took over on January 1990, itself. In his own words he described the situation in Frozen Turbulence as, "Looking at the compact and enmeshed houses, and the by-lanes which acted like fine threads of a well-knit fabric, I wondered how these families, who had all their Gods and Goddesses here, and had deep roots in the soil, could leave and settle in distant and unfamiliar lands. Sometimes life is unaccountably cruel. And we human beings have, perhaps, no option but to suffer—suffer in silence, or wail." Where was the protective umbrella of the Central or State Authority?

Caravans of buses, trucks and taxies with puzzled and anguished men, women and children huddled in them looked like sheep being taken to the slaughter house. Searching questions seemed writ large all over the faces. What had they done to deserve such severe inhuman punishment? Why this banishment? The Kashmiri Muslim intelligentsia, the Muslim press dancing to the tune of the ISI commands, terrorists belonging to numerous outfits and the Kashmiri Muslim political leaders taking oaths of loyalty to the Indian Constitution

but in the depth of the heart owing allegiance to anti- India subversive force spread the canard that the Kashmiri Pundits left Kashmir in search for safety for their children and women and coming generations. Their miseries and tears failed to find The Guru Teg Bahadur mat the end the 20th Century. There were no Sheikh Abdullah either to stand with a daring rod for their protection and safety. The echelons of power in Delhi failed to perform their duty that the Constitution had entrusted to them to provide security to the citizens of their country. The exodus, of Kashmiri Pundits, a rarest of the rare, I would say 'Race' in the universe with its thousands of years old cultural heritage and civilization full of fragrance, from their motherland shall always be recorded as naked assassination of a civilization in the 20th century when the man has reached the moon and mars.

This exodus of a great civilization has diluted the very essence of Kashmiriyat of which entire J&K felt proud of. The waters of entire Indian Ocean cannot wash their bloody hands soaked with the blood of history of exodus from their own land in their own secular country in the era of democracy. A horrible blunder!

Separatist & Communal Politics of National Conference

Brig Anil Gupta

The remarks of a NC legislator on the floor of the upper house stating, "Kashmiri youth have picked up guns and they will continue to do so in future" and glorification of a dreaded terrorist Burhan Wani who was killed by the Security Forces in an encounter as a 'martyr' has sparked a futile controversy. The legislator has only expressed his sentiments guided by the ideology of the political party he represents. Only recently the NC patron and five-time ex Chief Minister of the state and Union Minister in the UPA government Farooq Abdullah had openly supported the conglomeration of anti-national, separatist and secessionist parties "Hurriyat Conference" and urged it to continue the secessionist movement. He expressed willingness to work with Hurriyat for resolution of Kashmir. He urged the Hurriyat leadership to unite and assured them, "We are not your enemy. We are with you." This statement came at a time when Kashmir was limping to normalcy after a full summer of unrest and Bandhs. The NC leaders have been openly advocating a dialogue with Pakistan at the time when Pakistan is not only perpetrating terror but also killing innocent civilians through unprovoked violations of ceasefire. Ever since its birth National Conference has followed the policy of 'promoting Muslim precedence' and supported ethnic exclusion by using Muslim majority character of Kashmir to suppress other communities and keep it isolated from rest of India thus encouraging separatism.

The tallest leader of National Conference Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah was arrested under the orders of his friend cum mentor Jawahar Lal Nehru on the charges of secession in 1953. After his arrest Plebiscite Front had kept the secessionist sentiments alive in Kashmir. Apart from exposing post-1947 Kashmiris to the separatist ideology it could not achieve much. Farooq Abdullah, the only son of Sheikh, migrated to United Kingdom. He during his decade long sojourn in London worked as an activist of Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), an anti-India separatist organisation. He actively campaigned for the cause of so-called liberation of Kashmir by administering to others the oath of allegiance and dedication to the so-called cause. The crushing defeat suffered by Pakistan in 1971 war with India and its failure to liberate Kashmir despite three wars made Plebiscite Front realise the futility of its struggle from outside and decided to try subversion from inside. Thus, the ground was prepared for the now infamous 1975 Accord between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh known as the Indira-Sheikh Accord heralding the Sheikh back to mainstream politics and revival of National Conference.

Not many readers are aware of an international conspiracy hatched during the same period. In 1970, the plan of 'Greater Muslim Kashmir' was drawn jointly by CIA, ISI and the Saudi intelligence (Istekhaarat). According to Selig Harrison, an expert on South Asia, Greater Muslim Kashmir not only envisaged secession of Kashmir from India but also included destabilisation in the country through ethnic and communal conflicts and subversion. Sheikh Abdullah had been working towards it before his arrest. Creation of Doda district in 1948 in Jammu region was the first step towards consolidating Muslims. Sheikh Abdullah is also known to have supported the notorious Dixon Plan, which was rejected by Nehru.

1953-75 was the golden period of peace and development in J&K. It had become the favourite destination of local and foreign tourists as well as the Bollywood. With the return of Sheikh in 1975 the tide turned for the worse. Saudi influence started increasing in the Valley, the process of Islamisation began, Muslim majority district of Kargil was created by bifurcating Ladakh in 1979, Saudi backed Jhelum Valley Medical College in Kashmir was mooted at the expense of badly needed medical care in Jammu province, names of about 2500 villages was changed to Islamic names, a vicious campaign against the Army began, local Hindus were labelled as "Mukhbirs" (informers). The separatist literature was made freely available in the shops and news stand. The Wahhabis commenced making inroads in Kashmir. The first ever International Muslim Conference, duly backed and financed by Saudi Arabia, was held in Srinagar in 1979. The passing of Resettlement Bill twice by the J&K Legislative Assembly in 1982 gave further boost to the campaign of

Islamisation launched by the NC led government. It however failed to see the light of the day due to the tough stand taken against it by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Meanwhile, Farooq Abdullah returned to Kashmir as "heir apparent" in view of the failing health of his father and launching of dynastic politics. In 1980 he signed an accord with revered Kashmiri religious leader Mirwaiz Farooq (an advocate of self-determination) known as the Double Farooq Accord. Sheikh died in harness in September 1982 and was replaced by Farooq. In the 1983 assembly elections Farooq Abdullah and his party sought support of all anti-national and secessionist organisations operating in the Valley namely Kashmir Liberation Front, Jamat-e-Tulba, People's League and Mahaz-e-Azadi. NC sought the support of these organisations on the plea that the ensuing elections were to be treated as a fight between all Kashmiris on the one hand and India as a sovereign country on the other represented by Congress (I). The result of the election for the first time resulted in the political polarisation of votes on communal lines. While NC won all the 46 seats from Kashmir, Congress (I) swept the Jammu and Ladakh regions winning 26 seats. Farooq Abdullah became the Chief Minister but the victory of NC promoted the rise of secessionist and separatist parties that had remained dormant for quite some time and gave further boost to communal politics. Due to a rebellion in the family, a temporary change took place in the NC leadership when Farooq's brother in law overthrew him with the Congress support.

Against the wishes of the people and for lust of power Farooq joined hand with Congress (I) in 1987 elections and forged an alliance with the later. The alliance won 66 seats but amongst the allegation of mass-scale rigging. The election is termed as a watershed in Kashmir politics. Farooq was again elected as the CM but the allegations of manipulations and massive rigging changed the entire political narrative in the Valley. Thousands youth crossed over to Pakistan for arms training thus heralding the era of trouble and turmoil in the state. At the time when his leadership would have been tested he continued to succumb under the pressure of secessionists and pro-Pak elements leading to his surprise resignation in 1990. The period also witnessed religious cleansing with the mass exodus of the Kashmiri Pundits from the Valley under the threat of Islamic forces. "While Rome was burning Nero was fiddling," similarly, while Kashmir was burning Farooq was holidaying in United Kingdom.

NC had mastered the art of manipulation and converting every adversity to its advantage by exploiting the situation to suit their interest. Government of India could find no alternative to Farooq and asked him to return from UK to participate in the 1996 assembly elections. NC again came to power and ruled the state from 1996-2002. This time Farooq Abdullah was more determined to promote the ideology of his party and thus turned a blind eye to the extinction of Sufi culture in Kashmir and rise of Wahhabi-Salafi Islam. This tenure of NC government was marked with growth in terrorism, nepotism, regional discrimination, demographic change of Jammu and ethnic exclusion. The party also raised the issue of "Greater Autonomy." NC lost the 2002 election in which the command of the party was handed over by Farooq to his son Omar Abdullah who lost from the traditional family seat of Ganderbal. The subsequent events are very recent and fresh in the memories of the readers. Omar's rise to power in 2008 in alliance with Congress which was also marked with poor governance, corruption, failed law and order and blatant regional discrimination sounded the final death knell for the NC. NC's patronage of proposed Chenab Valley region by merging Muslim pre-dominant tehsil of Mahore with Doda and the idea of Pir Panjal region was another attempt to consolidate the Muslim areas and isolate the Hindu regions of Jammu province. NC was rejected by the people in 2014 assembly elections leading to a new PDP-BJP alliance. Farooq Abdullah lost the Srinagar parliamentary seat as well. Not used to be without any sort of power, the NC leadership is behaving like fish out of water. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is hobnobbing again with the anti-national and separatist forces to regain the lost political space and has opposed the measures like establishment of Sainik Colonies, return of Kashmiri Pundits to Valley, surgical strikes against terrorist launch pads and the grant of domicile certificate to West Pakistan refugees. Farooq's rhetoric and remarks like, "tumhare baap ka hai kya" are indicative of not only his frustration but display the true face of his party as well. However, it appears that the party has lost its mastery

Resettlement Act, 1982

This author was forced under the circumstances to quit Congress when Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah enacted the so-called Resettlement Act in 1982 opening the doors of return and rehabilitation of those who had migrated in 1947 to Pakistan with their descendents. The Congress had no leadership who could dare oppose the mighty Sheikh for many reasons. This author was the only Congress SILA who opposed the draconian Act and the Sheikh inside and outside the Legislature earning wrath of the Congress leadership in Delhi and National Conference government in Kashmir. In spite of harassment, jails, mental and physical tortures this author continued the battle against the anti-people policies of the National Conference. The Panthers Party filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court for quashing the Resettlement Act. The Supreme Court had stayed the implementation of this Act. It is still pending since 2002. The Congress could not afford to annoy NC. They have been interested more in sharing power than serving national interest and its security.

The blunders of leadership in Delhi are unforgivable. The Govt. of India has been supporting the Govt. of J&K in the Supreme Court. This is a tragedy.

Before his death the Sheikh kept Pandora's boxes fixed in Srinagar in the name of 'Resettlement Act' to exploit the innocent Kashmiris. Mrs. Indira Gandhi used this weapon in Jammu during 1983 election to woo Hindu voters and succeeded in securing 26 seats in Jammu. BJP was 'zeroes' whereas Panthers Party from Chanani (Udhampur). Mirza Afzal Beg who acted all his life as 'faithful' comrade of Sheikh Abdullah, was shunted out by Abdullah from his Cabinet in 1982. The reason was that Mr. Beg set up his son-in-law a candidate for the election for Legislative Council. He was with the support of the opposition MLAs. I and Sardar Parduman Singh (both were Congress

MLAs) voted for the Beg's candidate, who won hands down defeating official candidate of NC Abdullah could not digest this humiliation. He fired Afzal Beg from the Cabinet and party on September 29, 1978. He died a humiliated death on June 11, 1982. Sheikh died on September 8, 1982 in less than 90 days from the death of Mr. Beg. Abdullah continued his tirade to browbeat India and exploit innocent Kashmiris. The NC continued that practice for political power.

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah died on September 8, 1982. His son Dr. Farooq Abdullah was installed as his successor by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. Assembly elections were held in 1983.

Jammu and Kashmir little known facts 1947-Pakistan Invasion

Y.R.GUPTA

The main invasion was planned and launched by the army Hqrs of Pakistan and was called "operation Gulmarg. It was to begin from Muzaffarabad on 22nd October, as stated by Major Onkar singh Kalkat who could know about this plan while in Pakistan from the letter written by the highest army authority of Pakistan British C-in-C on arrival in India. This fact was brought to the notice of Brig. Kulwant Singh and other concerned Army officers and also Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister, by him. The Plan of invasion was also confirmed by D.K Reddy, a Journalist. The Govt. of India however did not take the matter seriously even when day to day infiltration had already been reported to them by the Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir right from 3rd sept.1947.

The Jammu and Kashmir Govt. had no knowledge of this planned massive invasion from Abbatabad side. The stoppage of supplies Economic Blockade" had already created a very serious situation in the State.

The State Govt. tried to persuade Pakistan through the diplomatic channels to honor its commitments under the "standstill agreement". Failing to get a positive response to its numerous communications the Prime Minister of Kashmir sent a rather strongly worded telegram to the Governor General of Pakistan, Mr. Jeenah on 18th Oct.1947, which read "Finally the Kashmir Govt. wish to make it plain that it is not possible to tolerate the attitude longer without grave consequences to life and property of the people which it is bound to defend all costs. The Govt. even now hopes that you would personally look into the matter and put a stop to all the iniquities which are being perpetrated. If unfortunately this request is not heeded the Govt. fully hopes that you would agree that it would be justified in asking for friendly assistances and oppose trespass on its fundamental rights".

A cable was also sent on the same day to the Prime Minister of U.K. apprising him of the situation created by the influx of Armed Pakistanis into the State and stoppage of all supplies and requested that the dominion of Pakistan may be advised to deal fairly with Jammu and Kashmir.

The Governor General of Pakistan took no notice of the allegations made by Kashmir Govt. and instead made counter charges of repression by Dogra forces.

While this exchange of telegram was going a large scale invasion of Kashmir. A large number of soldiers and officers of the Pakistan Army including those on leave were deputed to organize and assist about 5000 tribal's that had been assembled there in the name of "Jehad". The invasion was to be lead by Maj Gen Akbar Khan of the Pakistan Army who was given the name of "Gen Tariq".

These hordes that entered the State along the Abbattabad-Muzaffarabad -Domel-Srinagar road on 22nd Oct, 1947 formed the spearhead of the final and the biggest blow by Pakistan against the State. Its object was Kashmir valley and the capital city Srinagar.

And also almost simultaneously new thrusts were made all along the borders of the State-Pakistan including Gilgit but this master plan to occupy Srinagar failed by the timely arrival of air borne Indian Troops in Srinagar.

The Armed Forces of the State which had to defend about 600miles long frontier with Pakistan and to also meet the threat of internal uprising were quite inadequate to meet the situation. These had been spread all along the frontier at the time of invasion. The mixed 4th Bn was In charge of the Muzaffarabad- Kohala sector. The State troops were efficient and brave, but were ill equipped. The loyalty of the Muslim personnel of the Armed Forces was doubtful as the State authorities had received information about their plans of sabotage and

desecration in collaboration with Pakistan Army Col. Narain Singh who commanded the 4th Bn In charge of the Muzaffarabad Kohala sector was warned to remain alert and careful about the Muslim personnel but he expressed his full faith in them. But subsequently to pay a heavy price.

In view of these circumstances the rapid advance of Pakistan hordes after they had once broken through the outer defences should cause no surprise. Their main column entered the State at the dead of night on 22nd Oct. 1947. The Muslim personnel of the State pickets not only joined hands with them but killed their Hindu companions in their own tents and began to lead the convoy of motor vehicles supplied by the Pakistan Govt. for carrying the invaders. After occupying the Strategic Krishan Ganga Bridge without much difficulty entered the town of Muzaffarabad without firing a shot. Here thousands of men, women, and children were mercilessly killed, women raped and abducted. The town was set on fire and simultaneously looting started. A few of them (raiders) crossed over to Domel. The Muslim pickets joined with them and Col. Narain Singh was shot dead by his own Muslim sentinel in his own tent itself. The occupation of Domel brought both the roads leading to Srinagar from Rawalpindi and Abbatabad came under the control of the invaders. The road to Srinagar now lay open. The raiders occupied Garhi the same day and started their advance towards Uri.

The few **(22nd October, 1947 Muzaffarabad Attacked)** Dogra troops resisted them at every step. Brig. Rajinder Singh the chief of Staff of the State Army then came forward to command the troops in person. He stemmed the tide of the enemy advance near Uri for two days. He fought the enemy to the bitter end. He along with his soliders were cut into pieces in this action. On the same day the Mohara power House was also damaged and so put out of order (24th Oct). This plunged Srinagar into darkness. On the 24th afternoon Maharaja Hari

Singh who was holding Dusshera Darbar sent an urgent appeal for help to the Govt. of India. He in his letter stated:

“I have to inform your Excellency that a grave immediate assistance of your Government.”

As your Excellency is aware, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to either the Dominion of India or to Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous to both the Dominions. It has vital economic and cultural links with both of them. Besides my State has a common boundary with the Soviet Republic and China. In their external relations the Dominions of India and Pakistan cannot ignore the fact.

I wanted to take time to decide to which Dominion I should accede whether it is not in the best interest of both the Dominions and my State to stand independent of course with friendly and cordial relations with both.

I accordingly approached the Dominions of India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill Agreement with my State. The Pakistan Government accepted this arrangement. The Dominion of India desired further discussion with representatives of my Government. I could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. In fact the Pakistan Government under the standstill Agreement are operating Post and Telegraph system inside the State. Though we have got a standstill Agreement with the Pakistan Government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food, salt and petrol to my State.

Afridis, Soldiers in plain clothes and desperadoes, with modern weapons, have been allowed to in filter into the State at first in Poonch area, then in Sialkot and finally en masse in the area adjoining Hazara District on the Ramkote side. The result has been the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and

thus had to face the enemy at several points simultaneously and it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting. The Mahoora Power House which supplies the electric current to the whole of Srinagar has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed. The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer capital of my Government, as a first step to over running the whole state.

The mass infiltration of tribesmen drawn from the distant areas of the NWF Province coming regularly in motor trucks using Maneshra-Muzaffarabad road and fully armed with up to date weapons cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the Provincial Government of the NWF Province and the Government of Pakistan. In spite of repeated appeals made by my Government no attempt has been made to check these raiders or stop them from coming to my state. In fact both the Pakistan Radio and Press have reported these occurrences. The Pakistan Radio event put out a story that a Provisional Government has been set up in Kashmir. The people of my State, both the Muslims and non-Muslims, generally have taken no part at all.

With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally, they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the Instrument of Accession for acceptance by your Government. The other alternative is to leave my State and my people to freebooters. On the basis no civilized Government can exist or be maintained. This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the Ruler of the State and I have life to defend my Country.

I may also inform your Excellency's Government that it is my intention at once to set up an Interim Government and ask Sheikh emergency with my Prime Minister.

If my State has to be saved immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar."

The Sheikh had already sent his family to Indore for safety and himself slipped away to Delhi.

Before taking any action on the Maharaja's request for help the Govt. of India decided to send V.P Menon to Srinagar to get first hand information/. He flew to Srinagar on the 25th October. He soon realised the desperateness of the situation. Menon therefore advised the Maharaja to leave immediately for Jammu to be out of reach of the Pakistani invaders.

The Maharaja left Srinagar for Jammu that very night (25th October 1947) and Menon and the Kashmir Premier Mr. Mahajan flew to Delhi early next morning (26th October 1947).

On receiving the report from Menon the Govt. of India felt inclined to go to the rescue of the State. But it was not possible before the accession of the State takes place. Hence Menon flew back to Jammu immediately with the Instrument of Accession. On reaching Jammu he contacted the Maharaja who was in sleep at that time after a long Journey, who at once signed Instrument of Accession. Menon flew back to Delhi along with the legal documents.

Radicalisation and Jihadi Terrorism: Threat to National Security

BRIG ANIL GUPTA

As part of the ongoing Social Media Warfare, another video released by the terrorists has gone viral. The video shows emergence of a nexus between Lashkar, Jaish and Hizbul (Tanzeems operating primarily in Kashmir) for establishment of an Islamic theocratic state. Another video of Zakir Musa, Hizbul commander in Kashmir, urging the youth to not to pelt stones or fight the security forces for sake of azadi but as soldiers of Islam is also viral. He has ordained the Kashmiri youth "to dismiss idea of nationalism and democracy and turn towards Islam." Hafiz Saeed, rabid Pakistani Jihadi leader has termed democracy as "Haram" and dismissed the concept of "Nation-State" as anti-Islam. He has also reiterated the desire of a Caliph.

The fountainhead of radicalism Saudi Arabia, is planning to bring its radicalisation to India's doorsteps through Bangladesh. It has promised to donate \$118 million to set up 560 model Wahhabi mosques across Bangladesh. Unhindered free flow of petro-dollars from Saudi Arabia in the past has been the major cause of radicalisation and spread of Wahhabism across Kashmir and certain other Indian states. Saudi Arabia also plans to open Madrasas in Bangladesh to provide primary education to more than 1, 50,000 children. It also plans to establish a permanent campus for the Islamic Arabic University in Bangladesh. Arabic Islam that propagates Wahhabi culture is alien to South Asian Islam that is proud of Hanafi and Sufi culture. Pakistan has already been engulfed in Wahhabism. These are ominous signs for India and Kashmir in particular which have been victim of Jihadi terrorism emanating from both these countries. Every major Islamic terrorist organisation to include international terrorist outfits like Al Qaeda and Daesh and Pak based India specific tanzeems like Lashkar, Jaish and Hizbul as well as Bangladesh based HUJI, JEIBD and their mastermind cum coordinator ISI have their base in Salafi/Wahhabi ideology. According to the US State Department estimates, Saudi Arabia over the past four decades has invested more than \$10bn in an attempt to replace mainstream Sunni Islam through the Saudi Ministry for Religious Affairs. It terms it as "Petro Islam". Pakistan benefitted the most from it during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. 18000 Deobandi madrassas were opened across Pakistan as breeding ground for jihadi terrorists to fight the Soviet invaders with the active involvement of Pak's spy agency ISI. After the war was over, ISI got a free supply of well-trained thousands of rabid jihadis. In an effort to keep them away from Pakistan, ISI gleefully opened a new front in Kashmir. Kashmir was chosen by the Deep State (Pakistan) not for any love for the Kashmiris but

as part of its strategy of "Bleeding India through Thousand Cuts" and furthering of its pan-Islamic ideology. They believe that Jihad is an unlimited offensive to bring the whole world under Islamic rule and law. Wahhabism and its ally Salafi jihadism supports war against anyone and everyone who is not like them.

The preparatory work began in Kashmir well before Pakistan was born. The seeds for Islamisation were sown in the summer of 1931 through Abdul Qadeer, an employee of an English Major then posted at Peshawar and a frequent visitor to Kashmir during summers. Abdul Qadeer was a follower of Islamic ideologue Maulana Jamaluddin Afghani. In his "seditious" speech in a late night meeting held at Khankah-i-Moula, he said, "Muslims can never tolerate interference in their religion. The government of the Maharaja does not cater for his subjects. Oh, Muslims arise. Time has come when you should retaliate bricks with stones. Even if you have no arms fight with sticks, bricks and stones." He had set the stage on fire. The air vibrated with the slogans of "Allah-o-Akbar." Among those present in the meeting were Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah co-founders of Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference an year later in 1932. Abdul Qadeer was later arrested and put on trial for sedition. Sheikh Abdullah giving it a communal touch said that Abdul Qadeer Khan has been prosecuted for the cause of Islam and asked the Kashmiri Muslims to be ready for more sacrifices for the same cause. Who brought Qadeer Khan to the meeting and who allowed him to get on the stage and address remains a mystery till date. Though Muslim Conference claimed not to be a communal party yet all its leaders were under the influence of Islamic ideology. In June 1939, the name of Muslim Conference was changed to National Conference, under the influence of among others Jawaharlal Lal Nehru. A symbolic change of name without any change of heart. This could easily be termed the preparatory phase of radicalisation.

The next phase was the emergence of Sheikh Abdullah and his party National Conference as the sole representative of the Kashmiris. Sheikh was first appointed by the Maharaja as Head of Emergency Administration on 30 October 1947. He gradually assumed all powers and became the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir on 17 March 1948. Ever since its birth National Conference followed the policy of 'promoting Muslim precedence' and supported ethnic exclusion by using Muslim majority character of Kashmir to suppress other communities. Deliberate attempts were made to suppress the Dogra heritage and promote Kashmiri nationalism. Creation of Doda district in 1948 in Jammu region was the first step towards consolidating Muslims. Sheikh Abdullah is also known to have supported the notorious Dixon Plan, which was rejected by Nehru.

Sheikh was arrested in 1953 on charges of secession. Consequent to the Sheikh – Indira Accord 1974, he was reinstated in 1975 as Chief Minister. Return of Sheikh was well timed. Not many readers are aware of an international conspiracy hatched during the same period. In 1970, the plan of 'Greater Muslim Kashmir' was drawn jointly by CIA, ISI and the Saudi intelligence (Istekhaarat). According to Selig Harrison, an expert on South Asia, Greater Muslim Kashmir not only envisaged secession of Kashmir from India but also included destabilisation in the country through ethnic and communal conflicts and subversion. India was being made the new destination of Petro-Islam/Wahhabism with Kashmir as a launch pad. Return of Sheikh Abdullah gave fillip to the process of radicalisation. He was replaced by his son who continued to follow the footsteps of his father.

The mass exodus of Kashmiri Hindus in 1990 followed by the gradual erosion of Sufi culture and Kashmiriyat and onset of Pak sponsored Jihadi terrorism is a part of the plan of radicalisation. ISI is in total control and has assumed the mantle of creation of an Islamic State or Caliph in South Asia. ISI has been in the forefront of spreading jihadi terror in South Asia particularly India as part of terrorism as a state sponsored policy. ISI is under the firm control of Pakistan Army that is credited with "while all nations have an army, Pakistan Army has a nation." It is playing a major role as a facilitator cum coordinator between the international Sunni-terror organisations and home-grown Islamic terrorist tanzems. Terrorist groups are increasingly preferring to work collectively with convergence in their ultimate aim "Establishment of Islamic Caliphate." India has been on the radar of international jihadi organisations since the Eighties with ISIS lately threatening to launch the holy war against India via Bangladesh. Both Bangladesh and Pakistan are serving as major hubs for ideological and material support to the jihadi organisations including South Asian radical Islamic network. The bursting of various terrorist modules and over ground sympathiser networks of ISIS by National Investigation Agency (NIA) is indicative of emergence of home-grown jihadists. The plan for launch of Gazwa-i-Hind is finalised. Kashmir in the North, Kerala in the South, Assam & West Bengal in the East and North East and Rajasthan in the West have been designated as launch pads for spread of radicalism across India.

The convergence between radicalisation and jihadi terrorism and the role of ISI has been established beyond doubt. Combined they pose a serious threat to our national security. The government needs to accept the challenge and formulate a response to combat radicalisation and jihadi terrorism together. The government also needs to leverage its good relations with the Awami League government in Bangladesh to prevent spread of Wahabism there. Strict action needs to be taken

against those who use the precincts of religious places to spread anti-national propaganda and make communal speeches. Wahhabi radicalism is against the very spirit of the Constitution of India which promotes co-existence of religions. A sound National De-radicalisation Policy needs to be formulated and announced. With ISI having succeeded in getting a firm foot-hold in Bangladesh India now faces the challenge of flow of jihadists both from her Eastern as well as Western borders. The border management policy to prevent infiltration of Jihadis also requires a review. Early deployment of Integrated Border Management System on both the eastern and western borders would assist the border guarding forces in preventing infiltration. Last but not the least it is also imperative to empower moderate Islamic forces to raise their voices against the jihadi forces operating in the region and leverage them against the perpetrators of jihadi terror.

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Shri Amarnath Shrine Board

Since time immemorial millions of Hindus visit the naturally built icy Shiv-linga in the hallowed cave of Shri Amarnath Shrine situated on 13500-ft high snow-clad peaks in the lap of stunningly enchanting high Himalayan range of mountains, surmounting the hilly terrains and dense forests. The devout pilgrims continue to visit the shrine in thousands. On their way they have to brave numerous terrific natural hazards. But these hazards and hardships have never been able to shake up their faith and lessen their zeal. Despite the perils posed by nature, the holy Amarnath pilgrimage which symbolises our emotional integrity continues with all the fervor.

After independence, the management of Shri Amarnath Yatra came under the administrative control of the state government of J&K. With the ever-growing number of pilgrims visiting the shrine, State's Tourism department's inability to make adequate arrangements became obvious. In 1996, the terrible snowstorm at the time of pilgrimage utterly exposed the poor preparedness of state government. More than 300 people lost their lives and thousands sustained injuries in the catastrophe. The state government was severely condemned for their failure. Consequently, several Hindu organisations including VHP raised their voice for the constitution of a Shrine Board for proper management of the Yatra. Earlier, Governor Shri Jag Mohan had constituted Mata Vaishno Devi Shrine Board for making adequate arrangements for the devotees. Need for constituting Shri Amarnath Shrine Board was felt all over the country. The government formed Nitish Sen Committee to invite recommendations. As per recommendations of this committee, the state government passed the Shrine Board Act in the state legislature and eventually Shri Amarnath Shrine Board was constituted. This Board comprised 10 members with Governor as the Chairman. All the arrangements and preparations pertaining to Yatra and puja-archana (worshipping) in the Holy cave came under the purview of the Shrine Board. With the new system of

functioning in place the facilities improved and there was considerable increase in the number of pilgrims and devotees. A large number of services and amenities like registration of pilgrims, langar (arrangement of community food), helicopter service, pollution-free toilets, mechanical air purifier systems, mobile medical vans and rest houses were made available through JK Bank. With improved services, more than 5 lakh people visited the shrine in 2007. This was a remarkable achievement of Shri Amarnath Shrine Board headed by Governor Lt. Gen (Retd) S K. Sinha and it added a golden chapter in the history of the Amarnath Shrine.

In 2002, Shri Amarnath Shrine Board had requested the state government for allotment of 800 kanals of land for the convenience of the visiting devotees. The then Chief Minister Shri Mufti Mohd. Sayeed and his daughter & PDP Chief Mehbooba Mufti not only opposed the proposal and the pilgrimage but resorted to making untenable and flimsy arguments against the allotment of land viz., pollution factor, demographic imbalance, state government's compulsions etc. In fact, PDP leaders are intensely inimical to the holy shrine pilgrimage and the ever growing number of devotees. Why do they carry deep aversion for the Hindus' places of worship and faith is best known to them. It may be recalled that when Hon. Governor extended the duration of pilgrimage from one to two months, Chief Minister Mufti Mohd Sayeed opposed it. He even took the issue to the court and lost. Again in 2007, the Board requested the government through a resolution for temporary allotment of land in Baltal to set up make-shift facilities for proper stay arrangement and convenience of the devotees. In May 2008, the state government placed a proposal before the ministerial meeting which was attended by the ministers of Congress, PDP and Peoples' Democratic Front. PDP ministers placed a proposal for allotment of land to the Shrine Board which was approved unanimously by the cabinet and the government passed orders for allotment of 800 kanals of land in Baltal to the Shrine Board with the following terms and conditions : -

1. The Shrine Board shall use the land on a temporary basis for 2 months at a rental amount of Rs. 2,31,30,400/- (Rupees two crore thirty one lakh thirty thousand four hundred only).
2. After the pilgrimage was over, Shrine Board shall return the land to the Tourism department.
3. Shrine Board shall not erect [construct any permanent structure on the land.
4. Shrine Board shall use this land only for the purpose of providing facilities to the pilgrims and not for any other purpose, whatsoever. Further, the Board shall not transfer this land to any other organisation/institution.
5. Shrine Board shall also pay to Tourism department a compensatory amount of Rs- 19,94,000/- per year being the compensation for cutting forest wood on the land.

The Shrine Board accepted the above terms & conditions and all the concerned departments including Department of Forest and Environment issued their NOCs (No Objection Certificates). The Government issued Order (No- 184 dated 28.5.2008) with reference to state Cabinet decision (No- 947 dated 20.5.2008) for allotment of 39.88 hectares of land of 'Sindh Forest Division' in Baltal and Domail to Shri Amamath Shrine Board, to be used for construction Of temporary structure. Out of this, 9 hectares of land from Sambha to Baltal and 30.88 hectares were allotted for construction of camp in Baltal. In the documents, the word 'diversion' was used and the word 'transfer' was nowhere mentioned.

Reference: Sehgal, Narendra (2009), The Victory of Faith

Incident of July 13, 1931

This incident requires a deep study in order to know about the mindset of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who has been proclaimed by some followers as 'Baba-e-Kaum' which means Father of the Nation. A European visitor had come to Srinagar on a holiday trip along with a non-State subject Abdul Qadir and both of them were staying in Srinagar. On June 21, 1931, Abdul Qadir made a highly seditious speech in the presence of a Muslim holy shrine 'Khanqah of Shah Hamdan'. He was arrested and criminal trial against him started in the Sessions Court, Srinagar. During the trial a large number of people started visiting the court and taking part in hearing the proceedings. In order to avert the law and order problems the venue of the trial was shifted to Srinagar Central Jail. On July 13, 1931 an estimated crowd of 4,000 to 5,000 people had collected outside the premises of the Central Jail Srinagar and they started raising slogans impressing upon the government that case should be withdrawn. On instigation of some communal elements, the gathering became unruly and they started pelting stones towards the enclosure of the jail and made an attempt to break open the doors of the jail forcibly. Meanwhile, the inmates of the jail including the prisoners became restive and showed their sympathy towards the rioters. The then District Magistrate ordered police to open fire on the crowd as a result there of twenty-one persons died and many more were wounded. Dead bodies of the killed people in firing were taken in procession to the Jamia Masjid, Srinagar. The communal Propaganda was already hot in the Valley which produces immediate result of reaction on the minority Hindu community. In the sparsely Hindu inhabited localities, their shops were looted and three people were also killed. There were many cases where Hindu women were disgraced. The Maharaja immediately appointed an enquiry committee to be headed by the Chief Justice of the J&K

High Court but the agitators boycotted the enquiry by making allegations that it would be of partisan nature. The Maharaja understood the nefarious designs and promptly promulgated ordinances and in consequence thereof wholesale pre-emptive arrests were made. There were police firing on the crowds in the important of the Valley such as Anantnag, Shopian, Baramulla and Sopore. Under these ordinances public floggings in the squares of the Srinagar city were introduced. Because of adoption of such an effective policy, certain innocents may have also suffered.

The British Government immediately reacted and their Resident in the Kashmir delivered a pre-emptive note to the Maharaja demanding its acceptance within twenty-four hours. The concessions which were demanded in this note were:

Definite and immediate steps should be taken to remedy the more obvious grievances of Muslim subjects such as cow killing ordinance, the prohibition of khutba, the stoppage of Azan etc.

A competent and unprejudiced British Officer deputed by the Government of India should hold a full inquiry into Mohammandan grievances and demands. They advised the Maharaja to ask for the loan of the services of such officer without delay.

A European Indian civil service officer, be appointed as Chief Minister and

The sooner Sir Daya Krishan Kaul (the brother of Raja Hari Krishan Kaul) left the State, the better as his presence was definitely against His Highness interests."

The Maharaja had to yield to the pressure from the people below and the Government of India from the above.

This communal virus spread in Jammu province too and in Mirpur district Hindus in the villages and particularly those who were doing the money lending business became the victims of the

loot and arson. In the Punjab 'Ahrar Party' of the Muslims which had sympathy with Indian National Congress started sending Jathas (bands of volunteers) into the State territory and they even penetrated in the capital of Jammu. To cope up with the situation request was made to the British to send the troops and accordingly the British sent one company of British soldiers to the district of Mirpur and two companies to Jammu district. The British Government accepted the request of the Maharaja to send an officer to head the inquiry commission and spared the services of Sir BJ Galancy of the Foreign and Political Department of Government of India who was appointed the Chairman of the Commission consisting of four members. These four members had to be one Muslim and one Hindu from Kashmir province and same ratio applied to Jammu province. After few months of the setting up of this Commission, the Hindu representative of Jammu resigned but the Commission continued its work and submitted its report recommending that minimum qualifications for appointment to a government post should not be high and effective measures should be taken, "to present the due interests of any community from being neglected."

The Commission also recommended the grant of proprietary rights in respect of all land, "of which the ownership is retained by the State and the right of occupancy is enjoyed by private persons."

After the submission of the report by the Commission, Galancy was requested to head the Kashmir Constitutional Reforms Conference for giving effect to the wishes Of the ruler to associate his people with the Administration of the State. The Conference submitted its report on April 1932 recommending that a Legislative Assembly be established as early as possible. The Maharaja issued a Notification on 22 April 1934 (Constitution Number I of Samwat 1991 corresponding to 1934) providing for the establishment of the Legislative Assembly'. The Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act Number I of 1934 consisted of 46 sections and it envisaged the establishment of the Legislative Assembly for the State called the 'Prajā Sabha'. The Regulation

provided that all powers, legislative, and judicial retained by the Maharaja. The council of ministers was comprised of the Prime Minister and such other Ministers of the State as the Maharaja may appoint. The Prime Minister and the other Ministers were to hold office during His Highness' pleasure. The Assembly was to consist of members nominated or elected under the Regulation. The total number of non-elected members was to be forty-two which were to include the ministers. The number of elected members was to be thirty three and thus, the total seventy-five. (Note: this figure of seventy-five was also adopted by the ruler for the representatives of the Constituent Assembly constituted in 1950 and it remained so till the last report of the delimitation commission whose recommendations were accepted in conducting the elections of 1996 at a fixed number of 87 and thereafter.) The elections were to be held for the constituencies and for the communities as specified in the J&K Assembly Electoral Regulations. The President of the Assembly was to be appointed by the Maharaja and the term of the Assembly was fixed for three years. The first elections of the Prajasabha were held in 1934 and vide Order Number 132 dated 13 October 1934 the Maharaja appointed the following Ministers to be the members of the State Assembly:

Colonel EJD Colvin, CIE, Prime Minister.

Major General Nawab Khusru Jung Bahadur, Minister-in-Waiting.

Wajahat Hussain, ICS, Home Minister.

VN Mehta, ICS, Revenue Minister.

Rao Bahadur Thakur Kartar Singh, Finance Minister.

All these Ministers except Rao Bahadur Thakur Kartar Singh (who was basically from State Judicial Service) were the officers of the Indian Civil Service and thus the control of Administration quietly passed into British hands. After these developments, the British withdrew the support to the communal agitations. Jammu

and Kashmir Government Gazette, Vol. 46 dated 7th Baisakh 1991 (19th April 1934).

The main political party at that time was 'Muslim Conference' headed

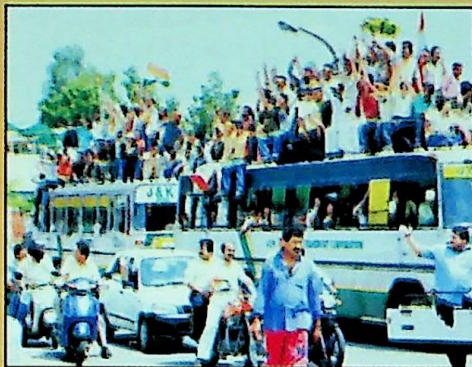
By Sheikh Abdullah and the leadership of this party had been demanding a responsible government with conferment of more financial powers to the State Legislature which should be constituted on the basis of only elected members. Second elections to the Praja Sabha were conducted on 31 May 1937 in which Muslim Conference captured nineteen out of 21 seats for which it had setup its candidates. The remaining two could not be elected as their nomination papers had been rejected. Maharaja and his Prime Minister Gopalaswami Ayyangar were frightened with this result.

Reference:

Sharma, G.D (2014), Plight of Jammu and Kashmir: the Unknown Files, Manas, New Delhi.

खून भी देंगे जान भी देंगे, शिव की भूमि वापस लेंगे

श्री अमरनाथ श्राइन बोर्ड की भूमि वापस लेने के लिए संघर्ष समिति के आह्वान पर 18 अगस्त से 20 अगस्त तक जम्मू संभाग में 'जेल भरो आंदोलन' के तहत लाखों आंदोलनकारियों ने स्वेच्छा से अपनी गिरफ्तारी दी। आंदोलन के पहले ही दिन 18 अगस्त को (कटुआ, सुंदरबनी, ऊधमपुर) के हर जिले, गांव और कस्बे में लोगों ने नारी संख्या में गिरफ्तारी देकर सरकार को फिर अपनी शक्ति का अहसास कराया। जेलों में तो पहले ही जगह नहीं थी, पुलिस थानों में भी जगह कम पड़ गई। प्रशासन को मजबूरी में गिरफ्तारी देने वाले हजारों लोगों को एमए स्टेडियम व विभिन्न स्कूलों में मेजना पड़ा। गिरफ्तारियां देने वाले हुजूम के सामने प्रशासन ने हाथ खड़े कर दिए। पुलिस थानों में तिरंगे लहराए गए और पूरा शहर बम-बम भोले के जयकारों से दिन भर गूंजता रहा। लोगों का जुनून देखते ही बनता था। सतवारी पुलिस थाने में घुसकर लोगों ने बम-बम भोले के नारे लगाए



चौक पर एकत्र होने लगी। माथे पर तिलक लगाए कपड़ा बांधकर बम-बम भोले का जयघोष आंदोलनकारियों ने थाने की ओर कूच किया। उध में भी गिरफ्तारियां देने वालों की संख्या थी, लेकिन उन्हें ले जाने वाले वाहनों सिर्फ एक थी। इस पर प्रदर्शनकारी भड़क उठे। एसडीएम और एसएचओ बिलावर जमकर नारेबाजी की। रामकोट में प्रद ने जमीन वापस लेने की मांग को लेकर की। घग्वाल में भी सैकड़ों लोगों ने दी और महानपुर में भी लोगों ने बम-ब नारे लगाते हुए पुलिस स्टेशन की ओर र पुलिस स्टेशन में जगह कम होने प्रदर्शनकारियों को पीडब्ल्यूडी रेस्ट हाउस में र लखनपुर में सैकड़ों लोगों ने लखनपुर पुलिस

गिरफ्तारी के दौरान लगे नारे

- खून भी देंगे जान भी देंगे, शिव की भूमि वापस लेंगे।
- हम भारत की नारी हैं, फूल नहीं बिगारी हैं।
- नारी शक्ति कहां चली, जेल चली भाई जेल चली।
- ये भगत सिंह कहां चले, जेल चले भाई जेल चले।
- इंकलाब जिंदाबाद, जम्मू एकता जिंदाबाद।

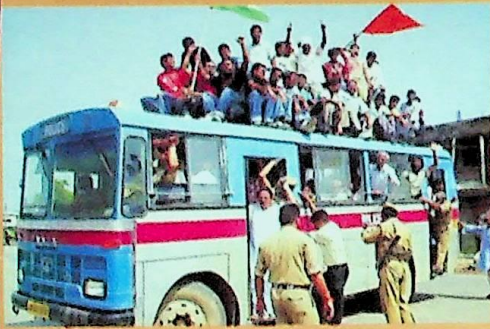
और तिरंगा फहराया। कटुआ में निर्धारित कार्यक्रम के अनुसार गिरफ्तारी देने वाले आंदोलनकारियों की भीड़ सुबह मुखर्जी

प्रदर्शनकारियों को पीडब्ल्यूडी रेस्ट हाउस में र लखनपुर में सैकड़ों लोगों ने लखनपुर पुलिस

झल कि यां

- जम्मू में सरवाल पुलिस चौकी में लगी बस आंदोलनकारियों का दबाव नहीं झेल पाई और उसने दो फट गए।
- रिहाड़ी क्षेत्र में आंदोलनकारियों ने सरवाल पुलिस चौकी पर कब्जा करने के साथ ही उस पर तिरंगे दिखाए। लोगों की अधिक संख्या देख पुलिसकर्मी दुबक गए।
- सांवा में प्रशासनिक अधिकारी उस समय सन्न रह गए जब आंदोलनकारियों ने यह कहकर खाना इंकार कर दिया कि हम खाना कैसे खाएँ, आपके हाथ हमारे लाडलों के खून से रंगे हैं।
- सांवा में इतनी ज्यादा संख्या में आंदोलनकारी गिरफ्तारी देने पहुंचे कि थाना परिसर में जगह की कम
- खौड़ में गिरफ्तारी देने के बाद लोग दिनभर भजन-कीर्तन करते रहे।
- विजयपुर में जेल भेजने की मांग पर अड़े लोगों के चारों ओर रस्सी घुमाकर पुलिस कर्मियों ने अस्थ बनाई और लोगों से अपना पीछा छुड़वाया।
- चनैनी में आंदोलनकारी पुलिस स्टेशन में ही रहने की मांग पर अड़े हुए थे। पुलिस ने कुछ को टेंट कुछ को जमीन पर दी जगह।
- त्रियाठ में गिरफ्तारी देने के लिए मुस्लिम समुदाय के लोग भी आगे आए।

श्रीअमरनाथ-श्राइन बोर्ड भूमि विवाद

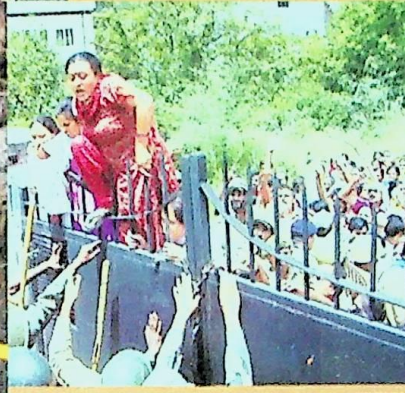
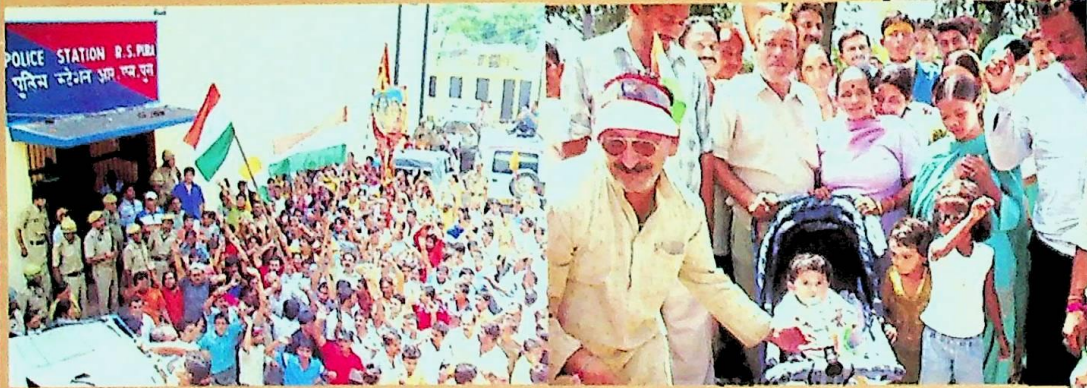


ये दीवाने
कहां चले



जेल भरो आन्दोलन

जेल चले
भई जेल चले



गिरफ्तारियां दीं। राजौरी जिले की सुंदरबनी तहसील में पुलिस ने करीब एक हजार गिरफ्तारियों का अनुमान लगाया था और उसी के मुताबिक पीने के पानी, खाने व अन्य जरूरी सुविधाओं का इंतजाम किया था। लेकिन गिरफ्तार हुए लोगों की संख्या इससे पांच गुना ज्यादा देख उनके हाथ-पांव फूल गए। कालाकोट और त्रियाठ में भी हजारों लोगों ने गिरफ्तारियां दीं। ऊधमपुर शहर से भी हजारों की संख्या में लोगों ने गिरफ्तारियां दीं। सैनिक कालोनी पुलिस स्टेशन में भी लोगों ने घुसकर वहां तिरंगा फहराया और जयकारे लगाए। शहर के गांधीनगर, दोमाना, सिटी चौक, बख्शी नगर व सतवारी के अलावा अन्य क्षेत्रों के पुलिस स्टेशनों में भी हजारों लोग गिरफ्तारियां देने पहुंचे।

ये दीवाने कहां चले, जेल चले, जेल चले नारों के बीच सांबा, विजयपुर, आरएसपुरा, विशनाह, बड़ी ब्राह्मणा, ज्यौडियां, अखनूर क्षेत्र के हजारों शिवभक्तों ने जेल भरो आंदोलन के तहत गिरफ्तारियां दीं। सांबा में लोगों ने जेल भरो आंदोलन के तहत विशाल रैली निकाली, जिसमें महिलाएं, बच्चे और वृद्धों ने भी भाग लिया। रैली चौहाटा चौक से शुरू होकर बस अड्डे होते हुए मेन चौक पहुंची। इसके बाद लोगों ने हाथों में तिरंगा लिए पुलिस स्टेशन में गिरफ्तारियां दीं। इस दौरान लोगों ने एसएसपी सांबा, डीसी सांबा, मुफ्ती मुहम्मद सईद, महबूबा मुफ्ती, उमर फारुक अब्दुल्ला के खिलाफ नारेबाजी की। वहीं, विजयपुर में भी हजारों लोगों ने गिरफ्तारियां देकर प्रशासन को अपनी शक्ति का एहसास कराया। विभिन्न जगहों से लोग हाथों में तिरंगा लिए रैली की शक्ल में कस्बे में पहुंचे। वहीं, इससे पूर्व संघर्ष समिति के बैनर तले कस्बे में आंदोलनकारियों ने विशाल रैली भी निकाली। कस्बा मीरा साहिब में भी हजारों लोगों ने गिरफ्तारियां दीं, जिसमें महिलाएं भी शामिल रही। आंदोलनकारी जैसे ही जुलूस की शक्ल में बस स्टैंड के नजदीक पहुंचे तो पुलिस ने उन्हें आगे नहीं बढ़ने दिया और वहीं से गिरफ्तार कर डिग्री कालेज में ले गए। उधर, अरनियां में भी संघर्ष समिति के बैनर तले लोगों ने गिरफ्तारियां दीं। बड़ी ब्राह्मणा के विभिन्न गांवों के लोगों ने रैली निकाल कर



मातृशक्ति का विराट चंडी रूप देखकर प्रशासन के होश उड़ गए।

नेशनल हाईवे स्थित सिडको चौक में गिरफ्तारियां दीं। गांव वीरपुर और इस्माइलपुर के सैकड़ों लोग सिडको चौक पहुंच कर अपनी गिरफ्तारी दी। उधर, सरोर अड्डा और पटली मोड़ में भी लोगों ने गिरफ्तारियां दीं। बड़ी ब्राह्मणा के मुख्य बाजार स्थित रघुनाथ मंदिर से लोगों ने संघर्ष समिति के बैनर तले बम-बम भोले के जयघोष करते हुए रैली निकाली कर गिरफ्तारी दी। सदस्यों ने थाने में भजन-कीर्तन किया। गिरफ्तारियां देने से पहले लोगों ने मोहल्ले में बम-बम भोले का जयघोष करते हुए जुलूस निकाला। मोहल्लेवासियों ने गिरफ्तारी देने के लिए जाने वालों को हार पहनाकर विदा

किया। रामगढ़ के नंदपुर क्षेत्र में काफी संख्या में लोगों ने गिरफ्तारियां दीं।

नारी शक्ति ने दिखाया मां दुर्गा का रूप

जेल भरो आंदोलन के दूसरे दिन 19 अगस्त को जम्मू संभाग (कटड़ा, कटुआ, ऊधमपुर, पुच्छ) में लाखों महिलाओं ने अपनी गिरफ्तारी दी। दिन भर पुलिस थानों के अंदर भजन-कीर्तन का दौर चलता रहा और थानों के बाहर भी बम-बम भोले के जयकारे गूंजते रहे। देशभक्ति के जुनून में डूबी महिलाओं को देख प्रशासन बेबस हो गया। बम-बम भोले के साथ जम्मू की नारियां, बन गई चिंगारियां के नारे भी गूंजे। गिरफ्तारी



के लिए उमड़ी महिलाओं की भारी भीड़ के कारण थानों में जगह कम पड़ गई। इसे देख कई पुलिस थानों के बाहर ही गिरफ्तारी के प्रबंध किए गए थे। जम्मू के अलावा ऊधमपुर, कटुआ, कटड़ा और राजौरी में भी हजारों महिलाओं ने गिरफ्तारियां दीं। सुबह से ही महिलाओं ने बम-बम भोले के जयकारे लगाते हुए पुलिस थानों की तरफ कूच करना शुरू किया था। महिलाओं ने थाने में पहुंचते ही भजन-कीर्तन शुरू कर दिया और पूरा थाना बम-बम भोले के जयकारों से गूंज उठा। रिहाड़ी में भी गिरफ्तारी देने वाले लोगों की तादाद काफी अधिक थी। जम्मू के बख्शी नगर पुलिस थाना, जानीपुर,

सतवारी, दोमाना, कानाचक, घरोटा, सैनिक कालोनी, सिटी चौक, तालाव तिल्लो, वागे-बाहु व आसपास के पुलिस थानों में भी हजारों महिलाओं ने अपनी गिरफ्तारियां दीं। छत्री हिम्मत व बस स्टैंड पुलिस थानों के अंदर महिलाओं ने तिरंगा फहराया। दोमाना पुलिस थाने के टावर पर चढ़कर भी लोगों ने तिरंगा फहराया। ऊधमपुर, रियासी, रामबन व इसके साथ लगते इलाकों में 70 हफ्ते से अधिक लोग गिरफ्तारियां देने के लिए पहुंचे। मातृशक्ति का विराट चंडी रूप देखकर प्रशासन के होश उड़ गए।

पुलिस ने थाने के मुख्य गेट को जंजीरों से लाक कर बंद कर दिया था। पुलिस ने पहले सोचा था कि बंद गेट का देखकर महिला आंदोलनकारी शायद अंदर नहीं घुस सकेंगी, लेकिन शीघ्र ही उन्हें अपनी भूल का अहसास हो गया। रणबेड़ी बनी महिलाओं का विकराल रूप देख पुलिस को गेट के तले

पीओजेके रिफ्यूजी अपने अधिकारों को लेकर अभी भी संघर्षरत



युवराज गुप्ता

विश्व, भारत तथा कश्मीर के इतिहास का एक काला पन्ना, जब वहशी लोगों ने मानवता को किनारे रख एक शर्मनाक, खून की होली खेली। हजारों बच्चे, बूढ़े, माताएं, बहनें तथा भाई बलिवेदी पर चढ़कर कुर्बान हुए और वहशियों की

दरिन्दगी का शिकार हुए।

1947 में भारत का विभाजन हुआ। इस विभाजन के पीछे यह मानकर चलना होगा कि केवल और केवल कांग्रेस के नेतागण ही जिम्मेवार थे जिन्होंने विदेशी ताकतों और मुस्लिम कट्टरपथियों के इशारों को मान्यता दे दी। जो नेता किसी समय यह कहते नहीं थकते थे कि हमारी लाश के ऊपर ही देश का विभाजन होगा, उन्होंने ही इसकी नींव रख दी।

विभाजन के पहले जो प्रीसिली स्टेट के राजाओं को 1947 इंडीपेंडंस एक्ट के द्वारा भारत या पाकिस्तान में से किसी में भी विलय होने की अनुमति दी गई थी। जम्मू-कश्मीर के महाराजा हरिसिंह जी जो हर लिहाज से भारत में राज्य का विलय करना चाहते थे, कुछेक दुविधा के कारण निश्चित समय तक विलय नहीं कर पाये। उनकी मुख्य दुविधाओं में से

1. पंडित नेहरू जो महाराज जी को अपना शत्रु और मोहम्मद शेख अब्दुल्ला को अपना घृष्ट मित्र मानते थे, जिसके चलते ही वह राज्य की भागडोर शेख को सौंपना चाहते थे।

2. 15 अगस्त तक निश्चित था कि जिला गुरुदासपुर पाकिस्तान में शामिल होने वाला है। इससे जम्मू-कश्मीर को भारत के साथ कोई भी रास्ता उपलब्ध नहीं था। क्योंकि पश्चिम की ओर सभी रास्ते पाकिस्तान के साथ मिलते थे।

3. रैड क्लिफ अवार्ड की घोषणा 26 अगस्त 1947 को हुई जिसमें जिला गुरुदासपुर भारत में दे दिया गया। इस बीच 11 सितम्बर 1947 को पाकिस्तान की ओर कब्जाने के लिए कोशिश शुरू हुई और इससे गांव-गांव में जहां पर हिन्दू अल्पसंख्या में थे, या तो उन्हें मारना शुरू किया या फिर उन्होंने डरकर अपने-अपने नजदीकी शहरों में आकर पनाह ली। इस कारण उन करबों-शहरों की आबादी में कई गुणा वृद्धि हुई। विशेषकर यह पलायन मीरपुर, कोटली, पुंछ, राजौरी, मुजफ्फराबाद आदि में हुआ।

22 अक्टूबर 1947 को 5 हजार के करीब हमलावरों ने हथियारों से लैस होकर मुजफ्फराबाद पर हमला बोल दिया और वहां पर नरसंहार, लूटपाट के अतिरिक्त माताओं बहनों की इज्जत लूटी गई। इन परिस्थितियों को देखते हुये महाराजा हरि सिंह जी ने अपनी सेना को इन हमलावरों का सामना करने के लिए भेजा वहीं दूसरी ओर 26 अक्टूबर को राज्य का भारत के साथ विलय करने हुते प्रस्ताव भेजा और 27 को इसे स्वीकार कर लिया गया।

राज्य के भारत में विलय होने के बावजूद भी मीरपुर, कोटली, राजौरी आदि स्थानों से भारी संख्या में हिन्दू विस्थापित हुए और जम्मू को अपनी शरण बनाया।

यहां आने के बाद उनका संघर्ष जीविका कमाने से शुरू होकर जीवन की अन्य समस्याओं के साथ शुरू हो गया। सरकार द्वारा उन्हें रिफ्यूजी कैंपों में भेजा गया और आशवासन दिया गया कि उन्हें हर प्रकार की मदद मिलेगी। मुजफ्फराबाद से निकले हुये लोग जो कश्मीर घाटी में रुके थे उनको भी वहां से भगा दिया गया ताकि मुस्लिम संख्या को बरकरार रखा जाये। यह प्रक्रिया 1931 से शुरू हो गई थी जो आज तक भी जारी है।

पिछले 65 वर्षों से ही पाक अधिकृत जम्मू-कश्मीर से विस्थापित हुये रिफ्यूजी अपने हकों की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। सरकार की ओर से कुछ परिवारों को

यानि 9500 परिवारों को भारत सरकार की ओर से पुर्नवास सहायता के रूप में प्रति परिवार 3500 रुपये दी गई जबकि हजारों परिवार इससे भी वंचित रहे। अपना घर-बाहर, संपत्तियों को छोड़कर यहां आये इन रिफ्यूजियों को आज तक सरकार की ओर से कोई सहायत उपलब्ध नहीं करवाई गई जिसके कारण ही रिफ्यूजियों के कई संगठनों ने समय-समय पर अपनी मांगों को लेकर आवाज बुलंद की। धरने-प्रदर्शन, रैलियां व हर उस शांतिपूर्ण तरीके को अपनाया जिससे की भारत व राज्य की आंखें खुल सकें। रिफ्यूजी संगठनों ने इस मामले को उच्च न्यायालय व सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में भी पहुंचाया परन्तु अभी तक कोई न्याय नहीं मिल सका।

न्याय पाने के लिए इनका संघर्ष राज्य व केन्द्र सरकार से अभी भी जारी है और हमेशा यह कहते आये हैं कि हमारी उन बस्तियों का भी निरीक्षण करें यहां पर पिछले 65 सालों से लोग दयनीय स्थिति में रह रहे हैं। इस समय कई रिफ्यूजी संगठनों ने मिलकर एक नया संगठन पीओजेके रिफ्यूजी संघर्ष मोर्चा के नाम से बनाया है जो समय-समय पर रिफ्यूजियों की आवाज बुलंद कर रहा है। मोर्चा के चेयरमैन श्री युवराज गुप्ता व सयोजक डा. नरिन्द्र सिंह तथा सलाहकार राजीव चुन्नी अपनी मांगों को लेकर सड़क से लेकर न्यायालय और सरकारी गलियारों तक अपनी आवाज को बुलंद करते आ रहे हैं। मोर्चा की मुख्य मांगों में से

1. भारत सरकार एक विज्ञापन के द्वारा पूरे भारत में बिखरे हुये पीओजेके रिफ्यूजियों को पंजीकृत करे जिससे उनकी सही संख्या का पता चल सके।
2. राज्य से बाहर गये रिफ्यूजियों को राज्य स्थाई प्रमाण पत्र दिये जायें।
3. पीओजेके में छूटी संपत्तियों का ब्योरा एकत्रित कर उन्हें उसका उचित मुआवजा दिया जाये।
4. सरकार सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के न्यायाधीश के नेतृत्व में एक आयोग का गठन करे जो उस वक्त हुये नरसंहार व मानवाधिकारों के हनन और वर्तमान रिफ्यूजियों की दशा पर एक रिपोर्ट तैयार करे।

5. कश्मीरी विस्थापितों की तर्ज पर ही सभी परिवारों को पुर्नवास भता मुहैया करवाया जाये तथा एकमुश्त 25 लाख रुपये प्रति परिवार को दिये जायें।

5. नौकरियों, कालेजों, विश्वविद्यालयों में रिफ्यूजियों के लिए आरक्षण की व्यवस्था की जाये।

6. रिफ्यूजी विकास बोर्ड का गठन किया जाये जो इनके सामाजिक व आर्थिक दर्जे को बढ़ाये तथा इनकी प्रतिदिन की समस्याओं का निवारण करे।

7. रिफ्यूजियों को उजड़े हुये लोगों की श्रेणी में न रखकर केवल रिफ्यूजी या विस्थापित का दर्जा दिया जाये।

8. पीओजेके के लिए आरक्षित विधानसभा की 24 सीटों में से 8 सीटे विधानसभा, 2 विधान परिषद में व एक सीट लोकसभा में रिफ्यूजियों को दी जायें।

9. पीओके को लेकर भारत-पाक के बीच होने वाली हर वार्ता में रिफ्यूजियों को भी प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाये।

इसके अलावा भी उनकी कई मांगें हैं जिन्हें बार-बार उठाये जाने के बावजूद किसी प्रकार का कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया।

और आज

मेरे साथ आप सब मिलकर इन सब की याद में नतमस्तक हो कर उनके प्रति श्रद्धा सुमन अर्पित करें तथा क्षमा मांगें कि हम ही उनके बलिदान का ऋण नहीं चुका सके। भारत का वह अटूट अंग जो हमारा होते हुए भी अभी तक हमारा नहीं बन सका, हम सब की पीड़ का विषय है। हम में से कौन इस अधूरे काम को पूर करने के लिए तैयार है तथा कौन इन टूटे हुए इलाकों व फिर से जोड़ने का संकल्प लेता है ताकि हम एक वा फिर से अपनी मातृभूमि की माटी को चूम सकें। वर दूसरी ओर केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा नियुक्त वार्ताकारों ने इ क्षेत्र को पीओके के बजाय पाक शासित प्रदेश की सं दी है जो एक पूर्व नियोजित षडयंत्र का हिस्सा है जि कतई सफल नहीं होने दिया जाएगा।

(लेखक मूलतः कोटली निवासी)

GOA LIBERATION AID COMMITTEE

C/O KESARI, 568 Narayan Peth, Pune 411 030.

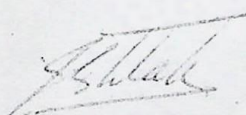
No. 72/9

Pune

18 - 3 - 1990.

C E R T I F I C A T E .

This is to certify that Shri. Sahadev Singji
of Jammu District Jammu took part in
Goa Freedom Movement and actually participated therein
in the year 1955. He is a Goa Freedom Fighter.



Secretary
Goa Liberation Aid Committee.

SLP(100)

GOA LIBERATION AID COMMITTEE
C/O KESARI, 568 Narayan Peth, Pune 411 030.

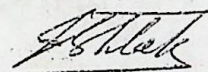
No. 75/61

Pune

15 - 4 - 1991.

C E R T I F I C A T E .

This is to certify that Shri. SURJEET KUMAR
of Jammu District Jammu took part in
Goa Freedom Movement and actually participated therein
in the year 1955. He is a Goa Freedom Fighter.



Secretary
Goa Liberation Aid Committee.

15-4-91

SLP(100)



Government of Jammu and Kashmir
General Administration Department
(Administration Section)
Civil Secretariat, Srinagar/Jammu

Subject:- Grant of Freedom Fighter Pension in favour of Participants of Goa Liberation Movement.

Reference:- Cabinet Decision No. 87/7 dated 20-05-2008.

Government order No:- 714 -GAD of 2008
D a t e :- 26-05-2008

Sanction is hereby accorded to the grant of Freedom Fighter Pension in favour of the following (who participated in Goa Liberation Movement in 1954-55) in relaxation of Freedom Fighter Pension Rules notified vide Government order No. 262-GAD of 1981 dated 3-02-1981 at rates indicated against each:-

| <u>S.No.</u> | <u>Name</u> | <u>Present Address</u> | <u>Rate of Pension per Month</u> |
|--------------|---|--|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Shri Tilak Raj Sharma | 1-Municipal Flats Parade Ground, Jammu. | Rs 1500/- |
| 2 | Shri Surinder Mohan Agarwal | 168, Panjtirithi, Jammu. | Rs 1500/- |
| 3 | Shri Atma Ram Sharma | House No. 83, Ward No. 4 Mohallah Jiapota, Akhnoor (J&K) | Rs 1500/- |
| 4 | Shri Sehdev Singh | Didora Jorian, Tehsil Akhnoor, J&K | Rs 1500/- |
| 5 | Shri Om Parkash Wazir | Ward No. 6, Kathua, J&K | Rs 1500/- |
| 6 | Shri Parkash Chander Wazir | Mohalla Wazir, Kishtwar, District Kishtwar. | Rs 1500/- |
| 7 | Shri Surjeet Kumar Gupta | House No. 308, Rehari Colony, Jammu. | Rs 1500/- |
| 8 | Shri Sham Lal | Pochhri, Mohalla Thamwal, Kishtwar. | Rs 1500/- |
| 9 | Shri Narinder Gupta | House No. 231, Jullakha Mohalla, Jammu. | Rs 1500/- |
| 10 | Smt. Chanchal Kumari wd/o of late Shri Mulkh Raj (Freedom Fighter). | R/O House No. 16/14, Patoli Mangotra, Jammu. | Rs 900/- |

By order of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

(Asgar Hussain) 26/05
Under Secretary to Government
General Administration Department

No:-GAD(Adm)46/2004-I

Dated:- 26.06.2008

Copy to the:-

1. Principal Secretary to Hon'ble Chief Minister.
2. Commissioner/Secretary to Government, Finance Department.
3. Divisional Commissioner, Jammu.
4. Accountant General, J&K.
5. Deputy Commissioner, Jammu/Kathua/Kishtwar.
6. Treasury Officer, Jammu/Kathua/Kishtwar.
7. PPS to Chief Secretary, J&K.
8. PS to Commissioner/Secretary to Government, GAD.
9. Incharge Website/Government File/stock file
10. Concerned.

Dr. Om Parkash Mengi
(16-01-1918-14-11-2009)

Dr. Om Prakash Mengi was born in a family of educationists and social workers. He was inspired by the life of Guruji Golwalkar and blessing of Chanderswami ji. He served as medical Officer in J&K Govt. and Indian Army Hospital at Satwari Cantonment. During his service, he was closely associated with the activities of RSS since 1940. He was also associated with many other social organizations i.e. Gaushala, Old Age Home, Bal Niketan, Vivekanand Hospital and Sewa Bharti. He was fully devoted to the cause of nationalism and was appointed first Prant Sangchalak.

Being contemporary of Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, played a pivotal role in the Praja Parishad movement of 1952-53 for the abolition of Permit System and for the cause one nation, one flag and one constitution. He went to jail as leader of Gau Raksha Andolan in 1966-67 at Delhi alongwith other Satya Grahis.

He was arrested on 25th June 1975 at the dawn of emergency at Tohitak-Haryana and remained in Jail for one year under MISA. He donated all his earnings to the "Prabhadevi Ishwardass Trust". He also helped many a needy peacefully when his contemporary and most popular leader of Jammu. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra was admitted in the Tata Institute at Bombay for Cancer Treatment, he remained there for the full period without bothering for his own well being and comfort. He was so devoted for the cause of RSS ideology that he went to jail at the age of 91 during Shri Amarnath Land Movement. He was jailed during emergency in 1975 for one year under MISA.

May God bless us to treat the pall of selflessness and service to the mankind.

Jammu Kashmir Participation in Goa Mukti Sangram In 1954/55 Phase-2

India became Independent On 15th of August 1947 after a long struggle with Britishers but a territory Named Goa was yet to be got free from Portugal reign. The Janta Goa was at that time reeling under the pressure of Portuguese, which had made a problem for Bharat.

Moreover there were reverses due to sad demise of our great Indian leader Sardar Patel with the result the Freedom fighters took this freedom job of Goa in their hands.

An Andolan took place during 1954- 55 and entire congregation of the said Goa Andolan took part in the Andolan and entered Goa from all the directions. They used to assemble at a particular place in Goa and around their feelings in order to get Goa freed from Portugal and the police their was from Africa and other places they used to throw these people on the border on the Indian side.

In July 1955 Praja Parishad of Jammu and Kashmir Dr. Manohar Lohia and Goa Mukti Sangram Samiti, on their fervent appeal sent jatha of freedom fighters to Goa in which Thakur Ranjit Singh was the leader, who was also the vice-president of Praja Parishad.

On 30th of August they took Ashirwad from Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, in which thousands of people of Jammu took part and the procession started from Kachi Chawni and passed through different bazaars and came upto Dogra Chowk. All bid farewell to them.

The entire congregation of Praja Parishad went through Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and passed through various places after awakening the people in order to get Goa free from the clutches of Portugal.

All of them later assembled at central place at Pune. All joined them and their leaders made them aware that the inhabitants of Goa are being tortured by Portugal as they are troubling them a lot. They use force and cut their hands as they are troubling them a lot. They use force and cut their hands. On certain occasion they wrap clothes their hands and then put kerosene oil on the cloth in order to burn their hands. They were also awakened that they threw them in deep waters and at times beat them with hunters.

They chalked out a plan to enter Goa with bare feet through forests, but before that they made known the congregation that with such atrocities, those having a weak heart should go back. So none from Jammu and Kashmir came forward to return and had told that they have come here to sacrifice their lives in order to get freedom of Goa in which they are fully prepared and determined. So during August 1955, it was such an incident that the people taking part in the said Andolan rose to three times of their initial strength.

These foreign forces started now using new tricks of terror on these people. They were hit by bullets, their hands were broken with their feet and they were burnt after pouring kerosene oil on the wrapped cloth and their such action grew bitter and bitter, day by day in order to show terror to these people and used all sort of torture. Swami Jagan Nath was already in Portugal Jail and they used to throw hot water upon him and other people in Jail and also used to hang them from upwards to downwards. Moreover the old preacher of Sangh Sh. Vasant Rao's feet were fractured by spraying bullets on it.

Those reaching Pune were made to form in strength and were sent from different places in order to enter Goa and the congregation of Jammu and Kashmir were made in two groups. One group was sent through garvad side who had to face bullets, out of which 12 were massacred and made shaheed. Hundred got injured and the balance people were brought to jail from whom blood was oozing from their bodies, who were torturing them. The second was led by Ranjit Singh.

After sometimes they were made to stand in front of machine gun and all of them thought an end to their lives and prayed to God, when an officer approached them and saved each and everyone.

However during August 1955, the police of Portugal took Jammu and Kashmir towards a small corner of an ocean which was a deep place and on the other side there were mountain and the force was standing with Big lathis and each one was asked to pass that terrain, one by one and started using lathis some had head injury, some at feet and some at legs and later on were put in a steamer and were again beaten in which one person namely Sawan Singh got badly injured and fell unconscious and the other side people raised their voices and in confusion the forces started throwing them in water.

Luckily the water was not deep and on the other side the Indian Force saved them and brought them to Pune and their treatment was done for 35 days and was sent back to their homes and in between Thakur Ranjit Singh succumbed to his injuries.

Thakur Ranjit Singh was born in 1912 in Nagri Parols and was a patriot from his very childhood and due to his patriotism he took part in the said andolan in order to set Goa free from Portugal and along with him Sh. Ludramani Shah of Koota village in Tehsil Hiranagar took to this Andolan after closing down his entire business.

Shri Tilak Raj Sharma was a student then and was getting education and was from a border area of Nowshera. He was also a patriot from his childhood and had patriotism from his family itself as his father was also of Independence loving Person and had taken part in all the Andolans for the country freedom during British rule and had also gone in jail.

During 1948 Sh. Tilak Raj Sharma under the banner of Indian flag had carried strong freedom movement and sat on hunger strike for 41 days continuously and joined Goa movement while serving Samaj during his life time.

Sh. Om Parkash Wazir was also a very energetic worker and without telling his home people joined the congregation and was prepared to sacrifice his life for Goa independence hence desired participation in that also.

Goa is 3000 kms away from Jammu and Kashmir and upon independence of country felt that this small place was not set free from foreign hands which he had never dreamt at all that inhabitants of Akhnoor, 28 Kms from Jammu of Chenab River shall take part in this freedom struggle of Goa. Moreover M.L.A Thakur Sehdev Singh was a leader of Praja Parishad who had time and again came to the rescue of such persons belonging to Akhnoor Tehsil along with Shri Atma Ram ji and Sh. Bansi Lal Ji who also went there.

Sh. Atma Ram Sharma was born in 1927 in Mohalla Jiapota, Akhnoor whose father was religious person having three brothers and younger brother was doing a karyana shop and told their mother that they were proceeding towards Goa with Thakur Sehdev Singh Ji to take part in the liberation of Goa movement, though advised by the mother not to go there,

But they did not listen and without telling their mother came to Jammu along with his elder brother. Moreover their one of their brother was in Army and the other one was already away from home and there was none else to take after the mother at that time. As Sh. Atma Ram thought that such time of serving their country shall not

come, again and again he went to Goa. They came to Jammu along with his friends from Akhnoor and went to residence of Sh. Prem Nath Dogra, where thousand of people had already gathered to seek permission and blessings.

On reaching Kachi Chawni where people had gathered and they were garlanded to join the Mashal Rally which was to start from Kachi Chawni and everybody felt very much proud and all were shouting the slogan of 'ZINDABAD' and the rally passed through parade to Raghunath Bazaar, City Chowk, having being welcomed by each and everyone on the streets and showering flowers upon them, after which they all departed to achieve the goal for which they were fully determined.

One Shri. Mulkh Raj Arora who was born during 1920 at village Patoli, also joined the Jathas. This was his first time to join such Andolan during his life time and afterwards he became Parcharak in Sewa Sangh.

One Sh. Surinder Mohan Aggarwal from Panjtirthi was born on 1939 and from his very childhood started coming to the place of Sh. Prem Nath Dogra and had also shown his desire to join the Jatha during Goa liberation movement, but he was advised that being just 16 years of age, advised that being just 16 years of age, advised not to go to Goa. Which being a very dangerous place as he will be sent back taking him to be just a child. It so happened that upon seeing him Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee Ji took him at the stage and told the gathering that he has come from Jammu to take part in the movement of Liberation of Goa, in which gathering Sh. Din Dyal uphaday Ji also participated.

One Sh. Surjit Kumar Gupta, who belonged to Hamirpur now in Pakistan, was born in 1924 and during partition of 1947 had to face such kind of difficulties in his life time which made him to settle at Jammu and started his business besides joining Praja Parishad as a worker and wanted to join Goa Andolan and still scars of injury of soon as he was beaten with lathis.

Moreover one Sh. Narinder Gupta of Pakki Dakki Jammu along with his wife become worker of Praja Parishad but he went to Goa in the said movement.

Besides three persons of Tehsil Kishtwar of District Doda, Sh Sant Ram was leader of Praja Parishad, Sham Lal Sen and Sh. Parkash Chander Wazir were also their accomplished. Out of 20 people who had gone from Jammu and Kashmir during Goa movement only 7 alive. The person who had such movements during his lifetime want to keep up his achievement as a golden era in his life time.

However our forces during 1961 had got Goa free from the Portuguese.

Now 50 years have since passed when this Goa liberation Andolan was made under the participation of Jammu and Kashmir people with Goa Mukhti Sangram. As a remembrance it was that one day Goa Sarkar wrote a letter to Sh. Tilak Raj Sharma, Advocate, President of Freedom Fighter Association, J & K and invited him to Goa in order to pay their respects on this auspicious day of freedom of Goa from the foreign forces.

On their kind invitation we, eight persons of Sawatantra Sanani landed at 9:45 on 16 December 2003, at Goa Airstrip and accompanied with Sh. Vivek Dharkar along with the Writer.

On getting down from the plane a huge welcome in the shape of Satyagarh people of Jammu and Kashmir was given by the people of Goa. When we were so much delighted to see this welcome from their side, which moment is still afresh in the minds of these people.

After 2-3 days stay their Chief Minister of Goa Sh. Manohar Parikar Ji on 19 December also welcomed us in Azad Madan where the inhabitants of Goa also participated, who thanked us that for not caring of our lives and told the gathering that they were the people who fought rigorously for the liberation of Goa and among gathering of 15-20 thousand people stood there all of them welcomed us after raising their hands.

So it was a matter of great pride to be there where we saw and had a chance to roam about the same streets where this fighting with Portuguese police took place and where our persons laid down their lives and the place was made such which being now a place marked with respect and their names were also written. Our sentiments arose very much also on seeing the jail. On seeing the deep shallow ditches and mountains around it, this made the Goa Liberation Movement so afresh.

We had also a chance to visit the historical Mandirs and also a church of 400 years old, which was seen on 23 Dec, 2003.

We however, returned to Jammu after our great visit to Goa and the honour bestowed upon us that we have no words to express those commendable moments which we had during the welcome period for which we were called and it has become as an indelible mark on our hearts which none can erase ever.

However, besides joyment the scene where the movement took place was so horrible to see with the past remembrance that cannot forget that how the movement started and how much courage the people who fought during the said movement as

how it was possible to meet such a force, who were so barbaric in their deeds and how the place was liberated, one cannot forget those precious and such horrifying movements of cutting the hands, cutting of legs, feet besides burning after pouring of kerosene oil after wrapping the cloth.

However another moment cannot be forgotten by all of us that during December, 2003, the vice-president gave all the people with a memento after gathering all of us in the gathering in the Azad Madaan.

Its was also a pleasure to see the golden words written on such moments that the residents of Goa are very grateful to Goa Mukti Sangram for getting Goa free from Portuguese and the residents have no words to express their gratitude of all of us that is Mukhti Sangram

It is also very much pertinent to mention over here that now in our country there are different parties in each Pradesh, whereas at the time of this Goa movement there was only one party and all were mere Desh Bhagats and all were determined to get Goa freed from the Portuguese rule, besides there were many ladies also and I think it is very lucky to have had witnessed all of them in, one to one, fight and we were with you by visiting each and every place now.

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पेंशन नहीं मिली। पुराने दस वर्षों से मैं वह फाइल लिए-लिए घूम रही हूँ। मैंने अलग-अलग गृह मंत्रियों को यह बात कही है। उसमें एक पेच था कि राज्य सरकार यह लिखकर दे कि वे वाकई वहां गए थे। फारूख अब्दुल्ला जी की सरकार ने लिखकर भी दे दिया कि वे वहां गए थे। वे नौ लोग हैं, जो बहुत बूढ़े हो गए हैं। अब उनमें से एक की मृत्यु हो गई है और अभी आठ बचे हैं। उनके लिए थोड़ा सा पैसा रायद महत्व नहीं रखता, लेकिन यह रिकॉग्निशन, मान्यता कि हां, वे वाकई गोवा मुक्ति संग्राम में गए थे, मैं चाहूंगी यदि प्रणव वा उस फाइल को निकलवा लें और मरने से पहले उन लोगों को यह मान्यता मिल जाए तो आज यह पचासवां वर्ष मनाना उनके लिए बहुत बड़ी सार्थकता होगी, बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि होगी। आज उन तमाम सैनिकों को मैं संसद के इस मंच पर खड़े होकर श्रद्धावन्त प्रणाम करना चाहती हूँ, जिन्होंने गोवा को मुक्ति दिलाई और हमें गोवा मुक्ति दिवस मनाने का एक मौका दिया। धन्यवाद।

श्री मुलायम सिंह यादव (मैनपुरी): अध्यक्ष महोदया, अभी गोवा के माननीय सदस्यों, नेता सदन और नेता, विपक्ष ने अपनी बात रखी। मैं उनसे पूरी तरह सहमत हूँ। मेरा भावनात्मक संबंध इसलिए भी है कि गोवा को आजाद कराने में डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया ने आखिरी लड़ाई लड़ी थी और बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। तब जाकर गोवा आजाद हुआ। इसलिए माननीय सदस्यों, नेता, सदन और नेता, विपक्ष ने जो कहा, मैं उनसे सहमत हूँ कि उन्हें पेंशन देनी चाहिए। उन्हें और भी जो सुविधा देनी हो, वह देनी चाहिए। यह मामूली लड़ाई नहीं थी। हिन्दुस्तान पहले आजाद हो चुका था लेकिन गोवा बचा था। वह 1961 में आजाद हुआ। इसलिए उसमें महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाने वाले लोगों को महत्व देना जरूरी है। मैं सुझाव ही दे सकता हूँ, सवाल नहीं कर रहा। सरकार बताए कि महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाने वाले लोगों को क्या सम्मान दिया जा रहा है?

DR. M. THAMBIDURAI (KARUR): Madam Speaker, Goa is a very beautiful State of our country. Many people have sacrificed their lives for the liberation of Goa. This is a very noble day. I congratulate the people of Goa on this occasion and I would also like to appreciate them for maintaining their culture. At the same time, as you have already mentioned, we pay our respects and homage to the martyrs who lost their lives in the liberation struggle of Goa.

(d/1115/rs/rjs)

DR. RAM CHANDRA DOME (BOLPUR): Thank you, Madam Speaker. On the solemn occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Goa Liberation Movement, on behalf of my Party CPI(M), I sincerely pay my heartfelt respect to the heroes of the Independence Movement of Goa and I congratulate the people of Goa. They

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